

# RĀJATARAṄGIṆĪ

THE SAGA OF THE KINGS OF KAŚMĪR

Translated from the original Saṁskṛta and entitled  
the River of Kings with an Introduction,  
Annotations, Appendices, Index, etc.

By

RANJIT SITARAM PANDIT

*Foreword*

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU



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TO THE MEMORY  
OF  
PANDIT MOTILAL NEHRU

Chāyā nirankuṣagatīḥ svayam ātapas tu chāyānvitah śataśa eva  
nījaprasaṅgaḥ;

Duḥkhaṁ sukheṇa pṛthagevam ananta-duḥkha-pīḍānuvedha-vidhura tu  
sukhasya vṛttiḥ.

Shadow is itself unrestrained in its path while sunshine, as an incident of its very nature, is pursued a hundredfold by nuance. Thus is sorrow from happiness a thing apart; the scope of happiness, however, is hampered by the aches and hurts of endless sorrow.

Taraṅga VIII, Śloka 1913

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## FOREWORD

NEARLY four years ago, when we were both together in Naini Central Prison, Ranjit Pandit told me of his intention to translate Kalhana's *Rajatarangini*. I warmly encouraged him to do so and saw the beginnings of this undertaking. We came out of prison and went back later and so, in and out, and mostly in, we have spent the last four years. But we were kept in different gaols and many high walls and iron gates separated us, and I was unable to follow the progress of the translation. It turned out to be a much vaster undertaking than I had imagined and I was glad that the translator persevered with his work, in spite of the difficulties and delays inseparable from a residence in gaol.

It was Ranjit Pandit's wish, in those early days when he began the translation, that it should be introduced to the public by a preface or foreword from my father, Pandit Motilal Nehru. Indeed one of the reasons which led him to translate this ancient story of our old homeland was to enable my father to read it, for he knew no Samskrit. But that was not to be, and now I am told that, in his absence, the duty of writing that foreword devolves upon me. I must play the substitute however poorly qualified I may be for the task.

It is for scholars and learned men to appraise and judge this translation. That is not my task. I feel a little overwhelmed by the ability, learning and tremendous industry that Ranjit Pandit has put into this work. It was a work worth doing. Nearly half a century ago, Mr. S. P. Pandit wrote of the *Rajatarangini* that it was "the only work hitherto discovered in India having any pretensions to be considered as a history." Such a book must necessarily have importance for every student of old Indian history and culture.

It is a history and it is a poem, though the two perhaps go ill together, and in a translation especially we have to suffer for this combination. For we cannot appreciate the music of the poetry, the charm of Kalhana's noble and melodious language; only the inexactitude and the extravagant conceits remain. The translator has preferred a literal rendering, sometimes even at the cost of grace of language, and I think he has chosen rightly, for in a work of this kind exactitude is necessary.

Written eight hundred years ago, the story is supposed to cover thousands of years, but the early part is brief and vague and sometimes fanciful, and it is only in the later periods, approaching Kalhana's own times, that we see a close-up and have a detailed account. It is a story of medieval times and often enough it is not a pleasant story. There is too much of palace intrigue and murder and treason and civil war and tyranny. It is the story of autocracy and military oligarchy here as in Byzantium or elsewhere. In the main, it is a story of the kings and the royal families and the nobility, not of the common folk—indeed the very name is the "River of Kings".

And yet Kalhana's book is something far more than a record of kings' doings. It is a rich storehouse of information, political, social and, to some extent, economic. We see the panoply of the middle ages, the feudal knights in glittering armour, quixotic chivalry and disgusting cruelty, loyalty unto death and senseless treachery; we read of royal amours and intrigues and of fighting and militant and adulterous queens. Women seem to play quite an important part, not only behind the scenes but in the councils and the field as leaders and soldiers. Sometimes we get intimate glimpses of human relations and human feelings, of love and hatred, of faith and passion. We read of Suyya's great engineering feats and irrigation works; of Lalitaditya's distant wars of conquest in far countries; of Meghavahana's curious attempt to spread non-violence also by conquest; of the building of temples and monasteries and their destruction by unbelievers and iconoclasts who confiscated the temple treasures. And then there were famines and floods and great fires which decimated the population and reduced the survivors to misery.

It was a time when the old economic system was decaying, the old order was changing in Kashmir as it was in the rest of India. Kashmir had been the meeting ground of the different cultures of Asia, the western Graeco-Roman and Iranian and the eastern Mongolian, but essentially it was a part of India and the inheritor of Indo-Aryan traditions. And as the economic structure collapsed it shook up the old Indo-Aryan polity and weakened it and made it an easy prey to internal commotion and foreign conquest. Flashes of old Indo-Aryan ideals come out but they are already out of date under the changing conditions. Warlords march up and down and make havoc of the people. Popular risings take place—

Kalhana describes Kashmir as "a country which delighted in insurrection!" and they are exploited by military leaders and adventurers to their own advantage. We reach the end of that period of decay which ultimately ushered in the Muslim conquest of India. Yet Kashmir was strong enough, because of its mountain fastnesses, to withstand and repulse Mahmud of Ghazni, the great conqueror who made a habit of raiding India to fill his coffers and build up an empire in Central Asia. It was nearly two hundred years after Kalhana wrote his history that Kashmir submitted to Muslim rule, and even then it was not by external conquest but by a local revolution headed by a Muslim official of the last Hindu ruler, Queen Kota.

I have read this story of olden times with interest because I am a lover of Kashmir and all its entrancing beauty, because perhaps, deep down within me and almost forgotten by me, there is something which stirs at the call of the old homeland from whence we came long, long ago; and because I cannot answer that call as I would, I have to content myself with dreams and fantasies, and I revisit the glorious valley girt by the Himalayan snows through books and cold print. As I write this my vision is limited by high walls that seem to close in upon me and envelop me and the heat of the plains oppresses me. But Kalhana has enabled me to overstep these walls and forget the summer heat, and to visit that land of the Sun god "where realizing that the land created by his father is unable to bear the heat, the hot-rayed Sun honours it by bearing himself with softness in summer;" where dawn first appears with a golden radiance on the eternal snows and, in the evening, "the daylight renders homage to the peaks of the towering mountains;" where, in the valley below, the lazy sleepy Vitasta winds slowly through smiling fields and richly-laden fruit trees, and creeps under the lordly chenars, and passes through still lakes covered with lotus blooms, and then makes up and rushes down the gorges to the plains of the Punjab below. Man has sunk low there in his poverty but nature remains, cruel and unfeeling, yet soft and smiling to the eye and the senses. "The joy of plunging into the Ganga is not known to those who reside in the sandy deserts," writes Kalhana; how can the dwellers in the plains know of the joys of the mountains, and especially of this jewel of Asia, situate in the heart of that mighty continent?

The translator has used, as he should, the scholar's method of

transcription for Samskrit names and words. He must forgive me if, being a layman, I do not fancy this, and so, with all apologies to the International Congress of Orientalists, I propose to continue to write 'Samskrit' and 'Krishna' and not 'Saṁskṛta' and 'Kṛṣṇa'. I do not like an old friend to develop an alien look, and what seem to be five consonants all in a bunch are decidedly foreign and strange-looking to me.

It is not for me to congratulate the translator who is both my brother-in-law and a dear comrade, but I should like to commend especially his valuable notes and appendices.

DEHRA DUN JAIL  
JUNE 28, 1934

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

## TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

THE *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* or *River of Kings* is a poem in Saṁskṛta in eight cantos. Each canto is called *Taraṅga* or *Wave*. The author of this saga of Kaśmīr is the poet Kallhana who commenced his composition in the year 1148 after Christ (Śaka year 1070) and concluded it in 1150 A.C.

The first translation of a portion of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* was in Persian made by order of king Zam-ul-Abidin of Kaśmīr (1421-1472 A.C.) who named the version the *Bahr-ul-Asmār* or *The Sea of Tales*. After the annexation of Kaśmīr by the Emperor Akbar, the historian Abd-ul-Kādir Al-Badāoni was ordered in A.H. 1003 (1594 A.C.) to complete the translation. He tells us that during the progress of his work, the Emperor "called me into his private bed-chamber to the foot of the bed, and till the morning called for stories out of each chapter and then said, 'Since the first volume of the *Bahr-ul-Asmār* is in archaic Persian, and difficult to understand, do you translate it afresh into ordinary language, and take care of the rough copy of the book which you have translated.' I performed the *Zamin-bos* (kissing the ground) and heartily undertook the commission." In the *Ain-i-Akbari* Abu-l-Fazl included an abstract of the early history of Kaśmīr of which he mentions Kallhana's work as the source. An abridged edition of the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* in Persian was brought out by Haidar Malik who was of a noble Kaśmīrī family. He substituted the Hijara dates for the dates given by Kallhana. In the preface the author states that he commenced the work in A.H. 1207 (1617 A.C.) in the twelfth year of Emperor Jahāngir's reign.

In 1664 A.C. the French physician Francois Bernier visited Kaśmīr of which he has given us a delightful description entitled the *Paradise of the Indies*. He evidently refers to the work of Haidar Malik when he speaks of "the histories of the ancient kings of Kachemire made by order of Jehan-Guyre which I am now translating from the Persian." Bernier's translation if completed was either lost or has not been published.

A century later a Tyrolese missionary Le Père Tieffenthaler included in his work *Description de l'Inde* a summary of the history of the ancient rulers of Kaśmīr which was taken from the Persian version of Haidar Malik.



In the beginning of the last century, the attention of Sir William Jones was drawn to Kalhana's work. Kaśmīr since 1819 was part of the dominion of the Sikhs under the Lion of the Pañjāb, Maharaja Ranjit Singh. By permission of the Maharaja Mr. Moorcroft reached Srīnagar in 1823 and succeeded in obtaining a transcript of an original Kaśmīrī manuscript which later became the basis of an edition of the *Rājatarangīnī* published in Calcutta under the auspices of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1835. Meanwhile in 1825 Dr. H. H. Wilson had published an *Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir*, which contained an abstract of the first six cantos of Kalhana's poem.

The first complete translation from the original Saṁskṛta appeared in French. From the Calcutta edition of 1835 a French translation of the first six cantos of Kalhana's poem was made in 1840 by M. Troyer who was then the Principal of the Calcutta Saṁskṛta College, and it was published under the auspices of the Société Asiatique at Paris. M. Troyer completed the translation in 1852. Unfortunately for M. Troyer there was at that time no critical edition of the text compiled from original sources. From this same edition of 1835 Mr. Yogesh Chunder Dutta translated the *Rājatarangīnī* into English and his version appeared at Calcutta during 1879-1887.

In 1888 my uncle Shankar Pandurang Pandit published his critical edition of the Prākṛta poem, *Gaudavaho*, by Vākpati. As this poet and his patron, king Yaśovarmān of Kanauj, are mentioned in the *Rājatarangīnī* my uncle relied on the passage to arrive at the date of Vākpati. For this purpose he discussed in detail the chronology of Kalhana and incidentally translated several verses of the *Rājatarangīnī*. He refers to the defective character of the Calcutta edition and appeals to scholars to suspend judgment on the *Rājatarangīnī*—"until the text of that admittedly valuable work—the only historical compilation of any pretensions that has yet come to light—has been carefully edited and restored to its original purity by competent and patient hands."

Fortunately two learned scholars laboured to produce a critical edition of the original text. In 1892 Sir Aurel Stein published at Bombay a critical edition of the *Rājatarangīnī*. About the same time Pandit Durgā Prasāda also brought out his edition which was published by the Nirṇaya Sāgara Press at Bombay. Sir A. Stein translated the *Rājatarangīnī* into English prose in 1900. In his introduction to the translation he says about Pandit Durgā Prasāda: "The Pandit's

edition contains also a considerable number of useful new emendations besides others which had already been proposed in my edition. Wherever I saw good reason to adopt such emendations for my translation their source has been duly indicated in the notes. To the scholarly merits of his work I may hence be allowed to render here a well-deserved tribute."

Prof. Bühler had translated some verses of the *Rājatarāṅginī*. Sir A. Stein followed, as regards the form of his translation, the suggestions of Prof. Bühler made in 1875. Stein says in his Preface: "These considerations have induced me to follow the example of Professor Bühler in his above mentioned specimen translation and to adopt a form of rendering that allows the interpreter not only to reproduce plainly the meaning of the text, but also indirectly to indicate often the construction or other exegetical reasons underlying his version. Thin square brackets have been employed throughout to distinguish words which are not actually found in the original, but require to be added in order to make the context intelligible in English, while round brackets denote additions having more the nature of glosses. Pedantic as this device seems it has often saved lengthy explanatory notes, and its advantages will be readily appreciated wherever reference to the exact words of the Chronicle is essential." The distinguished explorer and scholar Sir A. Stein made a deep study of Kalhaṇa's work but his method of translation does not give an adequate conception of the work as a literary composition to readers unable to study the original. Further his main interest in the chronicle was archæological and topographical and he omitted to translate verses which according to him are in "Kāvya style" and which "contain rhetoric descriptions or didactic matter of a wholly conventional type, practically unconnected with the narrative proper." Thus an account of a soirée with singing and dancing at the court of Śrīnagar by artistes who were "Untouchables" has been omitted (Taranga V. Ślokas 361-386) and among other omissions are strictures on the vices of ruling princes.<sup>1</sup>

In the present translation, the Saṁskṛta text generally followed is that of Sir A. Stein with frequent references to the critical edition of Pandit Durgā Prasāda. The translation, barring the lacunæ in the original text, is complete and unexpurgated.

<sup>1</sup> Among the verses expurgated are V 311-323, 361-386. VII 1392-1404, 1433-1441 VIII 842-848, 1611-1614, 2621-2626, 3191-3200.

In Kalhana's own view, his was not only a work of serious contribution to history it was pre-eminently a work of art (Kāvya); he looked upon himself not merely as a historian but as a Kavi (poet-seer). Kalhana chose for his work on history the metrical model advisedly, not simply as a form of expression but as absolutely required by a certain class of ideas. Kalhana's intelligent eyes watched the court and noted what they saw in the hope that centuries later their observations would enlighten distant lands, relight dead suns and set dead moons shining upon the streams and snow-clad mountains of his native land. In one long series, as if on a band of gelatine of a cinematograph film, Kalhana brings before our eyes "vivid pictures of a bygone age" through episodes which contain the different Rasas or sentiments of love and heroism, of pathos and marvel. Although he paints the world of his own time he begins from the beginning of things in Kaśmīr and the unity of his work of art is not recognised until the reader comes to the end of the story.

This translation is an attempt to represent poetry in prose. The effect of poetry is a compound of music and suggestion intermingled in words which are tones in the harmony. To alter the words is to alter the effect. The prose translator might be keenly sensitive to the power and beauty of the rhythm and yet the resemblance of his translation to the original might be as little as that of the unheaven shaft to the fluted column. From the cold bare outline which is here presented the reader unacquainted with Samskr̥ta could scarcely guess what glow of colour, fluent grace and energy of movement have been lost in the process. There are words with so delicate a bloom upon them that it can nowise be preserved. Such words would have lost less in a metrical translation with its atmosphere of rhythm. Fortunately the major portion of the poem is narrative and suitable for a prose translation.

The translation is literal. It preserves, as far as possible, the original construction. The English language is rich in vocabulary nevertheless there were difficulties of construction to be overcome: the want of the accusative form to the noun restricts the arrangement of words in English, the present participle can only be used to a limited extent and the same is the case with the pronoun. Two maxims of translation have been followed. The translator should seek that one best word or phrase for what is said in another language and the other which

demands that the white light of the author's thought must not pass through the tinted glass of the translator's mind and assume its colouring.

The heritage of India which has come to us through the medium of Samskr̥ta is a living one. The great and stirring words "of the language of the gods" find a ready echo in our hearts; we have known them from childhood and their subtle music expresses to us the thoughts of men whose lives, in the remote past, must have been unimaginably different from our own. Samskr̥ta, like the ancient Greek and Latin and indeed every other language, paints a picture of the world and though there may be only one world the pictures are different. In this translation an attempt has been made to use English words so that they may produce Indian pictures and experiences. I cannot hope to have been always successful but an effort has been made with loving labour.

SRINAGAR, KASHMIR

July 18, 1934

## PRONUNCIATION

Dr. Kalikumar Datta-Sastri, to whom we are indebted for having seen this edition through the press, has somewhat modified the system of transliteration in the first edition, and followed an adaptation of the International Phonetic Script now universally accepted for transcription of Sanskrit sounds. The adaptation followed is indicated below:

### Vowels

a (=अ)	ā (=आ)	i (=इ)	ī (=ई)
u (=उ)	ū (=ऊ)	ṛ (=ऋ)	ṝ (=ॠ)
e (=ए)	ai (=ऐ)	o (=ओ)	au (=औ)

### Consonants

						Nasals.
<i>Gutturals</i>	k (=क)	kh (=ख)	g (=ग)	gh (=घ)		ṅ (=ङ)
<i>Palatals</i>	c (=च)	ch (=छ)	ṣ (=ज)	jh (=झ)		ñ (=ञ)
<i>Cerebrals</i>	t (=ट)	th (=ठ)	d (=ड)	dh (=ढ)		n (=ण)
<i>Dentals</i>	t (=त)	th (=थ)	d (=द)	dh (=ध)		n (=न)
<i>Labials</i>	p (=प)	ph (=फ)	b (=ब)	bh (=भ)		m (=म)
<i>Sibilants</i>	ś (=श)	s (=ष)	s (=स)	h (=ह)		
<i>Semi-vowels</i>	y (=य)	v (=व)				
<i>Trilled</i>	r (=र)					
<i>Lateral</i>	l (=ल)					
<i>Anusvāra</i>	m (=ं)					
<i>Visarga</i>	h (=ः)	(a surd breathing).				

## INVITATION

The *River of Kings* is the earliest extant history of Kaśmīr. Its author Kalhana unlike the numerous authors of books on Kaśmīr who have been unakin to the inhabitants was a Kaśmīrī. He describes his people as the inheritors of an ancient culture; he shows them, in turn, to be kindly or cruel, faithful or faithless, single-minded or ambitious but they are never judged or portrayed as beings of an inferior race even in their criminal or ridiculous moments. From any such misrepresentation Kalhana who lived a free man in an independent country is saved as well by his moral as by his artistic sense. Furthermore he is not merely a chronicler but a poet who loved his Arcadian homeland, its streams and cascades, the flower-strewn meadows, the soft cloud-dappled sky over rich fields, the far vistas of snow on the mountains that at dawn and sunset hold all the roses and pinks and madders of the artist's palette. Archaeology has indeed laid bare for us the secrets of the dead past but the past eludes pursuit in the dust of antiquarianism. In Kalhana's pen-pictures, on the other hand, the past is vivified and lives again. He shows us what we want to know, namely, what his contemporary men and women looked like, what they ate and wore, what they believed and what was their solution to the eternal problem of the relation between the sexes. He composed his historical poem in the middle of the 12th century, in the age when the Crusaders of Europe were fighting in Western Asia. He saw kings who rode to Śrīnagar—the City Royal—in the centre of a cavalcade of steel-clad horsemen<sup>1</sup> escorted by the Rāja-putras, to whom the sword-hilt was familiar since childhood, and followed by intriguing courtiers, priests, bards and lovely women with "moon-like faces". He tells us that the capital owed its name to Śrīnagarī, the city founded in the remote past by the great Aśoka, the Constantine of Buddhist India. He describes the environs of this unique city of the East and mentions its landmarks, the Śārikāparvata (Hārparvat) and the Gopa Hill (Gupkār) surmounted by the ancient temple of Jyeṣṭha Rudra, now known as Śaṅkarācārya. Numerous towns, temples, shrines and monasteries are mentioned by him includ-

<sup>1</sup> VIII 947-953, App H:

ing the glorious sun-temple founded early in the eighth century by king Lalitāditya— "The munificent king built the marvellous temple of Mārtanḍa with massive stone walls inside encircling ramparts and a town which rejoiced in grape-vines."<sup>2</sup> The 'land of Pārvati' now jealously guards in her bosom as her antiquarian treasure, the ruins of her noble shrines, the glory of Kāśmīrī art and sculpture. Indifferent to the vandalism of Man and the ravages of Nature are extant a few ruined temples to which still clings spiritually the faded aroma of the past.

Kalhana's voice which falls crystal clear across the dead centuries is in many ways singularly modern in its love of natural beauty, in the critical scrutiny of the hearts of men and women and of the means they used to achieve their ends. He tells us in the colophon that he was the son of a minister of state; he evidently had free access to the royal court. Yet unlike other Indian poets, who composed panegyrics in Saṁskṛta of kings who were their patrons, Kalhana writes not to praise or blame any individual or group. His verses are so many windows through which we see a glimpse of the world of his time. From the noble Rājaputra to the humble Domba and Caṇḍāla, from the Brahman to the Untouchable, he depicts all at the tasks which have been performed for hundreds of years before and since his time. He puts down minutely with a superb sense of literary form his thoughts, experiences, and sensations. Scenes succeed one another with neat orderliness and conversations are woven skilfully into the fabric of the narrative. He is by nature philosophical and he sees in every crisis the clash of good and evil; his characters stand out vividly, some close, some further away, but all human, real. The poem is a work of great scope, a more or less complete picture of society, in which the bloody periods of the past are delightfully relieved by delicate tales of love, by episodes of marvel and mystery and by interesting digressions which the author permits himself. Among these are causes célèbres,<sup>3</sup> hunger-strikes,<sup>4</sup> the problem of Untouchability<sup>5</sup> and of the relation between the sexes,<sup>6</sup> intercaste marriage<sup>7</sup> and terrorist crime.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>2</sup> IV. 192.

<sup>3</sup> VI. 14-67; VIII 122-158.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix B.

<sup>5</sup> V 354-396.

<sup>6</sup> III 484-525

<sup>7</sup> IV. 11-41, VII. 11-12; VIII 2043.

Note.

<sup>8</sup> VIII. 2224-2257.

The modern reader must have patience for this translation demands a change in reading habits. The reader who desires to be repaid by a rather new kind of pleasure would be well advised to adapt himself or herself to the method of composition which the medieval author chose for the nature of his subject and the purpose of his art. We can seldom receive the communication of even a master artist without desiring some familiarity with his method and some reason for sympathy with his artistic endeavour. This point of contact is more than commonly interesting in the present case and it is desirable to touch upon it before inviting the reader to share the enjoyment which this narrative may be capable of giving, whether as history, an epic or a semi-tragic drama.

"Life," says a Greek adage, "is the gift of Nature but beautiful living is the gift of wisdom." Well-known Kaśmīrī rhetoricians like Māmmata, the author of the *Kāvya Prakāśa*, had said that one of the purposes of Kāvya or poetry was to teach the art of life (*Vyavahāra-vidē*). Kāvya or poetry was defined as "speech the soul of which is Rasa." There were in all eight Rasas or sentiments; Śṛṅgāra (love), Hāsya (merriment), Karuṇa (pathos), Raudra (wrath), Vīra (martial), Bhayānaka (terror), Bībhatsa (repulsion), Adbhuta (marvel), which were the essence of poetry. The verses in this poem are inlaid with these Rasas; and as was expected from a Saṁskṛta Kavi, a general knowledge of history, geography, literature, economics, an acquaintance with the law and the difficult art of government as well as with the sciences and the arts, including Erotics, is disclosed by the author as the narrative proceeds. The description of sunrise and of the dying fires of sunset will give some idea of his style.<sup>9</sup> At the beginning and at the end of the *Taraṅgas* the metres are changed to suit the changing scene and the varying Rasa and the verses are studded with the different figures of speech dear to the Kavi and the audience of the past while long and difficult compounds are introduced to wind up the canto with a flourish. To relieve the monotony of the narrative, Kalhaṇa often inserts brief generalizations in which he treats poetically the phenomena of Nature or the habits of beasts and birds; incidently he passes strictures on the victim of his invective. He reveals his love for ancient Indian lore and mythology by the numerous references to them in his poem such as the legend of the

<sup>9</sup> VIII. 3161 and VIII. 3140-3144.



churning of the ocean (Samudra-Manthana)<sup>10</sup> or the descent of the Gaṅgā (Gaṅgāvatarana).<sup>11</sup> His references to the flora and fauna of India which are not to be found in Kaśmīr e.g., the mango, the palm tree, the lion, the crocodile show that he was steeped in the traditional learning of India and admired its technique. Kallhana, following Mammaṭa, adds one more Rasa, the ninth, known as *Śānta* (inner calm).<sup>12</sup> The reader is requested by Kallhana not to be impatient, not to pass judgment too soon, nor to let the events in the book pass judgment on themselves too rapidly which recalls the advice of Epictetus "Do not let us pretend to alter the nature of things; it is neither possible nor useful to make the attempt; but accepting things as they are let us strive to accord our minds with them."

Anatole France said to Brousson that he disliked the first commandant: "one God alone thou shalt adore"; he wanted to adore "all gods, all temples and all goddesses". His countryman, the learned scholar and archaeologist, M. Foucher is apparently tempted to make a similar confession: "May I go further and say what I believe to be the true reason for this special charm of Kaśmīr, the charm which everybody seeks, even those who do not try to analyse it? It cannot be only because of its magnificent woods, the pure limpidity of its lakes, the splendour of its snowy mountain tops, or the happy murmur of its myriad brooks sounding in the cool soft air. Nor can it be only the grace or majesty of its ancient buildings, though the ruins of Martand rise at the prow of their Karewa as proudly as a Greek temple on a promontory, and the little shrine of Payar carved out of ten stones, has the perfect proportions of the choragic monuments of Lysicrates. One cannot even say that it comes of the combination of art and landscape, for fine buildings in a romantic setting are to be found in many other countries. But what is found in Kaśmīr alone is the grouping of these two kinds of beauty in the midst of a nature still animated with a mysterious life, which knows how to whisper close to our ear and make the pagan depths of us quiver, which leads us back, consciously or unconsciously, to those past days lamented by the poet, when the world was young, when

'le ciel sur la terre

Marchait et respirait dans un peuple de dieux.' "

The old beliefs in the spirits of mountain, river and pool of water

<sup>10</sup> See App C.

<sup>11</sup> See App. C.

<sup>12</sup> I. 23.

are still with us in many ways. The Aryan in India, like the Greek, personified the natural objects. The Kaśmīrīs believed that the woods and cascades were peopled with Nāgas and Nāginīs, the Yakṣa, the Yoginīs, the Vetāla; the fairies, the nymphs, the gnomes, the elves and giants of the Germans and the Scandinavians whom we find in Rheingold and Peer Gynt. The old beliefs still survive in Kaśmīr; Kalhana in the earlier cantos refers to some of them including the legend of the lady of the crescent-moon—Candralekhā—the sweet and disturbing Nāga maiden.<sup>13</sup>

The Aryans in India, like the Greeks and the Romans, were not interested in demolishing the gods and religious beliefs of other people. Tolerance was the characteristic feature of religions of Indian origin; we have Kalhana's evidence which is fully corroborated by the independent testimony of Chinese scholars and pilgrims who visited India from the fourth to the eleventh century. Like Aeschylus or Homer, Kalhana is a poet of veracity and universality. In the age to which he belonged, Buddhism had been supplanted by Śivaite philosophy in Kaśmīr. He, however, shows a deep love and admiration for Buddha and his ethical way and the poem mentions the founding of Vihāras and Stūpas by the rulers of Kaśmīr up to his own times. Save during the political domination of the early Buddhists, there is no mention of religious strife or theological disputes. In common with the Buddhists Kalhana's belief in Karma is, however, to the forefront. Professor Radhakrishnan thus explains the ancient Indian view in modern language. "The principle of Karma reckons with the material or the context in which each individual is born. While it regards the past as determined it allows that the future is only conditioned. The spiritual element in Man allows him freedom within the limits of his nature. Man is not a mere mechanism of instincts. The spirit in him can triumph over the automatic forces that try to enslave him. The *Bhagwat-Gita* asks us to raise the self by the self. We can use the materials with which we are endowed to promote our ideals. The cards in the game of life are given to us. We do not select them. They are traced to our past Karma but we can call as we please, lead what suit we will, and as we play, we gain or lose. And there is freedom."<sup>14</sup> The deterministic view of life is not

<sup>13</sup> I. 203-268.

<sup>14</sup> *Hindu View of Life*

peculiar to India. Sophocles had announced his view in the past that Moira, dark fate, held power over gods and men alike, and he was supported later by Zeno. In our own times Thomas Hardy has presented man as helpless in the clutches of circumstance while Anatole France lamented the slavery of intellect and the futility of life.

Reinach defines religion as "a sum of scruples which impede the free exercise of our faculties." Others see it in the light of psychology and anthropology to be a function of human nature—rather a complicated function, sometimes very valuable and more often a bar to individual and social progress but no more and no less a function of human nature than fighting or falling in love, than law or literature. Cultured people in Europe are now in favour of a religion of scientific humanism and are anxious to emancipate the world from belief in the divine control of a unitary being in order to vivify and enrich life. Pleading for a non-theistic religion Julian Huxley writes: "Theistic religion inevitably culminates in some form of monotheism and the combination in one God of the ideas of perfection and of unity with the attribution of moral qualities and other attributes of personality has inevitably, it would seem, a cramping effect. There is an oppression lurking in unity, a paralysis of life in logical perfection." Sir M. Stratton, in his interesting book, *The Psychology of the Religious Life*, has admirably expressed this weakness of monotheism. "The monotheist," he writes, "is apt to overprize the mere unity in his ideal, forgetful that unity, if it grew too great, is tyrannous. Indeed more than once in history a divine unity and concord has been attained at a cost of human colour and the rich play of interest and feeling. The ideal is not merely a unity, it is quite as much a wealth and diversity."<sup>15</sup>

Such a wealth and diversity are pre-eminently exhibited in the medieval art of India and Kaśmīr. If we would appreciate the past we should transport ourselves for a while to the middle ages. Religious fervour then found outward expression in the construction of temples, churches and mosques in different parts of the world. In that age in Kaśmīr Cosmic Force, the animating principle of Indian Pantheism, was worshipped under the name of Śiva. A very profound philosophy

<sup>15</sup> *What dare I think?* (1932). pp. 253-54.

known as Kaśmīrī Śivaism had developed since the 9th century which inspired the artist-sculptor as well as poet to represent Śiva as the symbol of the eternal process of destruction and creation; Śiva was Bhairava (Terrible) and also Kāla (Time, Destroyer). He was at the same time instinct with love. This allegory was expressed in iconography by the body of Śiva (Ardha Nārīśvara—the lord who is semi-feminine) in which Śiva is united with his consort Pārvatī, the right hand side of the body being of the male sex and the left hand side being of the female sex. Pārvatī, literally the Maid of the Mountain, is the Śakti or Energy of Śiva personified under a feminine form and united with him. Thus we see depicted in art the varied aspects of the destructive and generative Energy as the union of the male and female forms. M. Grousset observes: "There is a profound symbolism in this, whose philosophic import we should be careful not to misinterpret, for it shows us the god of destruction as one and the same with the creative principle, the act of death as the source of generative power."<sup>16</sup> Śiva, the King of Dancers (Natarāja), maintains the equilibrium between Life and Death which is represented by his dance of cosmic rhythm (Tāṇḍava). The Swedish Doctor Axel Munthe in his remarkable book, the *Story of San Michele*, has expressed himself like a Kaśmīrī. He writes: "I have not been watching during all these years the battle between Life and Death without getting to know something of the two combatants. When I first saw Death at work in the hospital wards, it was a mere wrestling match between the two. A mere child's play compared with what I saw later. I saw Him at Naples killing more than a thousand people a day before my very eyes. I saw Him at Messina burying over one hundred thousand men, women, and children under the falling houses in a single minute. Later on I saw Him at Verdun, His arms red with blood to the elbows, slaughtering four hundred thousand men and mowing down the flower of a whole army on the plains of Flanders and of the Somme. It is only since I have seen Him operating on a large scale that I have begun to understand the tactics of the warfare. It is a fascinating study full of mystery and contradictions. It all seems at first a bewildering chaos, a blind meaningless slaughter full of confusion and blunders. At one moment Life brandishing a

<sup>16</sup> *Civilization of the East*, Vol. II India, p. 189.

new weapon in its hand advances victoriously, only to retire the next moment, defeated by triumphant Death. It is not so. The battle is regulated in its minutest details by an immutable law of equilibrium between Life and Death. Wherever the equilibrium is upset by some accidental cause, be it pestilence, earthquake or war, vigilant Nature sets to work at once to readjust the balance, to call forth new beings to take the place of the fallen. Compelled by the irresistible force of a Natural Law men and women fall in each other's arms blindfolded by lust, unaware that it is Death who presides over their mating, his aphrodisiac in one hand, his narcotic in the other. Death the Giver of Life, The Slayer of Life, the beginning and the end."<sup>17</sup> This is the allegory and mystery of life to which in the first verse of each new canto Kalhana makes a reference.

Kalhana repeatedly refers to Providence or Destiny. Everything seemed to happen as if the whole wanted to pursue its way by fits and starts. Human actions projected in every direction by the force of interest, passion or crime appeared to cancel each other or to become lost in nothingness. Perhaps Kalhana's reason led him to agree with the critical philosophy of Nāgārjuna, the Kant of Buddhist Kāśmīr, when he writes: "To begin with there is nothing, certain it is that hereafter there is nothing, during the interval, by chance, he reacts swiftly to the controlling states of pleasure and pain. Like an actor, without head and feet, having acted his part repeatedly a particular living being disappears behind the screen of existence—nor do we know where he goes."<sup>18</sup> Yet Kalhana was not a dilettante of chaos nor one who found a bitter consolation in contemplating ultimate incoherence. Kalhana's view is that, the world is not always everything one could desire but from its directionless seething, the zigzag efforts and wisps of disorder, the ideal of every epoch finally emerges. He thus often alludes to Pralaya, the deluge at the end of the Kalpa. M. Grousset says: "Perhaps the old Indian tradition of the Kalpa does indeed correspond to the hidden nature of things. Periodically, humanity, after an infinite number of gropings, creates itself, realizes the purposes of its existence in one brief and rare moment of success, then destroys itself, loses itself once more, in an all-too-slow process of dissolution."<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> p. 173<sup>18</sup> VII. 173x.<sup>19</sup> *In the Foot-steps of the Buddha.*

Every generation must rewrite history. New facts become available and old facts are interpreted anew. In the last century, several new standpoints have been adopted and in particular the attempt has been made to interpret history in terms of economics. The search for authentic records has led to the development of archaeology which reaches back to the origin of writing from pictures in Egypt and Mesopotamia and India. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the Cuneiform script in which the languages of ancient Mesopotamia were inscribed on clay tablets was deciphered. A study of that record proves that the history taught to-day in schools and universities in Europe may be reliable in detail, but as a whole has been quite misleading. The origins of European culture are traced back, on the one hand, to the Greeks and the Romans who are said to have gradually built up a complete civilization with a highly developed literature, art and law from rude beginnings, on the other, to the Jews who, it is said, evolved most of the religious and ethical ideas which predominate in Europe to-day. The truth is rather different. The curtain rises at Ur and other cities of the land called Sumer in Southern Mesopotamia about 3500 B C and reveals a fully developed civilization. 4500 years ago Southern Mesopotamia was a great deal more civilized than is half the world to-day. There was also a civilization in the valley of the Indus of which so far we know little as the writing on clay tablets has not yet been deciphered. The civilizations of ancient India and that of Mesopotamia had perhaps a common origin and in any case they must have been in contact.

One of Marx's doctrines is that, if we know how production is organised in a society, we know the most important thing about it and can deduce even its philosophical and religious system to a large extent. Russian biologists are studying not only the domesticated animals and plants of to-day, but their ancestors which were the means of production in primitive societies. Thus the clue to the spot where civilization began comes from an entirely unexpected source, namely plant genetics. Civilization is based not only on men but on animals and plants. It needs a cultivable plant giving high yields of storable food, an animal to carry loads, carts and ploughs and a plant or animal source of fibres. The old world civilization was based on cereals, wheat, barley and rice and the elephant, the horse, the cow and sheep. Hence, if it is possible to determine where

cereals and cattle were first domesticated, we could go a long way towards tracing civilization to its source. This task has been undertaken by Vivilov and other Russian scientists. In the case of wheat, the results are fairly clear. There are two distinct groups of wheat. One centre is in Abyssinia, the other, from which the more important group of wheats is derived, in or near South Eastern Afghanistan. The former is taken to be the original home of the agriculture which led up to Egyptian civilization, the latter the source of Indian and Mesopotamian wheats and of the more important varieties grown in Europe and North America to-day. A great many other cultivated plants seem to have originated in one or the other of these centres; rye; carrots, turnips and some type of beans, lentils, flax and cotton are said to be of Afghan origin. At present the archaeology of these regions is practically untouched save by the French Archaeological Mission, but the results of excavations, especially in the Afghan area, are likely to be of extreme interest.

Kalhana places the opening scene of his long story in Gandhāra (E. Afghanistan). Gandhāra, as we know from the Rg-Veda and the Avestā, was the meeting ground of the Indo-Aryans and the Iranians. This contact in comparatively recent times during the Achaemenid period, preceding the invasion of Alexander the Great, was more intimate. For, several centuries after the Greek invasion, Gandhāra was the home of Graeco-Buddhist culture in which the Iranians participated. We owe a debt of gratitude to the eminent French archaeologists, M. Foucher, M. Barthoux and M. Hackin through whose labours we now possess a most interesting record. The French Archaeological Delegation excavated the Buddhist sites in Afghanistan and have collected valuable specimens of Graeco-Buddhist sculpture which had, during several centuries, influenced the art of Kāśmīr, Central Asia and the far East. These interesting finds are now safely lodged in the Musée Guimet at Paris and are invaluable aids for the proper study of early Kāśmīrī art. Eastern Afghanistan-Udyāna (the garden land of India) was the home of the grammarians, scholars and philosophers of India and since the period of Aśoka it had been the birth-place of some of the greatest Buddhist thinkers and doctors. Kalhana had inherited a culture the Buddhist background of which was intimately connected with Gandhāra. King Meghavāhana of Kāśmīr, the apostle of non-violence,

Kalhana tells us, came from Gandhāra.<sup>20</sup> The first three cantos reveal the deep influence on Kalhana's mind of Buddhism; its Franciscan pity and tenderness cling to his verses dealing with non-violence and charity. For the Master, whose birthday is still observed by the Kāśmīrī Brahmans as a holy day, had said: "There is a sacrifice that is easier than milk, than oil and honey; it is alms-giving. Instead of slaughtering animals let them go free. May they find grass, water and cool breezes."

Kalhana tells us that he began his work in the Śaka year 1070 corresponding to the year 4224 of the Laukika era (1148 A.C.)<sup>21</sup> and he finished it in the year 4225 (1149 A.C.).<sup>22</sup> He was not concerned with the origin of civilization. He had a definite task to do and he relied upon the early chronicles which were extant in his day to ascertain the dates of the ancient Kāśmīrī rulers. He begins from about 1184 B.C. with Gonanda III but he refers to an earlier period of 1266 years preceding 1184 B.C. during which, according to tradition, fifty-two kings had ruled but of whom all record was lost. He contents himself with enumerating such of the fifty-two pre-historic kings as he could and gives an account of the early kings in the manner of a Kavi. He, however, carefully avoids giving any dates until he could do so with certainty and accuracy. Thus the first three cantos contain no dates. Kalhana begins to give exact dates for the events recorded in the poem from verse 703 of the fourth canto; the first date is the year 3889 of the Laukika era (813-14 A.C.). There can be no doubt that Kalhana's history after this date is a faithful and accurate record and the defective chronology of the ancient period is due to the errors of the early chroniclers. He was a keen archaeologist, a lover of art and sculpture and of the ancient temples and monuments of his country. He tells us that he had consulted the early chronicles, biographies and inscriptions, royal grants and charters and corrected errors. Kalhana tells us that he was an eye-witness of the events which occurred in the spring of 1121 A.C. during the reign of Sussala in Śrinagar.<sup>23</sup> The narrative of the events in the last Taraṅga reads as if they had been accurately seen, genuinely felt and fairly recorded. There is a delightful touch of humour<sup>24</sup> in Kalhana which he shares in common with the Kāśmīrī authors in Sanskrit. It is not easy

<sup>20</sup> II. 145-46

<sup>21</sup> I. 32

<sup>22</sup> VIII 3404.

<sup>23</sup> VIII 941.

<sup>24</sup> VIII. 1881-1892



to find the truth in history. Madame l'Histoire est toujours tâchée. It is therefore interesting to note that he defines his ideal historian as follows:

"That man of merit alone deserves praise whose language, like that of a judge, in recounting the events of the past has discarded bias as well as prejudice."<sup>25</sup>

Kalhana wrote when both the East and the West alike were in the clutches of the feudal system. The men of strong breed conquered and lorded peoples leaving the economic fight against Nature to others whom in due course they plundered and subdued. The world was then divided into what Spengler calls the "beasts of prey and the herbivores." Indeed if we are to believe him, the same state of things continues to our own times. For he says: "There is a natural distinction of grade between men born to command and men born to service, between the leaders and the led of life. The existence of the distinction is a plain fact and in healthy periods and by healthy peoples it is admitted (even if unwillingly) by everyone. In the centuries of decadence, the majority force themselves to deny or ignore it, but the very insistence on the formula that 'all men are equal' shows that there is something here that has to be explained away."<sup>26</sup> Kalhana wrote centuries before the Industrial Revolution and Technocracy; before even the invention of gun-powder and the printing-press. Life was not complicated as it is now and the problems of government not so complex although his contemporary rulers found them difficult enough. He had not heard of the advocacy of the rights of man nor the denunciation of monarchy, but he says many things about them in his strictures and caricatures of kings and priests, their morals and methods.<sup>27</sup> He tells us in the colophon that he was the son of a minister of state and it is certain that he had not known want and had never worked for a living. But his heart goes out to the poor and down-trodden; he reveals his sympathy for the under-dog, denounces forced labour<sup>28</sup> and expresses his horror of the slave trade of the Mlecchas (Barbarians).<sup>29</sup> As a historian his tendency is, however, toward humanistic studies and toward art rather than toward economic life although descriptions of famine, food prices, taxation,

<sup>25</sup> I 7.

<sup>26</sup> V. 172-174.

<sup>27</sup> *Man and Technics*, p. 67 (1932)

<sup>28</sup> IV, 397.

<sup>29</sup> V. 172-174, VIII. 2509-13.

currency and other details of economic life are not lacking in his work. History, according to him, was not something to learn, but something to make people live and understand life. He gives both sides of all questions and points out the faults as well as the virtues of the kings and other characters whom he describes. Further, his observations show that the achievements of the great are merely answers to certain big needs in society and that success was only possible because the time was ripe. Hence he does not cover up the faults of the state, an individual ruler or group of men. In his history there are no heroes or heroines and the few persons who might be so described are only functionaries of certain groups and have not been too much emphasized; indeed whether we love them or not for their virtues, it is their vices which make them unforgettable. Another trait in Kalhana, which is modern, is his freedom from narrow nationalism. He pays a tribute of admiration to the brave men of Bengal who travelled all the way up to Kāśmīr and avenged, at the cost of their lives, the death of their king who had been treacherously murdered at Trigrāmi.<sup>30</sup>

Medieval history, inferior as it is in many ways to modern history in interest has, however, this great advantage over it that it can be studied in its entirety; we have the whole drama before us, we are not in the middle of the third act merely guessing at the dénouement as is our case with modern history. The picture drawn by Kalhana of the political and social life in Kāśmīr is not unlike Finlay's picture of the Byzantine Empire minus the slaves and eunuchs. Up to the middle ages, when Aryan rule came to an end with the defeat of Prthvī Rāj Chauhān of Delhi—about half a century after Kalhana wrote his poem—slavery had not existed in India in spite of a socio-religious system of which the natural inequality of man seemed to be the pivot. The law of the Āryas prohibited slavery and the injunction had already been emphasized in the *Arthaśāstra*—an authoritative work on political science of the 4th century B.C.<sup>31</sup> The condition of the common people disclosed in Kalhana's poem was, however, not far removed from serfdom as they were crushed by the eternal strife between the kings and the feudal barons on the one hand, and on the other, by the tyranny of the bureaucrats (Kāyastha) and fiscal

<sup>30</sup> IV. 322-330.

<sup>31</sup> Vide Note IV 197.

extortion. Bureaucratic tyranny and extortion, the twin demons, had similarly destroyed Hellas and Roman Society in the last century of the Western Empire. The Romans called the common people proletarian from a word applied by them to the poor citizens who could only serve the state by producing children (Proles). It is interesting to note that the words used by Kalhana for the mass of the people are "jana" or "janatā" which are in current use to-day, and possibly are derived from the Sanskrit "jan" to be born. The condition of the common people in Kaśmīr under Lalitāditya and strong rulers like him apparently did not differ in essential respects from serfdom. The machiavelian principle of government recommended by that king in the eighth century was as follows:

"Action should be taken repeatedly so that the people in the villages should not possess grain for consumption and bullocks for the area of the fields in excess of annual requirements." "For, if they were to have excessive wealth, they might become very terrible Dāmaras in a single year able to violate the authority of the king."<sup>32</sup> While the courtiers had "fried meats" and "delightful light wine cooled with ice and perfumed with flowers,"<sup>33</sup> the food of the common people was, as it still remains, rice and hākh (Sanskrit Śāka).<sup>31</sup>

Neither caste nor birth was, however, a bar to the holding of any civil or military posts. The Domba and the Brahman were alike soldiers and indeed some of the bravest warriors, generals and expert swordsmen were Brahmans<sup>35</sup>—a state of things we see repeated later during the national revival in the Maratha period.

Kalhana's poem proves that the ancient system of the Aryans in India who, like the Ionic and Doric races and the Lacedaemonians, recognised the freedom of women prevailed up to the 12th century. There is no word in the Sanskrit language for Purdah ("screening" of women from the gaze of men) or for harem or seraglio. The ruling princes had plurality of wives who resided in the Antah-pura (Interior Apartments) or the Śuddhānta (Pure Interior). As in the earlier age of the classical drama and literature, we find from Kalhana's work that seclusion or veiling of women was unknown even among royalty. The queens of Kaśmīr, pursuant to the ancient law and convention, were sprinkled with the sacred waters of the coronation

<sup>32</sup> IV. 347-48

<sup>33</sup> VIII. 1866-67.

<sup>34</sup> V. 49

<sup>35</sup> VIII. 1071, 1345, 2319-2330, 2518.

side by side with the kings, who shared the throne with their consorts. The queens had separate funds, their own treasurers and councillors and were actively interested in the government of the country. They received the homage of feudatory chiefs when they held open court.<sup>36</sup> Inter-caste marriages are mentioned<sup>37</sup> and a princess of the blood royal was given in marriage to the Brahman superintendent of a convent.<sup>38</sup> The best of the Kāśmīrī rulers, Candrāpīḍa and his brother Lalitāditya, the ablest warrior king, were, according to Kalhaṇa, the king's sons by a "divorcée," a Baniyā woman of Rohtak near Delhi,<sup>39</sup> while the mother of another warrior-king Śaṅkaravarman was the daughter of a low-caste spirit-distiller.<sup>40</sup> Even Untouchability was no bar. Perhaps in Kāśmīr it had lost its sting during the dominance of Buddhism or the Kāśmīrī kings had cosmopolitan tastes like the Turks of Central Asia and their brethren in India.<sup>41</sup> King Cakravarman (923-933 A.C.) married an Untouchable Domba woman and made her "the premier queen who enjoyed the privilege among royal ladies of being fanned by the Yak-tail."<sup>42</sup> Kalhaṇa relates that she entered the sacred temple of Viṣṇu, Rāṇasvāmin near Śrīnagar to which, followed by the feudatories, she paid a visit in state. Her relatives were appointed ministers. "Being block-heads some of the Śvapākas did not act as councillors but others who were worldly-wise administered state affairs like ministers." Kalhaṇa adds that "an order issuing from the mouth of the Dombas, who were proud of their status as members of the king's family, became like a royal command difficult to transgress and was not transgressed by anyone." Kalhaṇa tells us that those, who had actively supported this marriage and banqueted with the queen, were ministers of subsequent kings also. The horror of association with the Untouchables, which Kalhaṇa expresses two centuries later, must have been a subsequent growth. In the time of Cakravarman and in that of his successors including the high caste Yaśaskara no such antipathy apparently existed.<sup>43</sup> Matrimonial alliances of the king and the ruling family took place in the ordinary course with the feudal barons

<sup>36</sup> VIII. 3303.

<sup>37</sup> VIII. 2043 and Note.

<sup>38</sup> VII. 11-12.

<sup>39</sup> IV. 15-42.

<sup>40</sup> V. 206.

<sup>41</sup> There is an old Turkish proverb—  
"God made man in different races but  
woman of one race only."

<sup>42</sup> V. 387.

<sup>43</sup> VI. 69.

(Dāmaras).<sup>44</sup> The status of a Dāmara was one to which a subject of any caste could raise himself through wealth and influence.<sup>45</sup> The ruling house of Kaśmīr formed matrimonial alliances with the ruling families not only in India and on the border, but also with the Turf dynasty of Kabul. Kalhana mentions the Indo-Scythian Emperor Kaniška, the Clovis of Buddhist India, as one of the kings of Kaśmīr. He correctly describes him and Huška, Juska and the others Turuška<sup>46</sup> (Sanskṛta for Turks). The foundations of this pre-Buddhist Emperor in Kaśmīr are mentioned by Kalhana. In the middle of the seventh century, Hsüan-Tsang together with his travelling companion Prajñākara from Balkh put up in the monastery near Kabul, which had been built by Kaniška as a residence for Chinese princes who were his hostages. The learned pilgrim found that the king of Kabul was a Buddhist Turk who, in common with all princes on the Indo-Iranian frontier of Mongolo-Turkish origin, claimed descent from the Emperor Kaniška. Buddhism was gradually replaced by Hinduism in Afghanistan as in Kaśmīr and Nepal. Turkish kings of Kabul adhered for seven centuries to the title of Emperor Kaniška, Śāhi-na-Śāhi (king of kings) and called themselves the kings of the Śāhi dynasty. It was not until some of the Turks had accepted the religion of Arabia that the Hindu Turks of Kaśmīr were forced to part with the districts of Kabul and Lampāka (Lamghan) by the Muslim Turk Sabaktagin; the kingdom of the Śāhi, which extended into the Punjab, was finally destroyed by Sabaktagin's son Mahmud, the Conqueror. Kalhana calls him Hammīra which is the Sanskrit form of Amir, a title which the Turk had assumed in defiance of the Arabian Khalif at Baghdad. An account of the quarrel between the settled Turks and the nomad Turks is given as an episode by Kalhana.<sup>47</sup> Mahmud's victory was swift and decisive. The page of Kalhana's passionate Kaśmīrī nature speaks through the verses which are written with a pen of fire. The kings of Kaśmīr had for generations formed matrimonial alliances with the Turf dynasty of Kabul and the famous queen Diddā—the prototype of empress Catherine of Russia—was a grand-daughter of the Śāhi. After the destruction of their kingdom, we learn from Kalhana that the Turkish Śāhi princes took refuge in Kaśmīr where they

<sup>44</sup> VIII. 459-60, 2953.

<sup>45</sup> VII. 494 sqq.

<sup>46</sup> I. 168-170.

<sup>47</sup> VII. 47-69.

became ministers and generals and continued to intermarry with the ruling family of Kaśmīr up to the time of Kalhana.

It is interesting to pursue for a while the history of these remarkable people, the Turks and Tartars who ruled in India as Buddhists and Hindus, during the first thousand years of the Christian era. Wave after wave of the people of Central Asia and Tartary, when their country became arid, had passed east and west. One such wave got as far north as the Baltic where they are known as the Finns. They were converted rather late to Christianity but when the Reformation came they accepted Protestantism like their neighbours. In these days, they are well-known for their modern tendencies, woman suffrage, socialism and the like. Another wave arrived in the valley of the Danube and formed themselves into a nation now known as the Hungarians. In that region, they were converted to Western Christianity and living on the border of the area conquered by the Counter-Reformation most of the Magyars have remained Catholics. A third wave of the Tartars went as far as the Balkans and like all their neighbours became converts to Greek Christianity. Their cousins, the Turks, who founded a great empire living in a part of the world where nearly all had become Moslems, also became Moslems. After losing the last province of their empire, they have decided to set up a secular state with democratic forms like the nations who won the last Great War. The Tartars, who stayed in Tartary, are both Moslems and Buddhists and they might before long become communists and equal partners in the Union of Socialistic Soviet Republics. The Mongolo-Turks ruled in India for a while under Arabian names but they have done so for a much longer period as the Kṣatriya rajahs, whose descendants are the Ruling Princes of India.<sup>48</sup> In some of their states, even at the present time one may get a glimpse of the world of the proud Rājaputras described by Kalhana. Count Keyserling observes: "It is a delight to wander through this rose-tinted town. How splendid these Rajputs look! Life in Jaipur is conducted no differently from that at the courts of rulers in the heroic age, as Vālmīki has described it in the *Rāmāyana*. The world of the Rajput is indeed medieval, so much so that no boy whose ideas have been formulated by the novels of Fouqué, would

<sup>48</sup> V. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd Ed., p. 322; *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III. Ch. XX.

be disappointed by its reality. In Jaipur they do not ride but gallop; all the arts of knighthood are practised; only knightly virtues matter knights alone count. Here that excessive one-sidedness predominates which alone leads to the production of strong and enduring forms. It is undoubtedly better if the forces of heredity are over rather than under-estimated. There are no more noble types than these Rajputs; the best-bred herds are rarely as perfect and as evenly beautiful as this race. How paltry do the bearers of our oldest names, the oldest of which date only from yesterday compared with those of India, appear by the side of any Rajput! We are here concerned with the greatest triumph of human breeding that I know of; it is simply unheard of that the result of centuries, if not of thousands of years even of the wisest inbreeding, satisfy the highest demands so that there is no evidence of degeneration."<sup>49</sup> It would thus appear that the religion of a people is a matter of geography, while their national characteristics and social and moral developments are due to their history.

Kāśmīr must have been in close touch with the Turks of Central Asia during the centuries when Buddhism was their national religion. The Chinese pilgrim Ou-K'ong who reached Kāśmīr in 759 A.C. has left us an account of his visit. During the four years of his stay in Kāśmīr, he took the vow of a monk and studied Saṃskṛta. He mentions that there were three hundred Buddhist convents in Kāśmīr which shows that in the 8th century Buddhism was in a more flourishing condition than in the preceding century, when the "Master of the Law" Hsüan-tsang had visited Kāśmīr. Among the Kāśmīr Vihāras mentioned by Ou-K'ong are foundations of the royal families of the Turks; he also mentions "the monastery of the general". The Chinese for general is Tsiang-Kiun, a well-known title according to Professor Sylvain Lévi, of which the Saṃskṛta transcription was Caṅkuṇa. Thus was the name of king Lalitāditya's prime minister, who, according to Kalhana, was a Tuḥkhāra<sup>50</sup> and who in the 8th century built the Caṅkuṇa Vihāra which was restored by the lady Sussalā, the pious wife of a minister, in Kalhana's time.<sup>51</sup> Caṅkuṇa, who was a devout Buddhist, had begged the king to give him as a mark of royal favour the statue of Buddha which had been brought

<sup>49</sup> *Travel Diary of a Philosopher*, Vol. I. p. 187.

<sup>50</sup> IV. 211.

<sup>51</sup> IV. 215; VIII. 2415.

from Magadha (Behar) on the back of an elephant. We may be sure that the statue coveted by Caṅkura was, like the Buddha of Sāranātha or the Buddha of the Mathurā Museum, a perfect piece of art. Kalhana, who saw it in the Vihāra of Caṅkura four and half centuries later, says: "In his Vihāra he then installed the Blessed One who shines in lovely bronze as if he were dressed in ochre-brown garments."<sup>52</sup> The country of Tuhkhāra<sup>53</sup> (Tokharistan) situated between the country of the Altai Turks and north-west China was at that time inhabited by a population which like that of Kaśmīr was European in type. Their language Tuhkharish was not Turko-Mongol. Recent discoveries show that the people were Buddhists; the upper classes were deeply imbued with Saṁskṛta culture and that hundreds of monks were engaged in translating Saṁskṛta books into Tuhkharish. Remarkable like the find of Saṁskṛta manuscripts by M. Pelliot, the German explorers and scholars, Doctor Von Le Coq and Doctor Grunwedel have recently discovered magnificent stucco-work and frescoes of the seventh century in the ancient Tuhkhāra country. The majority of the finds come from Turfān and the frescoes representing Buddhas in the manner of the Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra and paintings representing secular life are now lodged in the Museum für Völkerkunde in Berlin. Turfān and Kuchā were the centres of Indian culture and Saṁskṛta learning. The Tuhkharan paintings depict the aristocracy of Kuchā elegantly dressed in straight "frock-coats" which are drawn in at the waist by a belt and which widen out as they fall over the knees. The Buddhist lords of Kuchā, donors or suppliants at the altar, appear as steel-clad warriors. The dress of the knights described by Kalhana is also the long "frock-coat" held at the waist by the *Virapaṭṭa* (the hero's-band). The terra-cotta tiles of Hārvaṇ in Kaśmīr (third century A.C.) depict knights on horse-back, with bow and quiver of arrows, wearing long "frock-coats" with the fluttering edges of the "*Virapaṭṭa*" as described by Kalhana. The tile-paved courtyard of Hārvaṇ is extremely interesting on account of the portraits of ethnic types which are Central Asian as well as the style of dress and ornaments of the men and women of that age. Some of the figures and attitudes are Pompeian, a few of the women appear to be in Greek dress while others are dressed in

<sup>52</sup> IV. 262.

<sup>53</sup> App. D.



Central Asian style which is still the dress of the Hindu woman of the Pañjāb. The Hārvaṇ tiles also show the Kuṇḍala or large ear-ornament<sup>54</sup> often referred to by Kalhana.

The women of Kaśmīr have been famous for their loveliness; Marco Polo had heard of their beauty in Cential Asia, but the first European who has left us an account of it is the Frenchman Bernier. He writes: "The people of Kachemire are proverbial for their complexions and fine forms. They are well made as the Europeans, and their faces have neither the Tartar flat nose nor the small pig eyes that distinguish the natives of Kacheguer, and which generally mark those of Great Tibet. The women especially are very handsome; it is from this country that nearly every individual, when first admitted to the court of the Great Mogol, selects wives or concubines, that his children may be whiter than the Indians and pass for genuine Mogols."<sup>55</sup> To see handsome women was not at that time easy for the Kaśmīrīs converted to Islām had adopted the Purdah and Bernier had to pose as a young Persian in search of a bride! In Kalhana's history, however, we find that women had already emerged from the domestic into the political stage, were free, owned immovable property,<sup>56</sup> managed their own estates and even fought at the head of their troops.<sup>57</sup> One of these brave ladies has, curiously enough, the ancient Iranian name of Sillā.<sup>58</sup> Buddhism, no doubt, accounted for the superior status of women which they still retain wherever Buddhism survives as in Burmah, Kaśmīr state and its neighbouring hills. Kalhana's views on the relationship between the sexes are not the least interesting part of his book. He discloses the deep influence of Buddhism on his mind in the story of the love-affair of the princess Anangalekhā.<sup>59</sup> The faithless wife of Alanikāra, a rebel commandant of a fort, had been communicating the secret plans of the husband to her lover in the besieging royal force. Kalhana writes thus about the rebel commander: "Alanikāracakra was forgiving and realizing that in the maintenance of a firm friendship was happiness he had learnt to overlook; he did not bear her a grudge for the fault like the Bodhisattva who feels no anger even towards a sinner."<sup>60</sup> Kalhana,

<sup>54</sup> VIII. 2835.

<sup>55</sup> Bernier, p. 390.

<sup>56</sup> VIII. 272, 1130, 3115.

<sup>57</sup> VIII. 1137

<sup>58</sup> VIII. 1069, App. E

<sup>59</sup> III. 484-525.

<sup>60</sup> VIII. 2571-2575.

when he wrote his poem, must have been in the half-way house of life with wide experience of men and women. His references to monogamy<sup>61</sup> show his admiration of the ancient Aryan and Brahmanical ideal which the people of India, barring the ruling princes, have recognized since the age of the hero of the *Rāmāyana*.

The history of Kaśmīr helps us to trace the growth of what has been called Sati. Sati (Sk. Anugamana—following to death) grew out of a custom of the Scytho-Tartars, among whom it was usual for vassals and liegemen upon the death of their lord to kill themselves. The custom survived during the age of chivalry in Kaśmīr for several centuries as it apparently still does among the Japanese. A woman of quality gave up her life for the sake of a principle of honour. A knight was expected to die fighting and his lady and vassals to remain true to the traditions of Ksatriya chivalry. The honourable end was the one thing which could not be taken from a person of high birth.<sup>62</sup> In course of time, the custom, which at first was confined to the martial invaders, spread among the higher classes—like the Purdah. Anugamana was denounced as futile by Bāṇa in the seventh century in his novel the *Kādambarī*. It is interesting to note that the first king who made his best effort to suppress Sati was Akbar, the descendant of the people from whom India had borrowed the custom in the past. The Kaśmīrī kings, like the Śāhis of Kabul, were probably Aryanised Turks and disregarded the Aryan rules of marriage; king Sussala chose a bride and accepted her younger sister as his daughter-in-law, and king Jayasimha gave his two daughters, one to the Khaśa chief of Rājapuri and the other to that chief's son!<sup>63</sup>

Monarchy in the Vedic period, according to the view of German scholars, was elective;<sup>64</sup> it became hereditary in the epic age. Kalhaṇa's history shows the kingship in Kaśmīr to be elective in the early stages. At the end of the fifth Taraṅga, there is an interesting account of the election of the king as a result of which Yaśaskara (939-948 A.C.) ascended the throne. The history of hereditary monarchy is the history of mediocrity, the Kaśmīrī kings were controlled and exhibited by powerful individuals or cliques "as are snakes by snake-charmers"

<sup>61</sup> VIII. 1916, 2342.

<sup>62</sup> Atha maraṇam avāśyam eva jantoh/  
Kṛmīṇi mudhā malināṇi yaśah kṛiyeta  
"Since a living being must inevitably//

die, why then allow honour to be  
sullied in van!"

<sup>63</sup> VIII. 459, 1648, 3394.

<sup>64</sup> See Note VII. 703.

for their own benefit.<sup>65</sup> Political factions won the support of the military organisations<sup>66</sup> the Tantrin, the Praetorians of Kaśmīr, or the Ekāṅga, the gendarmes, who supported the royal authority and, like the Tantrin, guarded the palace and the king's person. Church and state worked hand in hand; in cases of difference, the priests resorted to hunger-strike in a body as a powerful political weapon to remove or oppose an obnoxious minister, or measure of policy or in defence of the country. The kings and the royal family founded Buddhist Stūpas and Vihāras and the same time the temples of the gods including the sun-god. It is not unlikely that Iranian influence may have penetrated to Kaśmīr just as it had spread to Rome and to the remote corners of Central Asia. The sun was worshipped by the Iranians as well as by other peoples like the Aztecs and the Incas. According to Mr. Bertrand Russell, there is reason to think that the doctrines of Zarathustra, the holy prophet of Persia, had inspired Kepler's heliocentric cosmogony. In any case, we know that the Turko-Mongol Akbar was influenced by Zarathustra and offered prayers to the sun. In India the Vedic Aryans had also worshipped the sun and the founding of sun-temples continued in various parts of India of which the temple of Sūrya in Orissa built in the 13th century is a fine example. Sun temples were built in Kaśmīr at different times such as the temple of Jayasvāmin and Mārtaṇḍa. The latter built after the Arabs had overrun Persia could hardly be ascribed to Iranian influence. Like the iconoclast kings of Byzantium, Kaśmīr also produced her Iconoclast in Harṣa whom Kalhaṇa, perhaps recalling the vandalism of Mahmud, compares to a Turuṣka.<sup>67</sup> Kalhaṇa's poem is not merely a collection of old legends and myths like the *Shahnameh* of Firdausi. It is invaluable for fixing many dates in Indian history and above all the dates of many scholars who wrote literary and philosophical works. The brains of its people are the best assets of a country and Kalhaṇa has taken pains to record the names of authors, poets and playwrights<sup>68</sup> as well as to trace through several generations the histories of families who served the state. Kalhaṇa was a Brahman. Abu-l-Fazl, the chronicler of Akbar, thus describes the Kaśmīrī Brahmins.<sup>69</sup> "The Brahman class is very nume-

<sup>65</sup> V. 338; VIII. 3028

<sup>66</sup> V. 248 249.

<sup>67</sup> VII. 1095.

<sup>68</sup> App.-F

<sup>69</sup> *Am-i-Akbari* (Jarrett's Translation), Vol. II. p. 351.

rous Although Kāśmīr has a dialect of its own, their learned books are in the Sanskrit language. They have a separate character which they use for manuscript work and they write chiefly on *tuz* which is the bark of a tree. The majority of the narrow-minded conservatives of blind tradition are Sunnis, and there are some Imams and Nurbakshis, who are perpetually at strife with each other. They are chiefly from Persia and Turkistan. The most respectable class in this country is that of the Brahmans who, notwithstanding their need of freedom from the bonds of tradition and custom, are true worshippers of God. They do not loosen the tongue of calumny against those not of their faith, nor beg, nor importune. They employ themselves in planting fruit trees, and are generally a source of benefit to the people." Some of the celebrated families mentioned by Kalhana, such as the Rājānaka (Rāzdān) and Kāka (Kāk), have survived, they are the inheritors of their ancient culture and they still keep the torch of learning alight in Kāśmīr.

Towards the end of the eighth Taraṅga, Kalhana gives a sketch of the private life of the contemporary king Jayasīma, the queen Raddā Devī and their charming little children. He concludes the poem with a verse comparing to the swift current of the Godāvarī, the river of the Dekhan, his own *River of Kings*—the title which he had already mentioned in the Prologue. And so ends the saga of Kāśmīr.

Kalhana knew that everything withered with age and decayed in time, only the artist could seize the passing form and stamp it in a mould that resists mortality—

All things pass, strong art alone  
Can know eternity;  
The marble bust outlives the state,  
And the austere medallion  
Which some toiler finds  
Under the earth  
Preserves the emperor.

Even the gods must die;  
But sovereign poetry  
Remains,  
Stronger than death.

Gautier

DISTRICT JAIL, BAREILLY  
March 26, 1933

E

# RIVER OF KINGS

## FIRST TARĀṄGA

*Aum - Hail to Śrī Gaṇeśa—a salutation*

To Śiva charming with the collective iridescence of jewels on the heads of snakes which adorn him—a salutation; in him who is like the wishing tree of paradise are absorbed those who have been liberated. I

Notes explanatory of the text which appeared to be necessary have been given here though it would have been easy to allow the text to bristle with footnotes and references. In the earlier Tarangas there is not a verse but would have clamoured for them and the letter-press would have been swallowed by a mass of comment. Short archaeological references to finds in Kaśmīr since 1900, when Sir A. Stein published his translation, are made and a bibliography is added which, it is hoped, will be found useful.

The poem opens with a salutation to Gaṇeśa, the patron of learning, whose assistance it is customary to seek for the successful achievement of a literary undertaking. A delightful description of Gaṇeśa is given by M. René Grousset, conservator and lecturer at the Musée Guimet of Paris, as follows:

"Gaṇeśa with his head and trunk and one tusk (the other having been broken in a mythological adventure) and his cunning little eyes and round belly, is accompanied by his crony rat, as sly as himself who, in case of need, carries him on its back, he has as his attributes the goad (*ankuśa*) and the rosary (*akṣamālā*) and is one of the most popular figures in India. Uniting in himself, as he does, the nature of the two most intelligent creatures in creation—man and the elephant—it was natural that he should have become the god of men of letters.

We may add that he is remarkably fond of good cheer—which is hardly likely to make him unpopular with the wits. And, finally, to put the finishing touch to his prepossessing character, he is able in case of need to combine the greatest kindness—for there is no deity more benevolent—with a remarkable steadfastness, in battle."

Śrī—when applied to the gods, the temples, monasteries, etc. means holy or blessed, in the case of kings and princes it would mean His Majesty or His Highness. The term is ancient. The Peshwas used it in the form 'Shrūmant' (His Highness) for themselves which is still in use among the princes and ruling chiefs of the Dekhan. In recent times the Indian National Congress has made the use of this term popular, Śrīyuta and Śrīmatī ("endowed with Śrī") have now replaced the English Mr and Mrs or Miss respectively.

I In obedience to the canon of Indian Poetics the opening verse of the first and of each successive Tarāṅga contains an invocation to the deity. Kalhana gives us a picture in terms of Indian art and legend of the diametrically opposite principles which combine to make unity in Nature and which under the name of Śiva inspired a living faith in abnegation, love, charity, tenderness. Śiva, "the kindly," is mentioned in the Vedas. He begins as Rudra, the god of the whirlwind and untamed forces of Nature, until in the

Her forehead is marked with saffron, pendant from the ear she wears sportively a cluster of earrings for display, the beauty of her white throat has the semblance of the ocean-born conch, the bosom is garbed in a faultless brassière, his forehead is marked with the fiery

course of centuries Śiva philosophy develops and all the gods are absorbed in Śiva in a grand monism which replaces Indian polytheism as well as the ethical philosophy of Buddha. Śiva is portrayed as an ascetic with braided curls, smeared with ashes. His garment is the tiger-skin. Visuka the serpent emblem of eternal wisdom is round his neck—he carries a garland of skulls and haunts charnel-houses and cemeteries, in his matted hair he carries the Ganga on his forehead he wears the crescent-moon. During the churning of the sea by the gods and the Titans the devastating poison Halāhala was cast up. As a supreme act of self-sacrifice Śiva swallowed the deadly poison which scorched his white throat and indelibly marked it blue since when he acquired the epithet of Nīlkantha or Blue-throat. The malevolent dwarf Muṣṣaka was at one time instigated by heretics, Śiva subdued him and made him an attendant.

Śiva has four arms in the two upper ones he holds the tambourine (dhakṛā) and the antelope (mṛga), the two lower ones represent the Mudras or gestures of granting a favour (Varada hasta) and freedom from menace (Abhaya hasta). Śiva has a third eye in the middle of the forehead, the flame from which reduced to ashes Kama, the god of Love, who, with the help of his friend and ally, the god of Spring, had endeavoured to disturb Śiva's austerities by shooting at him with flower-arrows. Kama, the immortal god did not perish but consumed in the mighty flame he has since been without a body (Amṛga) and continues to live in the minds of created beings. Kama's purpose was achieved the wedding of Śiva and Pārvatī took place and their offspring Kumāra the war-god, defeated the Asuras the powers of darkness, and saved the Devas, the slaying

ones. Thus Hari or Śiva, the destroyer of love, became the best of lovers. In the words of Bhartṛhari, ex-lang and poet 'Unique among lovers is radiant Hari who bears in the half of his body his beloved.' Referring to this allegory M. Grousset observes 'On turning from Buddhist poetry and morality so pure and gentle that the heart at once goes out to them we are perhaps a little taken aback by this Hindu polytheism with its confused innumerable throng of contradictory forms. But in the philosophy of Śivaism its apparent fancifulness falls into some order and takes on a metaphysical significance which is, in its way, as noble and elevated as that of Buddhism itself and perhaps even richer. It is a grand and profound doctrine, which will remind us of certain aspects of the theories of Nietzsche, for it, too, transcends both good and evil being higher than both and going beyond optimism and pessimism alike. It contains a pessimism that is in some sort heroic—for the god dances on corpses among charnel-houses but it contains an optimism as well, a pitiless and inhuman optimism—or superhuman, if we prefer so to call it, for out of all this destruction is born and perpetuated a fearful joy, the joy of matter eternally renewed.'

In the middle ages Śivaism inspired the grand sculpture of the Dekhan, dancing (Tandava referred to in V 381) and classical Sanskrit poetry were also inspired by the same transcendental philosophy.

The Kṛṣṇī view of life is to live in tune with and at death to attain, Sanyujā or communion with the Infinite Śiva "the kindly," has in addition to the Saṃhara-mūrti (destructive aspect) also the Anugraha-mūrti (beneficent aspect) which is here referred to. The tree of paradise is the Kalpa-tree (Wishing-tree).

flame, close to the ear he carries a collection of snakes who playfully open their mouths, the lustre of his throat gleams white despite the nuance of the ocean-born poison, the chest has for armour the lord of the snakes, may the part of Śiva, half of whom is united with his wife, be for your glory whether it is the left or the right 2

Worthy of homage is the indescribable insight of a gifted poet which excels the stream of ambrosia since through it is achieved a permanent embodiment of glory by the poet and others as well 3 *Prologue*

Who else is capable of making vivid before one's eyes pictures of a bygone age barring the poet and the Creator who create naturally delightful productions? 4

Were he not to have the awareness, through intuition, of existences which he is about to reveal to everyone what other indication would there be of the divine perception of the poet? 5

Although owing to the exigency of the length of the narrative a variety of events have not been set down in detail, there should still be in this poem enough material for the delectation of the rightminded 6

That man of merit alone deserves praise whose language, like that of a judge, in recounting the events of the past has discarded bias as well as prejudice 7

2 There is a double entendre in this verse. The right half of Śiva is male the left half is female and all the attributes thus have two meanings which have been separately translated.

3 Pratibha is a technical term in Sanskrit Poetics and means genius or instinctive gift of poetry. The Germans know it as Unendlichkeit or infinitude. Through Pratibha immortality is conferred on those whom the poet describes. It is thus superior to ambrosia which confers immortality only on those who possess it, but not on others. "The expression body" is used to justify the comparison implied here and expressed in the next verse, of poets to Brahmadeva or Prajapati who produces our bodies. The author does not mean that in being compared to Prajapati poets who write about kings and their doings make history out of nothing but that they resemble Prajapati in giving beautiful shape to well-known facts just as the latter creates

material bodies with matter already existing in the world."

—S P Pandit Introduction to *Gaudai alio*  
4-5 Kavi = the poet-seer. It is interesting to compare with these verses a passage from Carlyle. He says 'In the older languages Vates meant poet and prophet. But now I say whoever may forget this divine mystery, the Vates whether prophet or poet has penetrated into it. Is a man sent hither to make it impressively known to us. That always is his message, he is to reveal that to us, that sacred mystery which he, more than others, lives ever present with. While others forget it he knows it. I might say he has been driven to know it, without consent asked of him, he finds himself living in it, bound to live in it. Once more, here is no Hearsay, but a direct insight and Belief: whosoever may live in the shows of things it is for him a necessity of nature to live in the very fact of things.' —*Hero as Poet*

7 The standard which Kāthana sets to

Without hearkening to the reason why the theme, which has been treated already by our predecessors, has once again been dealt with, will not be fair on the part of the discriminate to turn away the faces.

When they, who had pieced together the history of the kings, came one as he saw it, had gone to their rest, what kind of skill is it on the part of those born in later times that they should add to the narrative. Hence my endeavour will be in this narrative of past events to repeat by all manner of means where there is error. 9-

The voluminous works in fragments containing the early history of the kings were epitomized in Suvrata's composition so that they may be remembered.

The style of Suvrata being irksome, owing to the fault of pedantry in his composition, although it has acquired celebrity, is lacking in the art of the exposition of the theme.

While owing to an incomprehensible lack of care in the work Kṣemendra, known as the List of Kings, even a portion is not free from error, although it is the composition of a poet.

himself is that of the *Śreya*, the judge. Book III of the *Arthaśāstra* deals with the constitution of the civil and criminal courts, the judges, and their duty to be, among other things, strictly impartial. For lack of impartiality and other failure of duty three kinds of punishments are prescribed, see under 'Sāhasani'. *Arthaśāstra*. Bk. III.

"This gives as good a definition of an honest chronicler as we could wish for, even in our own age of historical accuracy" —S P Pandit

9-10. *Nrpa*—literally "protector of humanity" is the king. In the English translation the word king occurs and nauseam; in the original, however, there are scores of different ways of expressing the same idea, e.g. lord of the land—the earth—of men and protector, ruler, chief of the land, etc. There are unnumerable words in Sanskrit for land, men, earth, ruler, etc. The earlier translators erred in using the word 'king' for all kinds of rulers including petty chiefs of the hill states.

There is nothing more beautiful or interesting than the truth or at least

the effort one is able to make towards the truth. The author is determined to resist the temptation to enhance the marvel of reality by adding marvel that may be attractive but not true. 11. Suvrata Dr. Bühler says "Suvrata apparently wrote a handbook of history of Kaśmīr to be committed to memory in the schools which as usual in India caused the loss of the many ancient books on the subject"

13. Kṣemendra. According to Pan Madhusudan Kaul who has edited *Deśapadeśa* and *Narmanālā* (Kasi Series of Texts and Studies) the author Kṣemendra lived in the period 990-1000 A.D. Kṣemendra was of weak parentage, well educated, and he travelled extensively abroad. Although he was born within the fold of Śiva he had been drawn towards the V. nava faith owing to his studies with Soma Bhāgavata. His unbiassed mind led him to the study of Buddhism which he esteemed very highly. A number of his works have survived the list of which is given by Pandit M Kaul. The *Narmanālā* is a remarkable work in the Sanskrit language in



Moreover, eleven works of former savants containing the annals of royalty have been scrutinised by me as well as the views of the Sage Nila. 14

By the inspection of ordinances of former kings relating to religious foundations and grants, laudatory inscriptions as well as written records, all wearisome error has been set at rest. 15

style of Voltaire Ksemendra is bitterly satirical about the government officials of his day (Kayastha), but with regard to the numerous other caricatures and scenes from the daily life of the period, his sarcasm is much less bitter and often Addisonian. He tells us that he was the first person to render into Sanskrit, the work of Gunadhya, the *Bṛhat-kathā*, or Great Story which was in the Pisaca dialect. This work composed in ancient Pushto in the first century of the Christian era must have rivalled the *Mahabharata* as it is stated to have consisted of 1,00,000 Ślokas. Bhatta Somadeva, a younger contemporary of Ksemendra, translated into Sanskrit Gunadhya's work at the request of the queen Sūryamati who became a Sati in 1081 A.D. The Kāśmīrī version is now famous as the *Kathā-sarit-sāgara* which has been translated into numerous modern languages. One of Ksemendra's strikingly original poems which is extant is the *Samaya-matrakā* describing the rakish progress of a courtesan throughout the Kāśmīr valley. The various scenes of the courtesan Kankali's thrilling adventures can all be easily traced on the map. Ksemendra was a lover and patron of the stage and a frequent play-goer. Kāśmīr remained the refuge of the Indian theatre after it had ceased to exist in India. In his work, the *Kavī-kantīabharana*, Ksemendra advises aspirants to poetic fame to improve their taste by the study of current theatrical representations. At the end of his book, *The Sanskrit Drama*, Prof. A. B. Keith referring to this work of Ksemendra adds "doubtless the Mahomedan conquest seriously affected the vogue of the classical drama, which was obnoxious" to the Mahomedan rulers "as being closely identified both with the national religion and the

national spirit of India. The kings, who had been the main support of the actors and poets alike, disappeared from their throne or suffered reverses in fortune. The tradition of dramatic performances gradually vanished" (p. 371).

14 See verses 28, 182, 183, below. The work referred to is the *Nīlāmatapurāṇa*, the Sanskrit text of which has been edited by Prof. Kanjīlal and Pandit J. D. Zadoo, Punjab Sanskrit Series 1924. Nīla is the patron saint of Kāśmīr.

'That Kalhana did not, in giving the account that he has given in his *Taranginī*, draw upon his imagination but upon ancient traditions, is shown by the fact that the Si-yu-hi or The Memoirs of Hiouen-Tsang relates, on the authority of ancient Sanskrit books which he translated, substantially the same story as Kalhana does about two facts in the history of Kāśmīr, viz. 1st, the fact, that that country which was once the bed of a vast lake, came to be miraculously reclaimed, that a race of dragons possessed the lake as its presiding spirits and that even when the lake was turned into the kingdom of Kāśmīr the dragons (Nagas) continued to be its guardian spirits, and 2nd, that Mihirakula was a cruel king who was a great enemy of Buddhism, and who acquired a notoriety for killing people, whether offending or not, men women and children. See *Rajataranginī*, I 25-31, 291-329. M. Stanislas Julien's *Memoirs de Hiouen-Tsang*, Vol. II pp. 169-170, and 190-197.'

—S. P. Pandit.

15 On the terms Śāsana, Prāśastipatta and Śāstra the following able note will be of interest.

"When kings are installed and crowned, edicts are issued for the purpose of announcing the fact, or for

Fifty-two kings had, through lack of tradition, passed into oblivion, out of these have been discovered by me from the Nilamata the four, namely Gonanda and others.

16

remitting certain taxes and imposts, or for stopping certain practices, such as the slaughter of animals for sacrifice or food, or for declaring certain rules of policy which the king crowned will follow, or granting funds and allowances to temples, monasteries or to individuals. These would be called *Pratishtha Shasan*. Besides these there are others, such as those inscribed on temples and other public buildings erected during their reigns by them or by private individuals, on copperplate grants made by them at other times than that of their coronations, on stone, wood and metal or household goods such as ornamental plates and salvers, on which the names of donors, especially if patronized by or connected with the court of the king have inscriptions engraved containing the name of the king and possibly those of one or two of his ancestors, his date, etc. These are the inscriptions which Kallhana refers to as *Purābhāratavastu Shasanam Prashasti Patta*. A *Patta* is a piece of cloth to print a picture upon, also on which the names and deeds of one's ancestors are eulogistically described. As the astrologer has his scroll containing events of the past and of the future year, which he reads in every family and in every temple on the new year's day (*Chaitra Sudi 1*), so the *Charita* or *Bhata*, or court bard, has his scroll of the king's ancestors, in which their names, their great and valorous deeds, their renowned virtues and their victories, are poetically described. The scrolls are sometimes read by the bard to the family circle and, their friends on certain household occasions such as the *Shraddha* marriages, etc. These are what the author calls *Prashasti Patta*, a term which subsequently came to be applied to short poetical or prose works, even when written on paper instead of on scrolls of cloth, and even when they were incorporated in long inscriptions engraved on stone slabs. The latter are also, perhaps,

included in the signification here of the term. The practice of court or hereditary or professional bards reading to their masters or patrons the eulogistic accounts of their forefathers contained in their books and written by their (the bards) ancestors from generation to generation on festive occasions, is still in vogue in western India. These poets are technically called '*Vahvan-chas*', that is to say, readers of *Valus* or manuscript books.

*Shastra*. This has been supposed to be a difficult expression. Lassen takes it to mean books on Law, *Dharmashastras*, while Professor Bühler says 'The *Shastras* are the works on the various sciences, or, to use a short expression, the Manuscripts of Sanskrit books, which in Kashmir mostly give at the end some information regarding the author, together with the date.' Hiouen-Thsang, when speaking of Buddhist literature, especially in connection with the synods held by Kanishka and Ashoka, uses the word somewhat freely, as *Abhidharma-shastra*, etc. pretty much in the way we may use *Siddhanta*, or *Nibandha*. But it is certain that Kallhana uses the term neither in the sense indicated by Lassen, nor that suggested by Professor Bühler nor that in which it is found used in Hiouen-Thsang. His sense of the term must be as definite as that of *shasan* and *Prashastipatta*, and the word as a name must refer to a literature, and so it does. It means memoirs of renowned personages, or biographical works, historical sketches of the lives of famous persons, which we usually call '*Charitas*'. In this definite sense the word is actually used by Jain writers. See *Prabhāṅka-charita*, at the close of the memoir of *Vṛiddhaviḍi* and *Siddhaseṇa*, VIII 79."

—S. P. Pandit

16 "It appears from this that in Kallhana's time the tradition was current that records of the prehistoric fifty-two kings had once existed, but that they

Formerly by the Brahman Helārāja, a professing Pāśupata, a work had been composed called *Pārthivāvali*, containing twelve thousand verses. Padmanuhira, having studied his work, adopted in his own composition the list of eight kings, Lava and his successors who preceded Aśoka and others. 17-18

Also the five kings, beginning with Aśoka, whom the illustrious Chavillākara mentions, they are from among the fifty-two, for his verse is as follows. 19

"From Aśoka to Abhumanyu the five, who have been enumerated as kings, were taken from the very fifty-two by the ancients." 20

This saga which is properly made up should be useful for kings as a stimulant or as a sedative, like a physic, according to time and place. 21

had been lost. When in stanza 45 the author says that no poets had celebrated the doings of those kings, he is not apparently to be understood literally, as is shown by the particle *Dhruvam* 'as if'. In the following lines also the poet repeats that the records had been lost, not that they never existed."

—S P Pandit  
17 Helārāja Kāśmīrī author of the *Vakyapadiya*. His age is uncertain he lived in the 9th or 10th century. Pāśupata—one of the Śaiva sects who identify Isvara, the Supreme Ruler, with Śiva (Paśupati) whom they believe to be the creator and ruler of the world but not its material cause. With the Sāṅkhyas they admit the notion of a plastic material cause (*Pradhāna*) while they follow Patañjali in affirming the existence of a supreme God. It is interesting to note that Pāśupati is still the patron deity of the independent Hindu Kingdom of Nepal.

*Dvijanmā*=literally twice-born—a Brahman. The initiation of a Brahman like the ceremony of Baptism is considered a second birth. In ancient Greece in the cult of Dionysus the initiate was called "twice-born."

19 Chavillākara. Nothing is known about him. "Do these lines not warrant a suspicion that, like some of us, Kālhana would have desired to place within the historical period two or three of those kings whom we call historical. Ashoka, Jalauka, Damodara, Kanushka

(with Hushka and Jushka), and Abhumanyu and whom Kālhana also seems to have regarded in the same light, because he places them immediately before the historical period, but that he placed them before the historical period on the authority, quoted, of Sri-Chavillākara? If so, it is not Kālhana, but his predecessors who are responsible for assigning to a period before Gonanda III, the king, of whom alone we know anything from independent sources." —S P Pandit  
21 Kātha has been translated literally as the Saga (compare the Teutonic sagan to story). According to the ancient Indian view of medicine a drug may be stimulative or sedative according to the season—Kāl, as well as the country or place—Desa, where it is administered.

Prof. Bühler thus translated this verse "This narrative (of mine) which is arranged in proper order and resembles a medicine is useful for increasing as well as diminishing the (statement of previous writers regarding), kings, place and time." Sir A. Stein's note on this is as follows "The context does not seem to me to necessitate this interpretation which would place an awkward and unnecessary confession in the mouth of the author. However much the views and aims of a Hindu Kavi may differ from the standards of critical history, we can scarcely expect him to boast of the

And in any case what man of culture is there, to whose heart such a connected narrative dealing with innumerable incidents of the remote past will not appeal?

22

liberties he may have taken with the records of earlier authors" Sir A. Stein's translation, which is also erroneous, is as follows

"This narrative (of mine), which is properly arranged and which resembles a medicine, is useful where the (accounts regarding the) place and time of kings are fluctuating (lit. growing and diminishing)"

The real meaning of the verse is that the poem should prove useful to kings in prosperity and in adversity in different ages and countries since it contains many tales which, like a correctly dispensed medicine, are capable of soothing or stimulating. This was pointed out by Mr. S. P. Pandit as early as 1888. He observes "But nothing has hitherto been adduced which shows that Kalhana shortened or lengthened the years of a single king simply to suit a system of dates which he had adopted, not because it was correct, but because it was convenient or conventional. I make this statement because he has actually been charged with having done so, and having purposely done so, and indeed to have written his *Rājataranginī* for the purpose of enabling any of his readers also to do the same. As the charge has been preferred by one, for whose opinions I have the highest and sincerest respect, it is not without the greatest hesitation and reluctance that I have here ventured to suggest that there are no facts to support the charge. Professor Buhler says

'As regards the use of the contents of the *Rājataranginī* for the history of Kashmir and of India a great deal remains to be done for the earlier portion, up to the beginning of the Karkota dynasty. Kalhana's chronology of the Gonandīya dynasties is, as Professor Wilson, Professor Lassen and General Cunningham have pointed out, valueless. An author, who connects the history of his country with the imaginary date of a legendary event, like the coronation of Yudhishtira, and boasts

that his narrative resembles a medicine and is useful for increasing and diminishing the (statements of previous writers regarding) kings, place, and time, must always be sharply controlled and deserves no credit whatever in those portions of his work, where his narrative shows any suspicious figures or facts.'

'Kalhana's meaning is very different. He does not boast that his work is useful for lengthening or shortening the periods of the Kashmirian kings or the statements about their times or territories, but only that it will be useful in furnishing a medicine in the shape of much consolatory and instructive matter—events and sayings to cure any kings who shall hereafter suffer from the disease of the pride and arrogance of prosperity, or the disease of grief at the loss of territory or the adversity of their times. If the insolence of success and prosperity should make them over-bearing, the end of Narī Iśtas Kinnari, of Mihirakula, or of Yudhishtira the Blind will teach them a lesson. If they are depressed with grief at the loss of territory or by the adversity of their subjects' wisdom, hope and consolation will be afforded by the story of the restoration of the Gonandīya in the person of Meghavihāna or of Pravarasena II, (who succeeded to the heritage of his father after Matrigupta), or by the story of Jyā and Jyāpīdī, or by the story of the famine brought on by snow-storms in the time of Tunjina, the son of Jihauka. I have shown my translation to several native scholars, and I am assured that no other sense is possible. I lay stress upon the proper meaning of the couplet being understood, not because I wish to prove—what nobody can prove—that Kalhana in no case misused his materials, but because if the couplet is misinterpreted as proposed it will throw discredit upon the whole of whatever of the historical there is in the *Rājataranginī*. Already such an eminent scholar as Prof. Max Müller,

And when he has finished contemplating the ephemeral duration of the spark in living beings, may he record a finding that the crowning sentiment of this poem is the inner poise. 23

Now, gentle friend! drink freely, your ears serving as the mother of pearl glasses, of this River of Kings delightful with the flow of its sustained sentiment. 24

Once upon a time there was the lake of Sati; and from the beginning of the Kalpas the land in the womb of the Himalayas was filled with waters during the intervening period of six Manus. 25

has adopted the translation of my honoured friend Dr. Bühler, and endorsed the view that Kalhana's ideas of history are shown by that couplet, viz. that he could write an elaborate poem of more than eight thousand couplets, in order that scholars might afterwards lengthen or shorten the statements of Kashmirian chroniclers regarding kings, place and time, just as it might please them or as they might find it necessary." —S. P. Pandit.

The original Samskr̥ta text of Śloka 21 is as follows

"Iyam nr̥pānām ullāse hr̥ase vā deśa-kālayoh Bhaiṣajya-bhūtasamvādi Kathā yuktāpayujyate" which Mr. S. P. Pandit construed as follows: "Deśa-kālayoho ullāse hr̥ase vā sātī iyam rājataranginī bhaiṣajya-bhūta samvādi Katha yuktā sātī nr̥pānām upayujyate." This lengthy note will illustrate the gravity and nature of the errors occasionally committed by learned European scholars. In this translation which is not intended primarily for the learned fraternity it will serve no useful purpose hereafter to discuss in detail the numerous errors of previous translators.

23 According to the *Kāvya-prakāśa* of the Kāśmīrī rhetorician Mammata a poem has eight Rasas or sentiments. He adds the Śānta sentiment and brings up the total number to nine. According to Viśvanātha the Rasa or sentiment constitutes the very essence of poetry. *Vākyaṃ Rasātmakam Kāvyaṃ (Śāntya-darpana 3)*. The Śānta Rasa is the sentiment of quietism or the inner poise. The Indians like the Chinese concentrated on the cultivation of a peaceful mind.

24. K. tries to see human existence as a whole, from the time we are born—we know not why—until the wheel on which we are bound comes full circle in death. He thus likens Life to a river flowing from an unknown source. Kalhana, like Heraclitus, regarded Life as a continuity and the atoms of the flowing river conveyed this sense of unity and continuity to the ancient Indians and the Greeks.

K. hoped that his poem would be recited like the great Epics in time to come. Mother of pearl glasses for drinking wine must have been in use among the people in his day. In Taranga V. verse 369 there is a reference to jewelled glasses for liqueur, which were used by the nobility. Bernier speaks of Tibetan jade presented to Aurangzeb in Kāśmīr, which was "in great estimation in the court of the Mogol, its colour is greenish, with white veins, and it is so hard as to be wrought only with diamond powder. Cups and vases are made of this stone. I have some of the most exquisite workmanship, inlaid with strings of gold, and enriched with precious stones."

25-26 Bernier writes, "The histories of the ancient kings of Kachenire maintain that the whole of this country was in former times one vast lake and that an outlet for the waters was opened by a certain pīre, aged saint, Kacheb (Persian for Kāśyapa) who miraculously cut the mountain of Baramoule. I am certainly not disposed to deny that this region was once covered with water; the same thing is reported of Thessaly and of other countries; but I cannot easily persuade myself

Now when the present period of Vaivasvata Manu had come, the Prajāpati Kaśyapa induced the gods Druhiṇa, Upendra, Rudra and others to descend and, having caused Jalodbhava, who resided in it, to be slain, founded, upon the site of the lake, the kingdom of Kaśmīr. 26-27

It is the territory which is under the protection of Nīla, supreme lord of all the Nāgas, whose parasol is the swelling Nīla Kuṇḍa with the flowing waters of the Vitastā for its staff. 28

Where Pārvatī, who adores Guha and whose copious milk is drunk by the elephant-faced Gaṇeśa, although she has converted herself into the Vitastā, which turns her face towards low-lying lands and whose

that the opening in question was the work of man, for the mountain is very lofty. I rather imagine that the mountain sank in some subterranean cavern, which was disclosed by a violent earthquake not uncommon in these countries" Bernier's theory has a great deal in its favour. Kalhana frequently refers to earthquakes. Severe earthquakes in Kaśmīr are recorded in 1552 and 1680. Vigne, who visited Kaśmīr in 1835, mentions that 12,000 houses were destroyed and 1000 persons perished in the earthquake of 26th June 1828. On 30th May 1885, there was a severe shock when the focus of destruction was near Baramulla. Three-fourths of the houses in that town were totally wrecked, the shock was felt over an area of 500 square miles and in all 20,000 houses were destroyed and 30,000 cattle and 3,000 human beings perished.

27 The *Nilamata-purāṇa* gives the story of the demon Jalodbhava which literally means "he whose origin is water." According to modern geologists the valley of Kaśmīr was no doubt a vast lake in the remote past and that the climate of this Himalayan region must have been intensely cold. The legend of the Jalodbhava probably refers to icebergs. According to the old Kaśmīrī traditions the land was at one time too cold for human habitation during winter when it was in the grip of the Pisācas, the 'Powers of Darkness.' The kings during this time used to leave the country and resume

their rule when the Pisācas had left. See below verse 180 and Tarangī IV. 710 and VII. 1551.

28. The pool referred to is the Nīla Nāga, generally known as Vernāg, the magnificent spring at the foot of the Pass Bānaśālā (Banihal). According to the *Nilamata-purāṇa*, Nīla, the chief of all the tutelary Spring deities (Nāga) of Kaśmīr, was the son of the Sage Kaśyapa. By a stroke of Śiva's trident Pārvatī sprang from the earth as the river Vitastā (see IV. 301). Viṣṇu is also connected with this famous spring having first placed his ploughshare there to drain the Satīśaras. The pool originally must have been circular as it is compared to a parasol; its present octagonal shape is due to the construction of the stone basin by the Emperor Jahangir. Bernier tells us "Jehan-Guyre was so enamoured of this little kingdom as to make it the place of his favourite abode, and he often declared that he would rather be deprived of every other province of his mighty empire than lose Kachemire." The Emperor wrote in his *Memoirs* that he considered it bad taste to stretch a carpet on the green sward of the valley. Jahangir died while returning from Kaśmīr at Chungas near Rajauri and in his last moments he begged that he might be buried near the spring and gardens of Vernāg.

Vitastā is the Sanskrit name of the river Jhelam which is still used in Kaśmīr. The Portuguese priests who went to Kaśmīr with Akbar called it

abundant waters are drunk in mouthfuls by the Nāgas, does not abandon her natural impulse. 29

It is the resort of the Nāgas, prominent among whom are Śaṅkha and Padma, like the city of the Giver of Wealth, of the guardians of treasure. 30

It has, forsooth, stretched forth on their back its arms in the guise of its mountain ramparts for the safeguarding of the Nāgas who had approached from terror of Garuḍa. 31

Where, within the sanctuary of Pāpasūdana, those who touch the husband of Umā in wooden form secure for reward the pleasures of life and liberation. 32

Where, on a waterless hill, the goddess of Twilight is in possession of water which is the ocular demonstration of the presence of piety and the absence of sin. 33

Where the self-originating Fire, emerging from the womb of the Earth, accepts with many arms of flame the votive offering of the sacrificers. 34

Where the goddess Sarasvatī herself may be seen in the form of a swan in a lake on the peak of the Bheda mountain which is hallowed by the rise of the Gaṅgā. 35

Where in the shrine the residence of Śiva at Nandikṣetra are to be seen, to this day, the drops of the votive sandal emollient offered by the celestials. 36

Where by visiting the goddess Śārādā one gets in a moment to the river Madhumatī and the Sarasvatī adored by the poets. 37

Behat, a corruption of Vitastā The Vitastā was known to the ancient Greeks as the Bidaspes or Hydaspes. 29. There is in this verse a double entendre on the words Guha (1) ravine and (2) the war-god, son of Pārvatī Nāga-mukha=(1) mouths of the Nāgas and (2) the elephant-headed Gaṇeśa, the other son

30 The Nāgas—Śaṅkha and Padma are mentioned among the ancient tutelary deities of Kāśmīr in the *Nilamata-purāṇa* Kubera is the god of wealth. (See below verse 155)

32. Pāpasūdana This is a famous Kāśmīrī spring and place of pilgrimage near village Kother in Pargana Kuthar (Sk. Kapateśvara) This is the spring

referred to in Taraṅga VII. 190 which king Bhoja of Malwa enclosed with a stone-wall, the tradition of which still survives in Kāśmīr.

35. Sir A. Stein has traced this forgotten Tīrtha, at Budbrar in the hills west of Supīyan.

37. The shrine of the goddess Śārādā is situated on a hill above the junction of the Kushanganga stream with the Madhumatī The pilgrimage to Śārādā in ancient times must have attracted the devout from distant parts of India It was on the pretext of this pilgrimage that the warriors of Gauda (Bengal) secured entry into Kāśmīr in pursuit of their plan of revenge See IV. 325. See also VIII. 2492, 2556, 2706.

In that country adorned by Cakrabhrt, Vijayeśa, Ādikeśava and Īśān there is not even so much land as can be covered by a sesamum seed which is profane. 38

Such is Kāśmīr, the country which may be conquered by the force of spiritual merit but not by armed force; where the inhabitants in consequence fear more the next world; where there are hot baths in winter, comfortable landing places on the river-banks, where the rivers being free from aquatic animals are without peril, where, realizing that the land created by his father is unable to bear heat, the hot-rayed sun honours it by bearing himself with softness even in summer. Learning, high dwelling houses, saffron, iced water, grapes and the like — what is a commonplace there, is difficult to secure in paradise. 39-42

38 This famous temple of Viṣṇu, the holder of the discus (Cakrabhrt) was on the plateau now known as Tṣikḍar (Cakradhara) and is frequently mentioned in this poem (See I 261, IV 191, VIII 971 sqq) Vijayeśa, the shrine of Śiva, has been famous from remote antiquity. K mentions the restoration of the temple by the Emperor Aśoka (verse 105 below) It is now known to the Kāśmīrīs as Vijrōr and to the tourists as Bijbihara, the town owes its name to the famous temple which is situated there.

39-42 The hot baths in Kāśmīr were popular like the elaborate hot baths among the ancient Romans and Greeks. After the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks, the Greek baths came to be known as Turkish baths.

The Jesuit priest Pierre du Jarric has given an interesting account of Kāśmīr under Akbar as follows.

"The kingdom of Caxmir is one of the pleasantest and most beautiful countries to be found in the whole of India, we may even say in the East. It is completely surrounded by very high mountains which for the greater part of the year are covered with snow, and all the rest of the kingdom is a beautiful plain clothed in verdure, and well watered by springs and rivers. A very pleasant land for those who dwell therein. Owing to the mountains, the climate of the country

is somewhat cold, though it is more temperate than that of the kingdom of Rebat, which joins Caxmir on the east. In the month of May, great numbers of wild-duck come from the mountains of Rebat and settle in huge flocks on the streams which flow near to the town of Caxmir, the capital of the kingdom, because of the warmer climate. About three leagues from the town there is a lake of sweet water which, though not more than two leagues in circuit and half a league broad, is so deep that large vessels can float upon it. In the middle there is an artificial island on which the king has a palace, where he refreshes himself when he goes to shoot the duck, which abound on this lake. On the banks of a river, the waters of which flow through the lake, there is a species of very large tree the trunk and leaves of which resemble those of the chestnut, though it is quite a different tree. The wood is very dry, and has a grain like rippling water, it is much used for making small caskets and similar articles. The country abounds in wheat, rice and other food grains. They plant vines at the roots of the mulberry trees, so that grapes and mulberries are seen hanging from the same branches. People say that this kingdom was one of the most formidable in these parts, and that the Great Mogor would



In the three worlds the Earth, the producer of jewels, is worthy of praise and on it the North, the direction of the lord of wealth; there again the mountain, the father of Pārvatī, and within it, the country of Kāśmīr. 43

In Kāśmīr, the contemporaries of the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas — in the Kali era — up to Gonanda, fifty-two kings have passed into oblivion. 44

In that age, owing to the former misdeeds of those kings, surely no creative poets existed who could have embodied them in glory. 45

never have been able to subdue it but for the factions which existed amongst the inhabitants. Knowing that it was a kingdom divided against itself, he invaded it with a large army, and easily made himself master of it. Formerly all the people of this country were Gentiles; but about three hundred years ago they joined the sect of Mahomet, and the majority of them are now Saracens" (*Akbar and the Jesuits*, p. 75) For the summer of Kāśmīr see II 138, IV. 582

Kunkuma=saffron, from ancient times it has been the monopoly of Kāśmīr where it grows in certain areas chiefly Pāmpat (Padmapura), thus it is also known as Kāśmīraja. From Kuṅkuma is derived the word "Kunku" used for the mark on the forehead by the women of the Dekhan. Saffron (Arabic Za'faran) is a product manufactured from the dried stigmas and part of the style of the saffron crocus which is a cultivated form of *Crocus sativus*. The purple flower which blossoms in autumn is very similar to that of the common spring crocus and the stigmas which protrude from the perianth are of orange-red colour. In early Greek times it was a royal colour and from Kalhana's work we learn that in Kāśmīr, the native land of saffron, it was the privilege of royalty to use it as a scented salve or emollient. (Tarāṅga VI. 120, VIII 1897) As a perfume it was strewn in Greek halls, courts, and theatres and in the Roman baths. The streets of Rome, we are told, were sprinkled with saffron when Nero made his entry into the city. Saffron was used as an ingredient in Greek

medicine and cuisine and it continues to be so used in Kāśmīr. It is still mixed with rice by the Kāśmīrīs, the Persians and the people of Spain where the Arab conquerors first introduced its cultivation in 961 A.D. It is interesting to note that saffron was cultivated in England until the 18th century in a valley about 44 miles from London where the little town of Walden, whose characteristic industry was the culture of saffron, is still known as Saffron Walden. It is said that saffron was brought to England by a pilgrim from Tripoli, who hid a stolen corn in the hollow of his staff!

43. The father of Pārvatī, literally the Maid of the Mountain (Parvata), is the Himālaya.

45-47. These verses are famous wherever the Sanskrit language is known, the translation can give no idea of the melody of the words and the metre. Carlyle has said something very like this

"Yes, truly it is a great thing for a nation that it get an articulate voice, that it produce a man who will speak forth melodiously what the heart of it means! Italy, for example, poor Italy lies dismembered, scattered asunder, not appearing in any protocol, or treaty as a unity at all; yet the noble Italy is actually one. Italy produced its Dante—Italy can speak! The Czar of all the Russias he is strong, with so many bayonets, Cossacks and cannons and does a great feat in keeping such a tract of earth politically together, but he can not yet speak. Something great in him but it is a dumb greatness. He has had no view of genius to be heard of all men

Renowned kings, in the shelter of whose arms this Earth wearing the girdle of the oceans had rested as if in the shade of a forest and enjoyed peace and security from hostile attack, would not even be remembered without its favour — to the art of the poet which is sublime in its nature, we offer salutation. 46

Even those who, in the past, had rested their feet on the forehead of elephants, those too, who had acquired glory, in whose mansions resided young ladies who were like day-moons — those kings, the ornaments of the world, have been ignored by the people as if they had no existence even in dreams; O brother! the work of a gifted poet! why praise thee a hundredfold? Without thee the world were in darkness. 47

In the Kali era Gonanda and other kings ruled in Kāśmīr for twenty-two hundred sixty-eight years. Some have been deluded by the tradition that the Mahābhārata had taken place at the end of Dvāpara and have erroneously made this calculation of time. 48-49

When the number of years of the kings is calculated, the period of whose sovereignty is known, after deducting them, there is no remainder left of the period hitherto passed of Kali itself as follows: 50

and times. He must learn to speak. He is a great dumb monster hitherto. His cannons and Cossacks will have rusted into non-entity while that Dante's voice is still audible. The nation that has a Dante is bound together as no dumb Russia can be."

"Consider now, if they asked us, will you give up your Indian Empire or your Shakespear, you English; never have had any Indian Empire, or never have had any Shakespear? Really it were a grave question—official persons would answer doubtless in official language, but we, for our part too, should not be forced to answer; Indian Empire or no Indian Empire we can not do without Shakespear! Indian Empire will go, at any rate, some day, but this Shakespear does not go, he lasts for ever with us, we can not give up our Shakespear!"—*Here as poet.*

The ocean girdle of the earth is referred to in verse 115 below and repeated elsewhere. The arms of kings in Sāṁskṛta poetry are constantly referred to as being nightly like the trees or like pillars. See, e.g., verse 196 below.

48. See Appendix A for the chronology of Kalhana.

50-52. The Śaka era begins 78 years after the Christian era. K. commenced his work in the Śaka year 1070 which, according to him, corresponded with the year 4224 of the Laukika or Kāśmīrī era which is still current in Kāśmīr and the neighbouring hills. It is customary in India, in speaking of dates, to drop the centuries and K. throughout this poem mentions the dates without the centuries of the Laukika era. The Laukika era is also known as the Saptarṣi (The Great Bear) era.

K. calculates that no balance remained as follows —

Number of years of the Kaliyuga—4224.  
Regnal period from Gonanda I to Yudhishthira I.

(according to verse 48 above) . 2268

Regnal period of kings mentioned in Tarangas II-VIII.

(up to Śaka 1070) .. . . . 1328

Kali years up to the period of the Pāṇ-  
davis or Gonanda I

(see verse 51 above) . . . . . 653

4,249

When six hundred fifty-three years of Kali had elapsed there lived on the surface of the earth the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas. 51

Of the Laukika era in the twenty-fourth year at present one thousand seventy years of the Śaka era have gone by. 52

Roughly, commencing from Gonanda III, two thousand three hundred thirty autumns have now elapsed. 53

Twelve hundred sixty-six years is the duration of time which, it is believed, to be that of the fifty-two kings. 54

From one Nakṣatra to another, the Great Bear moves in a hundred years; such being its course, the author of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* has furnished a solution on this point. 55

The Great Bear stood in the constellation Maghā when king Yudhiṣṭhira ruled the earth; two thousand five hundred twenty-six years prior to the Śaka era was the epoch of his reign. 56

To the mighty Gonanda, king of Kāśmīr, the North, of which the dazzling Kailāsa is the snail and the tossing Gaṅgā the scarf, rendered homage. 57

Having abandoned Śeṣa, as if dreading his venom, the earth took refuge in the king's arms marked by the jewels sacred to Garuda. 58

The aid of this king having been sought by Jarāsaṃdhā he laid siege to Mathurā, the city of the enemy of Kāṃsa, with large forces. 59

When he pitched his camp on the banks of the Yamunā, he caused the fame of the warriors together with the jewels of the Yādava ladies to fade. 60

Alberuni says: "The era of the astronomers begins 587 years later than the Śaka-Kāla. On this era is based the canon *Khanda-Khādya* by Brahmagupta, which among Mahomedans is known as *Al-Arkand*. Common people in India date by the years of a centennium which they call *Samvatsara*. If a centennium is finished, they drop it, and simply begin to date by a new one. Those who use the Śaka era—the astronomers—begin the year with the month Caitra while the inhabitants of Kāśmīr which is continuous with Kashmir begin it with the month Bhādrapada. All the people, who inhabit the country between Bardarī and Mārīgala, begin the year with the month Kārttika and they count the guage year (year 400 of Yazdajird) as the 110th year of an era of

theirs. The author of the Kashmirian calendar maintains that the latter year corresponds to the sixth year of a new centennium and thus, indeed, is the usage of the people of Kashmir."—Vol. II p. 8. See Taranga IV 703 note.

55. The reference is to Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṃhitā* XII. 3. See VII-1720 note.

57. In Sanskrit poetry the smile is described as gleaming white, so are virtue and truth white and vice and untruth black. See e.g. verse 90 below.

58. The earth rests on the hood of the Hydryad, the lord of the snakes, Śeṣa. He is also called *Ananta* which means endless or infinite. Śeṣa is thus symbol of Infinity. Garuda ≈ Viṣṇu's emblem is the eagle, the enemy of the snakes, the emerald is the gem sacred to Garuda.

On one occasion, to save his army which was broken up on all sides, he who had the plough as the emblem on his banner encountered him fighting in battle. 61

During the combat of the two warriors of equal prowess having remained too long in the hand of the goddess of victory owing to the uncertainty of the issue, one might well ask if the triumphal garland had withered away! 62

Eventually, with his limbs wounded by weapons in the battlefield, the king of Kāśmīr embraced the earth while the Yādava king embraced the goddess of victory. 63

When that true Kṣatriya had gone the way which the very brave find it easy, his exalted son Dāmodara began to support the earth. 64

Although he had obtained a kingdom furnished in plenitude with life's enjoyments, that proud king brooding over the death of his father had not been at peace. 65

At this time the haughty king, whose arms were powerful like trees, heard that in the region of the Indus the Gāndhāras had made preparations for the Svayamvara of the princess, to which the Yādavas had been specially invited. 66

Then, when they were not far off, he marched against them with impetuosity so that the dust of his cavalry regiments swallowed up the vault of the heavens. 67

In that battle the bride, who was about to choose her bridegroom yearning, for the wedding languished while the heavenly damsels held a Svayamvara in the land of the Gāndhāras. 68

61 The brother of Kṛṣṇa was Balarāma. Sprung from the commoners he adopted the plough, the emblem of the toiling masses.

62 The goddess of victory confers the garland of victory on the winner. Vajrayantī—the garland of victory—is depicted in Indian art on the trunk of the royal elephant who, according to legend, elects the king.

The Vajrayantī motif is sculptured, with and without elephant heads, on the buildings at New Delhi.

64 There are repeated allusions in the poem to the conduct of a true Kṣatriya or knight and to the rules of Indian Chivalry.

66. Svayamvara—the ceremony where the bride chose her own groom. Ancient

literature is full of descriptions of princesses who chose the bridegroom from among the princes who came as suitors. Marriage by choice of the bride was one of the recognised forms of marriage sanctioned by the Smṛtis.

67. Dhvajmūli—literally standard bearing regiment; from Dhvaja=standard. Another interesting word is Pṛtīṇā which has been translated in this work as 'regiment.'

68. The heavenly maidens are the Apsarās. Apsarās are constantly referred to in this poem. We find them in poetry, in paintings, in the frescoes and ancient sculpture. Like their sisters the Valkyries of Scandinavian mythology they came in their celestial chariots to receive the slain warriors whom they carried away to heaven.

Then, surrounded by an array of his enemies, this brave king of kings went to heaven, in the battle, by way of the edge of the battle-disc of Kṛṣṇa. 69

His consort was at the time enceinte; the upholder of the House of Yadu, Kṛṣṇa got her, whose name was Yaśovatī, anointed queen by the Brahmans. 70 *Yaśovatī*

At this time his ministers, who were filled with covetousness were silenced by the destroyer of Madhu who pronounced the following verse from the Purāṇa. 71

"The land of Kaśmīr is Pārvatī; know its king to be part of Śiva; he should not be disregarded even if he be wicked by a wise man desirous of bliss" 72

The eyes of men which viewed womankind with scant courtesy, considering it as one of the objects of their pleasure, looked upon this mother of her subjects as if she were a goddess. 73

Then, in the due month, the queen gave birth to a son, possessing divine signs, who was the sprout on the dynastic tree burnt by fire. 74

The highest Brahmans performed for him the Jātakarma and other rites together with his coronation and incidental ceremonies. 75 *Gonanda II*

Together with royal dignity the infant king obtained the appellation of his grandfather Gonanda in due course. 76

There were two nurses in attendance upon the infant to bring him up; one was the wet-nurse, the Earth, the source of all prosperity, was the other. 77

69. This is an alliteration which cannot be reproduced in translation; Cakra-dhara or the holder of the Cakra (disc) is Kṛṣṇa, the eighth avatāra of Viṣṇu.

70. Abhiṣeka—the ceremony of coronation of the king, literally it means sprinkling and corresponds to the Biblical "anointing." The ceremony, in all its pristine splendour, is observed in actual practice to-day not only within India but abroad in Greater India where the culture of the mother-country still exercises a living influence. The rite of Rājyābhiṣeka in the manner described by K. in Taranga III, verse 528 has recently been performed by Brahmans in Nepal, Siam as well as on the head of the king of the Kambodians in French Indo-China.

71. The destroyer of Madhu is Kṛṣṇa.

72. Verse 237 of the *Nīlamata* is perhaps referred to. This refers to the divine right of kings. In K's own time the cutting of the king's head and uprooting of the images of the gods from the temples, which would formerly have been regarded as sacrilegious acts, had apparently become fait accompli. Vide Taranga VII, verse 1724. King Lalitāditya's last directions to the ministers to depose a king should he become too powerful (V 356-357) appear to have been faithfully followed in the succeeding generations.

74. The signs on the person of kings are said to have a special meaning attached to them.

In the endeavour to maintain that his favours should not be infructuous, his father's ministers distributed largesses among the bystanders even when he smiled without reason. 78

When they failed to act, being unable to understand the child's indistinct prattle, the officials considered themselves guilty of a crime. 79

When he occupied the lion-throne of the father, the yearning of the royal foot-stool was not satisfied by the boy-king owing to his dangling legs. 80

Placing him, whose side-locks were wavy with the fanning of the royal yak-tail, on the throne, the ministers hearkened to the law-suits of the subjects. 81

Thus the king of Kaśmīr, being in the state of minority, had not been invited as an ally in the war either by the Kauravas or the Pāṇḍavas. 82

Owing to a break in the traditional records, thirty-five kings who came after him, their names and acts having disappeared, have been submerged in the sea of oblivion. 83

Then Lava, the ornament of the land and a favourite of the goddess of victory, whose fluttering garment is glory, became king. 84

The din of his army which was enough to cause sleeplessness to the world, it was a wonder<sup>1</sup> consigned his enemies to a long slumber. 85

Having constructed eighty-four lakhs of stone-houses he founded the city of Lolor. 86

Having granted in Ledarī the Agrahāra of Levāra to a synod of Brahmins, that mighty armed king of irreproachable valour and glory ascended to heaven. 87

81. Kākapakṣa="crow's wings," the side-locks of little boys and youths among the Kṣatriyas. Even at the present day, the Aryan fashion of shaving the hair on the crown and leaving locks on either side of the head is found in Northern India and among the martial people of the Indian frontier. In Iran this fashion is known as 'Kakul.'

Cāmara is the bushy tail of the Tibetan animal, the Yak (*Bos Grunniens*), which is itself known as 'Cāmara.'

The Yak is a splendid beast, with short legs, low quarters, warmly clad in long hair and furnished with a bushy tail which serves him as a wind-screen; the herd always feeds with hind-quarters to the wind. The Yak will carry anything

that a horse can carry, climb almost anywhere that a goat can climb and cross a river with the ease of a hippopotamus. He is to the high-altitude nomad what the camel is to the low-lying Arab. The huge tail of the Yak together with the white parasol have formed insignias of Indian royalty from ancient times.

The king, the fountain of justice, with his ministers and learned Brahmins formed the highest court of appeal, called the Rājapramāṇi. Book I, *Arthasāstra*.

84. The goddess of victory is described in poetry and depicted in art with fluttering garments. There are repeated allusions to this in the poem.

87. Ledarī=the river Lidr. Pahlgam,

The lotus-eyed Kuśa, his son, skilled in exploits, who was the donor of the Agrahāra of Kuruhāra, came after him. 88

After him attained to the royal dignity his son, the destroyer of the hostile Nāga dynasty, the glorious Khagendra, a leader of men and the heaven of heroism. 89

He founded two principal Agrahāras of Khāgi and Khonamuṣa; in due course he went to the world, which he had purchased with his deeds, white like the smile of Śiva. 90

Thereafter his son, Surendra, of mesurable grandeur, who kept himself wide apart from sinfulness and whose way of life was wondrous, became king. 91

Since he bore a hundred grudges and was the breaker of the mountains, with this Surendra, who had calmed down anger and was the guardian of the mountains, the lord of the gods could bear no comparison. 92

Near the country of the Darads having built the city called Sauraka, the illustrious one founded a Vihāra called Narendra-bhavana. 93

In his own kingdom that philanthropic king of unbroken fame founded the Vihāra called Saurasa which was hallowed by works of piety. 94

That monarch having gone to his rest without progeny, king Godhara of a different dynasty succeeded him and bore the burden of the country magnificent with its mountains. 95

the popular tourist resort, is situated on the Ldr. Agrahāra=grant of land; a jagir.

89 Khagendra. see verses 97 and 99 and 197.

92. Indra, one of the heroes of the nature poetry of the Vedas, is the god of the thundering sky whom the ancient Aryans in India worshipped like their cousins, the people of Iran. He clips the wings of the mountains and destroys Ahi and Vṛtra, ravishers of the clouds and demons of drought. In later times he becomes "King Indra" and the idea of Indian kingship is derived from this epic Indra (with his Sabhā or assembly of the Suras or gods and bevy of Apsarās or celestial nymphs) who is for ever in conflict with the Asuras, the Titans.

Hence the Kṣatriya ruler was compared to Indra. In this verse there is a pun on Surendra which is the king's name and it also means Indra. Śata-manyu="he who performed a hundred sacrifices" and Gotrabhid="he who was the breaker of the mountains" refer to Indra. Śāntamanyu="he who has extinguished anger" and Gotra-rakṣin="the protector of the mountam" refer to the king.

93. Vihāra A Buddhist abbey or monastery. According to M. Foucher, in early times the Vihāra was the habitation of a single monk, the monastery was called Sanghārāma. The holy land of Magadha, home of Buddhism, was covered with Vihāras and has come to be known as Bihar.

Having gifted to the Brahmans the Agrahāra of Hastīśālā, Godhara, the noble-minded one, who had performed acts of piety, went to heaven. 96

His son named Suvarṇa then gave gold in charity to beggars; it was he who, in Kerala, provided the canal named Suvarṇamaṇi 97

His son Janaka was like a father to his subjects; he founded the Vihāra and Agrahāra called Jālorā. 98

Śacīnara, his illustrious son, like a terrestrial Indra, then protected the earth; he was of a forgiving nature and his authority was unchallenged. 99

This king was the founder of the royal Agrahāras of Śamāṅgāsā and Śanārā. He was without male issue when he became a sharer of the half throne of Indra. 100

The great grandson of Śakuni and the son of that king's grand-uncle named Aśoka, who was true to his engagements, then supported the earth. 101

That king, who had extinguished sin and had accepted the teaching of Buddha, covered Śuśkalettra and Vitastātra with numerous Stūpas. 102

In the Dharmāranya Vihāra in Vitastātra town the Caitya built by him was so high that the eye could not see the extent of its height. 103

Possessing ninety-six lakhs of dwelling houses resplendent with prosperity, that illustrious king founded the magnificent city of Śrīnagarī. 104

102. The reference is to the Emperor Aśoka, the Constantine of Buddhism. His empire which included Baluchistan, Herat, Kabul, Afghanistan up to the Hindu Kush and the Valleys of Svāt, Kāśmīr, and Nepal extended up to Mysore in the south and Saurāṣṭra or modern Khathuawad in the extreme west. "If a man's fame", says Koppen, "can be measured by the number of hearts who revere his memory, by the number of lips who have mentioned and still mention him with honour, Aśoka is more famous than Charlemagne or Caesar." From the classical writers and historians as well as from the numerous inscriptions of Aśoka which have been discovered on rocks, pillars and caves, we now know that he reigned from 264 B.C. to 228 or 227 B.C.

Śuśkalettra = modern village of Hukhalettr, see below verses 79 and IV. 473  
Vitastātra = modern village of Vithvutur at the foot of the Banhal Pass near Vernāg. See VII 364. From Vitastātra begins the ascent of the Banhal Pass

104 According to Kalhana the Emperor Aśoka was the founder of Śrīnagarī, the capital of Kāśmīr. Aśoka's city is believed to be the village of Pandrethan (Purānādhiṣṭhāna = 'ancient capital' referred to in Tārāṅga III 99) three miles above modern Śrīnagar. The present city was built by Pravarasena II. K refers to the capital throughout this poem as Nagara. Thus, too, the city of the Jamsalīb-Jamunagar and Ahmadnagar in the west and the Dekhan respectively are commonly called Nagar.



After removing the dilapidated enclosure of stucco of the sacred shrine of Vijayēśa, the sinless one had a rampart of stone constructed. 105

Within the enclosure and near Vijayēśa, he, who had extinguished sorrow, had two temples built known as Āśokeśvara. 106

When the country had been overrun by the Mlecchas, for their extermination that meritorious king obtained from Bhūteśa, who had been propitiated by his penance, a son. 107

Then became king that son Jalauka, leader of men and of the gods, who with the nectar of his glory rendered gleaming white the cosmic world. 108

The tales of whose divine power, when they reached their ears, indeed held the very gods spell-bound. 109

Having gained the elixir which could transform crores of substances he, no doubt, with gifts of gold, was capable of removing the void from the cavity of the firmament. 110

Having made the waters rigid he entered the interior of the lakes of the Nāgas and carried to perfection the youth of the Nāga maidens by the joys of love. 111

That king had for his spiritual adviser one erudite philosopher, who had defeated an assembly of puffed up Buddhist debators, who were powerful in those days. 112

That veracious king had vowed that he would ever worship Vijayēśvara and Jyestheśa in Nandīśa-kṣetra. 113

In every village horses had been posted to gallop; disallowing this a certain Nāga, out of friendliness, bore him always on his person. 114

106 Āśokeśvara=literally Śiva installed by Āśoka Throughout this poem K mentions temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu the names of the founders being coupled with the names of the deities. The same applies to the founding of convents, Mathas and rest-houses Āśoka's temples existed in K's time as he mentions that they were restored by Raddādevī the queen of Jayasinha. See VIII 3391.

107. Mleccha Probably the Greeks are meant by this term Mleccha literally means the people of the indistinct speech. The Greeks similarly used the word Barbarian for those whose speech they did not understand and the Arabs when they conquered Irān called the highly

civilized Irānians the Ajam, the dumb. In Tarāṅga VIII Prince Bhoja's allies, the tribes of the frontier, are referred to as the Mlecchas See VIII 2763 and 2766. Śiva, the 'lord of beings' (Bhūteśa), was worshipped on the sacred Mount Haramukha. K's poem is full of references to this shrine which he describes as having been richly endowed by different kings and at times plundered for its treasures The hill which was the site of the famous shrine is still known as Butser (Bhūteśvara).

113. See Sir A. Stein's interesting note on Jyestheśa and the different places in the valley where Śiva was worshipped under this name.

Having expelled the Mlecchas, who had overrun the land, the king of mighty valour conquered in his victorious campaigns the earth which wears the girdle of the oceans. 115

The place where the king crushed the invading Mleccha horde is called by the people Ujjhatadimba even to this day. 116

Having conquered territories including Kānyakubja, he settled in his own country the four castes from there as well as upright men with legal experience. 117

Not having attained development as it should have by means of trade, wealth and the like, the administration of the kingdom was like that of any ordinary state at this time. 118

The Chief Justice, the Superintendent of Revenue, the Treasurer, the Chief of the Army, the Envoy, the Pontiff and the Astrologer—had been the seven functionaries of state. 119

Having created eighteen traditional departments of state, the king, from that time, inaugurated the constitutional system of Yudhiṣṭhira. 120

117. Kānyakubja=There are many references to Kānyakubja, the modern Kanauj in this poem. The city of Kanauj which at one time was the capital of a great Empire under Harṣavardhana, the hero of Bīṇā's poem *Harṣacarita*, was visited by the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen Tsiang, "the Master of the Law." The city had acquired international reputation for its learning, culture and the arts of peace and war. Firdausi's *Shahnamah* is full of references to Kanauj and the finest armour, daggers, swords, etc., according to Firdausi, were imported by the legendary heroes of ancient Irān from Kanauj.

According to tradition migrations of high caste families took place from Kanauj into the different provinces upon the invitation of their respective rulers. Thus the Brahmans of Kanauj who settled in Bengal in the east and in the west in Gujarat still bear the honoured name of Kānyakubja. In this poem there is evidence of the immigration and settlement in Kāśmīr of learned Brahmans from India upon the invitation of the kings of Kāśmīr from time to time. See note 353 below. Kanauj was the centre of Aryan culture for centuries. Kanauj and its neighbourhood have not yet been excavated. Archaeology may yet reveal

that it was the centre of a civilization, like that of Mohenjo Daro, much older than the Aryan.

119 See VII, 246, 884.

120 Yudhiṣṭhira. The eldest of the five Pāndava brothers, the hero of the *Mahābhārata*, is the type of the just ruler. Throughout the centuries history furnishes numerous examples of Indian attempts to model the state on the constitutional system of Yudhiṣṭhira, a predilection for which has been shown by the rulers of some of the larger states in India in recent times.

The eighteen departments of state are mentioned both in the *Mahābhārata* (II. 5.38) and the *Rāmāyana* (II. 100. 36). They are also alluded to in the *Pañcatantra* (Kielhorn's edition III. 67-70), Kālidāsa's *Raghuvamśa* (XVII. 68) and in *Śiṣupālavadha* (XIV. 9). According to Nīlakantha, the commentator of the *Mahābhārata*, the eighteen Tirthas or offices of state are as follows:—

(1) Mantrin=Councillor, (2) Purohita=The Pontiff, (3) Yuvarāja=Heir-apparent, (4) Senāpāti=Generalissimo, (5) Dvārāpāla=Chamberlain, (6) Antarveśika=Steward of the royal household, (7) Kāragārādhyakṣa=Superintendent of Prisons, (8) Dravyasaṁcayakṛt=Trea-

With the wealth he had acquired by his martial exploits and energy this king of conspicuous intelligence founded the Agrahāras of Vārābhāla and others. 121

At the frontier and other regions were founded, by his august queen Īśānadevī, Mātṛcakras which were bright with spiritual power. 122

The king having heard the *Nandipurāṇa* expounded by a disciple of Vyāsa, began to worship at Sodara and other places as vying with Nandiśa. 123

While he was installing Jyestha Rudra in Śrīnagarī, he realized that it could not, without the Sodara spring, vie with Nandiśa. 124

One day, the king being occupied in state affairs forgot his daily

surat (literally collector of the pile of treasure), (9) Sannudhatr=Auditor of the treasury and five other departments, (10) Pradeśtr=Officer with joint executive and judicial functions, (11) Nagarādhyakṣa=Prefect of the city, (12) Kāryanirmāna-kṛt=Superintending Engineer of works, (13) Dharmādhyakṣa=Lord Chief Justice, (14) Sabhadhyakṣa=President of the Assembly, (15) Dandapala=Warden of Criminal jurisdiction, (16) Durgapala=Warden of Fortifications, (17) Rāstrāntapāla=Warden of the Marches, (18) Atavipala=Conservator of the Forests

The Pontiff is the Purohita mentioned by Kalhana. He is the priest or preceptor of the king, and his political adviser. The Purohita occurs in the Rg Veda where Vasīṣṭha and Viśvāmitra are mentioned as Purohitas. In later Vedic literature there are many priests who are princes of the blood royal (See Geldner, *Vedische Studien*, II 150, 184.)

The king is advised to follow the family priest or Purohita who was expected to be equally learned in the sacred lore as well as Danda-niti (Political Science). The temporal power of the Kṣatriya and the spiritual power of the Brahman were expected to mutually support one another. Manu says "Kṣatriyas prosper not without Brahmans, Brahmans prosper not without Kṣatriyas, Brahmans and Kṣatriyas being together closely united, prosper in this world and the next" (IX 323)

Monarchy and the organised Church thus support and strengthen one another. The Church does propaganda for the Monarchy and helps it to rule and domineer over subject peoples and, in turn, is protected by the administration, and grows rich through grants of lands and various privileges. Napoleon said "The greatest miracle of Christianity was that it had prevented the poor from massacring the rich" and "If the Pope had not existed I would have had to invent one." K's poem illustrates how religion was used for political ends and the founding and endowing of temples, Mathas and Stupas was carried on with the same purpose with which similar activities were undertaken by rulers in the West in the Middle Ages.

122 Mātṛakra=The Circle of the Mothers. The Śivaite goddesses, the Sapta Mātṛka or Seven Mothers represent Life and Death, radiant Loveliness and hideous Ugliness. In the vestibule of the Lalmandi Museum at Śrīnagar there is an interesting statue of Durga as Vārāhi. It is an exquisitely sculptured life-size figure of a young woman with the face of Varaha. Alberuni mentions the Seven Mothers and the Vārāhi as one of them. Vol I p 120

123 The Sodara spring is now known as the Nāran Nāg. It is situated close to the ruins of Bhūteśvara.

observance and having failed to bathe in Sodara, which was situate at a distance, he became uneasy in mind. He observed in a waterless spot water suddenly welling up which in colour, taste and other respects was indistinguishable from that of Sodara. 125-126

Then he had a dip in that sacred spring which had appeared of itself and the proud king achieved the fulfilment of his ambition to vie with Nandirudra. 127

On one occasion to test this he cast into Sodara an empty gold pitcher with its mouth closed with the lid; after two and a half days when it rose to the surface in the spring at Śrīnagara it dispelled the misgivings of the king. 128-129

Indeed it seemed as if he were Nandīśa himself who had descended upon the earth to enjoy the pleasures of life; the realization of such a miracle could not have happened otherwise. 130

Once, when the king was proceeding to Vijayeśvara, a frail woman, standing in the middle of the road, begged food of him. 131

The king having promised to give such food as she desired she, assuming a hideous form, revealed her longing for human flesh. 132

When he, who abstained from killing living beings, had granted her permission to take for her enjoyment the flesh from his own body she then spoke to him in this wise. 133

"You are some Bodhisattva, O protector of the land! whose mind has been ennobled by upright conduct, hence, O high-minded one! you have such deep tenderness for living creatures." 134

Unfamiliar with Buddhist phraseology, being a devotee of Śiva, the king then asked her "for what Bodhisattva, good lady! do you take me?" 135

She, however, said to the king, "You should hear the reason why I have been raised by the Buddhists whom you have antagonised by your wrath." 136

"Residents of the environs of Mount Lokaka we are the Kṛtyakās of darkness. Having taken refuge solely in Bodhisattva, we long for the destruction of darkness." 137

"In this world beginning from the blessed Lord of the worlds some few persons have conquered sorrow; know them to be Bodhisattvas." 138

135 K. evidently hints that, at this period, Buddhism was declining in

Kaśmīr.

137. Kṛtyakā=Power of Darkness, witch.

"Against even a wrong-doer they do not grow angered but, through forgiveness, return good for evil, they who desire enlightenment not for self alone are bent on the salvation of the world." 139

"By the sound of the clarions of the Vihāras when formerly you had been kept awake, being instigated by wicked persons you, in anger, had ordered the demolition of the Vihāras" 140

"The King being a Mahāśākya cannot be hurt by you, on the other hand, O good lady! when you have the sight of him, for you there will be an end of darkness. We exhort you to induce him, who has been misled by the wicked, to build Vihāras by giving up his own horde of gold. When that is carried out, the sin of the demolition of the Vihāras will not have been incurred and atonement by him and his instigators will have been done. The Buddhists who were furious having thought of me, I had rushed forth to kill you but had been recalled by the Bodhisattvas at that time and was instructed in such wise." 141-144

"And so through disguise in this way, I tested your transcendent merit and having to-day become free from sin I now depart. All hail to you" 145

While the king vowed to rebuild the Vihāras, the Kṛtyādevī, with eyes glistening with exceeding joy, vanished from sight. 146

Then the king built a Vihāra named Kṛtyāśrama and on that very spot founded an image of Kṛtyādevī who had been redeemed from darkness 147

Having founded a temple of stone in Nandiksetra for Bhūteśī, that king offered with his treasures due worship consisting of precious stones. 148

In the sanctuary of Cīramocana that pious king, by practising penance for many a night, sitting in the Brahma posture with his body moveless

140 This is an illustration of the persecution of the Buddhists. Destruction of Buddhist Viharas and the dispersal of the Bhiksus are mentioned again in the poem elsewhere. See verses 180-181 below. The conversion of Buddhist shrines into Hindu temples and replacing of the images of Buddha by statues of Śiva though not very common, occurred at different times and places in India. The district of Basti (United Provinces) which is in the neighbourhood of the

ancient Kālpavastu is full of such glaring examples.

141 Mahāśākya = is the Buddhist term Mahesākhyo. The Buddhist Jatakas relate the story of the election of the first king called the Mahāsammata, the Great Elect. The Mahāvastu Avadana, which was edited by the eminent saint and Orientalist, the late M. Senart, contains the details of the election of the king who, upon being hailed by all as the lord, was called Sarva Mahesākhyo.

in meditation, after a long time made blunt his anxious desire for touching Nandiśa on account of the Kṛnaka-Vāhīnī river. 149-150

Through rising ecstacy he presented to Jyēsthārudra a hundred of the ladies of the royal household who had got up to dance at the hour of dancing and singing 151

After enjoying sovereignty he eventually entered Cīramocīna together with his wife and attained communion with the lord of Pārvatī. 152  
K 8

Then Dāmōdara, who was either descended from the House of Aśoka or was born in some other dynasty, protected the land as king. 153

Highly resplendent with material resources was this king, who was the crest jewel of Śiva worshippers, and one hears of his spiritual power even to this day as a marvel of the world 154

With this happy recipient of Śiva's favours who loved a life of good conduct, the Lord of Wealth himself had formed a bond of friendship. 155

Like Kubera this formost among kings held under his own sway the Guhyakas; by ordering them he built the extensive dam at Gudda 156  
122857

On the Dāmōdara Sūda he had himself constructed a town; with this dam he had planned to divert the water into it. 157

When a lofty-minded man is about to do some remarkably beneficent act, alas! impediments arise owing to the meagreness of the past merits of men 158

For he had tried with the help of the Yakṣas to build in his kingdom extensive dykes of stone to mitigate the havoc of inundations 159

151 Dancing women attached to the temples seem to have existed from ancient times in Kāśmīr Vide IV 269-270 Dancing apparently was common in respectable families (IV 36) and princes were connoisseurs of the gentle art (IV. 423) In K's own time, the dancing women of the temples appear to have been keenly interested in politics Vide VIII 706-710 There are some instances of dancing girls of the temples who became consorts of kings, vide VII verse 1460 The courtesan in Kāśmīr apparently played a part in the social economy similar to that of the Hetaera in old

Greece See V 296 and *Alberuni* Vol II 157

155. Kubera = the god of wealth who figures prominently in Buddhist sculpture His city, the magnificent Alaka, is described in Kalidāsa's famous poem *Meghadūta* (the Cloud Messenger) Kubera is the chief of the Yakṣas who are semi-divine beings In sculpture and painting Kubera and the Yakṣas are represented as doing homage to the Buddha

159 To mitigate the havoc of inundations the semi-divine Yakṣas were called to help K is referring here to the tradi-

The spiritual power of the austerities of Brahmans of radiant enlightenment is unfathomable, since it could reverse the fortune of even such as he was. 160

The prosperity of kings when destroyed by the forces of kinsmen and other rivals one has seen restored once more; it has no chance of being re-established if lost through disregard of the Brahmans. 161

When he had risen to bathe to perform the Śrāddha ceremony, the king was requested by some hungry Brahmans, on one occasion, before he had taken his bath, to give them food. 162

Desirous of proceeding to the Vitastā when he ignored this, they, by their spiritual power, then placed that river in front of him—"Behold! here is the Vitastā; now feed us." Even though addressed in this wise, he perceived that the production of the river was a delusion. 163-164

"I shall not offer food without bathing, O Brahmans! move on now for the time being", when they had been thus addressed by him, they cursed him as follows: "May you become a snake." 165

"Your sin will be atoned by listening in one single day to the whole of the *Rāmāyaṇa*"—thus they declared after they had been placated. 166

In Dāmodara Sūda, wandering far through thirst, by the vapour of his breath, which is hot in consequence of the curse, he is recognised by the people even to this day. 167

Then there ruled in this very land the founders of cities called after their own appellations, the three kings named Huṣka, Juṣka and Kaniska. 168

*Huṣka*  
*Juṣka*  
*Kaniska*

tion in Kāśmīr regarding the building of the ancient stone dykes. In modern Kāśmīr the stone temples described by Kālhana which survive as ruins, are referred to by the villagers as the work of the Djins and Peris!

168. Kaniska, the Indo-Scythian emperor, believed to be a contemporary of the Antonines, had his summer capital at Kapīśā, north of Kabul. His dominions included Kāśmīr where he was the patron of the school of Integral Realists (Sarvāstivāda). With the collaboration of two celebrated philosophers, Pārśva and Vasumitra, he convened a synod of five hundred learned doctors who codified the Buddhist canon according to the Sarvāstivāda.

For an account of the Śakas (Scythians), see 'The Scythian Period of Indian History', by R. D. Banerji (*Ind. Anti.* 1908 pp. 25-75) and Sten Konow's *Kharosthi Inscriptions* (*Corpus Inscript. Ind.* Vol. II), *Archaeological Survey of India*, 1929.

Three interesting gold coins of the Kushans similar to Kushan coins of Kāśmīr have been recently discovered in the Rajshahi Division, Bengal. For illustrations see *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* Vol. 28 p. 130 (1932).

At the site indicated by M. Foucher at Peshawar was discovered by the Archaeological Department the now celebrated relic casket bearing an image and inscription of Kaniska whose superintendent engineer had the Greek name of

The founder of a Vihāra was thus Juska as well as of Juskapura, the pure-minded one was also the founder of Jayasvāmapura. 169

These kings, albeit belonging to the Turkish race, found refuge in acts of piety, they constructed in Śuskaletta and other places monasteries, Cūtyas and similar edifices 170

During the glorious period of their regime, the kingdom of Kaśmīr was, for the most part, an appanage of the Buddhists who had acquired lustre by renunciation. 171

At this time, since the Nirvāna of the blessed Śākyā Sīmha in this terrestrial world, one hundred fifty years, it is said, had elapsed. 172

And a Bodhisattva was in this country the sole supreme ruler of the land, he was the illustrious Nāgārjuna who dwelt in Śādarhadvana 173

Agésilas M. Foucher succeeded in identifying the site of the great relic tower of Kāṁska which was described in detail by Song-Yun and referred to by Fā-hien and Hsuan-Tsang and which Alberuni called the Kāṁk-cātya

170 Cūtya=Buddhist chapel. It is a crypt which often contains a small Stūpa known as a dagaba forming a kind of altar. K. rightly calls the Kushān kings Turuska or Turks. These Turks were known to the Chinese as Yue-chi.

Kāṁska is said to have been the patron of the celebrated Asvaghōṣa whose recently discovered *Buddhacarita* was translated into Chinese in 420 A.D. According to one account Kāṁska required Asvaghōṣa as part of war indemnity and lorded him with honours and provided him with a residence in Kaśmīr to carry on his literary work. According to Mr. Watters, Asvaghōṣa was "a poet, musician, scholar, religious controversialist, and zealous Buddhist monk, orthodox in creed, and a strict observer of discipline."

173 Nāgārjuna, the Buddhist philosopher who lived in the 1st century A.D., was a native of Beroz in the Central Provinces. The Mahāyānist Buddhism was divided into two subtle schools of philosophy, the idealist and metaphysical schools (*Vijñānavāda* and *Yogācāra*) which depended on the two great metaphysicians, Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, the other was the radical

school of Nāgārjuna, the author of the *Mādhyamika*, the Middle Way, which ended in Buddhist Kantianism. The powerful critical philosophy of Nāgārjuna has been revived by Japanese commentators of the present day. The subtle dialectics of his critical philosophy destroyed, as K. relates in verse 178 below, the primitive beliefs and ideas of the people of Kaśmīr.

The Chinese pilgrim Hsuan-Tsang visited Kaśmīr and remained there from May, 631 to April, 633 A.D. His biographer tells us that the pilgrim found in Kaśmīr a master aged 70 after his own heart, a learned Mahāyānist doctor, with whom he studied the works of Nāgārjuna. "This master, of outstanding virtue, observed the rule of discipline with a rigorous purism. He was gifted with a profound intellect and his vast learning embraced every branch of knowledge. His talents and his enlightenment partook of the divine, and his benevolent heart was full of affection for the sages and of respect for the lettered. Hsuan-Tsang questioned him without reserve and gave himself up, night and day, to study with him, with untiring zeal."

The fame of this founder of the Mādhyamika school must have spread far and wide after his death. In the Guntur district at Nāgārjunikonda, a place named after Nāgārjuna, the relics of the Buddha were discovered.



Then he who was free from thorns, the donor of the Agrahāra of Kantakotsa, the fearless Abhumanyu became king, he was like another Indra. 174

Having founded the city, called after his own name Abhumanyupura, which contained inestimable treasure, that eminent man endowed it with a temple of Śiva as its crowning beauty. 175

Candrācārya and others on his instructions spread in the land the knowledge of the *Mahābhāṣya* which was rare at that time, also of the grammar composed by them. 176

During this era the power of the Buddhists whom the wise Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna had protected predominated in the land. 177

These disputants, who were opponents of the Vedas, having defeated all the learned men in open debate, had cut at the root of the religious rites prescribed in the *Nīlapurāṇa*. 178

in a Stūpa The excavations were commenced in 1926 on this site by the Archaeological Survey, Southern Circle, and completed in 1931. They have brought to light Buddhist monasteries, temples, a large Stūpa, several smaller ones, bas-reliefs similar in material and style to the celebrated reliefs of the Amaravati Stūpa and a large number of Pāli inscriptions in the Brāhmī script of the 2nd or 3rd century A.D. A lengthy inscription engraved on the floor of the apsidal shrine (now marked No. 2) records a list of the foundations dedicated at Nāgārjunikonda and its neighbourhood erected for the benefit of the Order of Ceylonese monks who were sent out as missionaries to distant lands which included Kasmīr, Gandhāra and China. The relics of the Blessed One were discovered in a round gold box. They were presented in 1933 by the Director-General of Archaeology to the Mahabodhi Society whose central institution since November 1931 is the Mūlagandha-Kuṭi-Vihāra at Sīrānāth.

A statue of Nāgārjuna was discovered in the excavations at Nālandā in 1919-1920. Among the tapestries and paintings recently brought by the Bhikkhu Rāhula from Tibet and now lodged in the museum at Patna is a splendid painting of Nāgārjuna.

Sīdarhadvana is the modern Harwan on the slope of the hill above the Śrīlunar garden. The site of Nāgārjuna's probable residence was excavated in 1925. For a detailed account and illustrations of the interesting finds of terra-cotta tiles and representations of Turuska features see Pandit R. C. Kak's *Ancient monuments of Kashmir* (1933).

It is interesting to note that the powerful critical philosophy of Nāgārjuna is being revived by Japanese commentators of the present day. 174 Niskantaka is literally "free from thorns." The term is repeatedly used in this poem. The thorns in the side of the king are the kinsmen (the Dīyādi), the cadets of the ruling House as well as other aspirants to the throne and men of ambition generally.

176 *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali. He is said to have lived in the 2nd century B.C. His great work is a commentary on Pīṇinī. See Tarangī IV 488 for a similar attempt under king Jyāpīda.

In the time of king Zun-ul-abidin, who was himself a student of Sanskrit and a patron of learning, Rāmānanda wrote an exposition of the *Mahābhāṣya*. Yuddhibhatta, who had gone to Mahārāstra to study the *Atharva Veda*, was induced by the king's government through Sīryabhata, the Chief Justice,

The country having drifted into confusion about the customary observances the Nāgas, whose sacrificial offerings had been cut off, caused loss of human life by heavy falls of snow. 179

As heavy snow-falls occurred for the harassment of the Buddhists year after year, the king, during winter, resided for six months in Dārvābhīṣāra and other places. 180

During this period, owing to some indescribable spiritual power, the Brahmans, who made votive offerings and sacrifices, were not destroyed while the Buddhists perished. 181

Devoting himself to Nīla, patron of the country and ruler of the Nāgas, a Brahman named Candradeva of the Kaśyapa Gotra then began to practise austerities. 182

Making himself visible to him Nīla averted the havoc of snow and promulgated once more the observances of rites according to his own Purāṇa. 183

Candradeva I had put an end to the upheaval of the Yaksas in this country and Candradeva II to the intolerable pest of the Bhiksus. 184

King Gonanda III meanwhile attained sovereignty. He restored the performance of pilgrimages, sacrifices and other worship of the Nāgas, such as was customary in the past. 185

When the king had once more promulgated the observances which had their origin in Nīla, the peril from the Bhiksus and the snow-falls abated everywhere. 186

From time to time, owing to the past good actions of the subjects, kings appear who organise a kingdom which is sunk deep in disorder. 187

to return to Kaśmīr in order to spread the knowledge of that Veda. Five hundred years later, when the late Mr. S P Pandit brought out his famous edition of the *Atharva Veda*, owing to the lack of manuscripts in the Dekhan he relied on the Kaśmīrī MSS<sup>1</sup>

180-181. This is perhaps a poetical description of the persecution of the Buddhists in Kaśmīr during this era.

183 M. Foucher finds that the "popular customs and beliefs still survive in the Valley under the official veneer of Brahmanism or Islam" And he suggests that an account of them should be published for the benefit of visitors—"what familiar echoes would arise in

their memories at tales of the Nīgas who dwell at the bottom of springs and lakes in wonderful palaces, of the Pishachas, those wicked little demons who have so long made the Valley uninhabitable for men in the winter; and of the Yoginis who, on summer nights, like the Moenads of old, are heard hooting on the mountain tops!"

187 In Spengler's recent book, *Man and Technics*, there is an echo of the ancient Indian view of Karma He observes: "It is not within our power to choose whether we would like to be the sons of an Egyptian peasant of 3000 B.C., of a Persian king, or of a present-day tramp This destiny is some-

Those, who are intent on a policy of harassment of their subjects, perish with their families, on the other hand, fortune waits on even the lineal descendants of those who reinstate order where there is chaos. 188

Thus, having observed this feature of each tale, the good and evil fortune of future protectors of the land should be gauged in this country by the prescient. 189

He having restored order his virtuous descendants Pravarasena and others, who carried out pious works, enjoyed this land for a long time 190

He was the first of the House of Gonanda as Raghu was of the House of the Raghus, the king ruled over the land of Kasyapa for thirty-five years 191

For sixty years less six years and six months the son of Gonanda, named Vibhisana, protected the land 192

Indrajit and Ravana, who were father and son, became kings in succession, they ruled respectively for thirty-five years six months and thirty years 193

The Śiva Liuga known as Vateśvara worshipped by Ravana is beautifully radiant to this day and its luminous dots and lines foretell events to come. 194

To Vateśvara, installed within a quadrangular Matha, was dedicated the entire kingdom of Kaśmīr by that king 195

For thirty-five years and six months the powerful armed son of king Ravana, Vibhisana II, enjoyed the land 196

Thereafter he, whose other name was Kinnara and whose exploits were sung by the Kinnaras, the son of Vibhisana, became the ruling chief of men. 197

Although he had borne a good character, this king, through the reversal of the good fortune of the subjects, became the origin of a series of great misfortunes owing to the vice of sensuality. 198

thing to which we have to adapt ourselves. It dooms us to certain situations, views and actions. There are no men-in-themselves such as the philosophers talk about, but only men of time, of a locality, of a race, of a personal cast who contend in battle with a grim world and win through or fail while the universe around them moves

slowly on with a god-like unconcern. This battle is life—life indeed in the Nietzschean sense, a grim pitiless no quarter battle of the Will-to-Power." 188-189 K has made a shrewd reference to the fate that overtakes the king who persecutes the people. 191 The land of Kasyapa is Kaśmīr. See note 25 above.

Living in a Vihāra situated in Kinnaragrāma, a certain Buddhist monk had, by force of Yoga, carried away his sweetheart. 199

Enraged by this, he caused thousands of Vihāras to be burnt down and had their villages occupied by Brahmins residing in Mādhyama Matha. 200

A city, where the shops were richly fed by the high streets, where the canals were gay with gondolas, where the gardens were colourful with fruits and flowers, which was a synonym for paradise and which, on account of the treasure acquired in victorious expeditions up to the horizon, had triumphed over the capital of the Lord of Wealth, was founded by that king on the strand of the Vitastā. 201-202

There in a certain park of the city, tradition relates, was a pool of limpid and sweet water which was the residence of the Nāga named Suśrīvas. 203

Once upon a time a Brahman named Viśākha, wearied by a long trek, approached, at midday, desirous of shade, the edge of that sheet of water. 204

Under a shady tree, when his weariness was becalmed by the sylvan breezes by slow degrees, the Brahman, after ablution, prepared to eat his porridge. 205

Just as he was about to take it in his hand, he heard the tinkling sound of anklets to which the swans sporting on the fringe of the pool had already hearkened. 206

Emerging from a bower of creepers in front of him, he then saw two maidens with lovely eyes wearing blue shawls. 207

200 This is another illustration of the destruction of Viharas and the confiscation of their property

201 Verses 201 to 279 narrate the legend of Candralekā—the Lady of the Crescent Moon. K picks this out of the many stories relating to the Nāgas from the ancient folk-lore of Kāśmīr. The Nāgas the semi-divine beings are, according to legend, the original inhabitants of Kāśmīr. Their dwelling places are the lakes, springs, and pools of water. In the heavens they appear in the form of clouds and rain torrents of water and cause hail storms. The word Nāga survives to this day in

Kāśmīr in the various place names and is commonly used for a spring in the form of a doublet—Caśmī-Nāga—half Persian and half Sanskrit.

205 Saktu=porridge. The word is in common use in northern India to the present day as 'Sattu'—the food of the poorer classes.

207. From the Sanskrit Cola or Nicola is derived the word shawl. The shawls of Kāśmīr have been celebrated from ancient times. They were made famous in Europe by the patronage of Napoleon Bonaparte when he crowned himself emperor. In Paris they were then known as "Chale de Cachemire."

To the ear-ornaments of rubies their alluring, bright and elongated eyes with the thin line of collyrium bore the semblance of the stem of the red lotus. 208

The corners of their captivating eyes, unsteady like the edges of a gleaming white banner in the gentle movement of the zephyr, heightened the beauty of their shoulders. 209

Watching these two moon-faced maidens as they were slowly approaching, he ceased from commencing to eat and, time and again, through bashfulness, he was confused. 210

He beheld the lotus-eyed maidens eating the pods of Kacchaguccha, in front of him, when to a certain extent he could again move his eyes. 211

"Heigh-ho! is this the food for such lovely persons"—thought the Brahman to himself and, melting with compassion, he politely invited them and fed them with porridge. 212

And he fetched, contained in cups made from leaves for a drink for them, the clean and cool water of the pool. 213

When after ablution the two had become clean and consented to take their seats, he, while fanning them with a palm leaf, addressed them. 214

"Your humble servant, having obtained through some good acts of a former life the sight of you, is tempted through curiosity, which is commonly found in a Brahman, to enquire." 215

"What noble family have the fortunate ladies graced by their birth and where did they get so weary that such tasteless food had to be eaten?" 216

One of the ladies replied to him, "Know that we are the daughters of Suśravas; where dainty food is not available why should such food not be eaten?" 217

"I am Irāvati; father has arranged to give me in marriage to the lord of the Vidyādharas. This is my younger sister Chandralekhā." 218

208 K. no doubt was an admirer of the feminine figure. Like Kālidāsa he loved the beauty of the shoulders. See below verse 209. Tapering fingers are referred to in verse 253 below.

211 Kacchaguccha, commonly called Kachdan in Kāśmīrī, is a kind of grass which grows wild on the meadows.

214. The palm leaf which is popular to this day as a fan seems to have travelled early from the South to Kāśmīr.

216 The form of the question recalls the first Act of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* where the maidens in Kanva's hermitage make polite enquiries of king Duśyanta.

Thereupon the Brahman said, "Why then is there such indigence in your case?" They both replied, "Father knows the reason of this; you may ask him." 219

"Here on the twelfth of the dark half of Jyestha he will come for the pilgrimage of Takṣaka; you will no doubt recognise him by his plaited locks which stream with water." 220

"You will also see us both at that time standing by the side of him"; so saying the two Nāga maidens, in a moment, vanished from view. 221

In due course at that place commenced the great festival of the pilgrimage, teeming with dancers and strolling players and a con-course of sight-seers. 222

The Brahman, too, drawn by curiosity while strolling near the theatres, soon came up with the Nāga whom he recognised by the sign indicated by the maidens. 223

To the Brahman, who was first presented by the maidens who were standing by, the leader of the Nāgas offered his greetings. 224

Thereafter in the course of conversation, when asked at some stage about the cause of his adversity, the Nāga, heaving a sigh, said to the Brahman. 225

"For those who are proud, O Brahman! and can discriminate between what is meet and unmeet it is right that they should not give publicity to sufferings which, of necessity, have to be endured." 226

"On hearing of the woes of others a good natured man, when unable to oblige, is pained at heart." 227

"He makes much of his own way of life, with his words of sympathy he conveys sadness to the heart, he openly cavils at one's capacity, while he, meagre of intellect, eulogizes his ownself; he recommends a recourse to questionable methods and describes the misfortune as a permanent one; a common person on hearing of adversity aggravates the painful agony." 228

"Thus it is that so long as there is life, the discriminate digest their joys and sorrows in their own minds until eventually they are consumed by the funeral fire." 229

"Who could from their exterior notice the misfortune of those, who by nature are profound, were it not revealed by their callow children or the servants!" 230

220 The Takṣaka Nāga is worshipped to this day. The sacred spring is at Zevan (Sk. Jayavana) about five miles

from Śrīnagar. He is the patron saint of the fields of saffron which grow in this neighbourhood.

"Thus, since this matter has already been disclosed owing to the tender age of these two girls, O kind friend<sup>1</sup> to conceal it from you will surely not be proper on my part." 231

"You, however, who are straightforward by nature, O fortunate one<sup>1</sup> may make an effort to a certain extent to help our cause if possible." 232

"Yonder ascetic with the shaven head and one tuft of hair, whom you see under the tree practising austerities, by that keeper of the crops we have been put to our shifts." 233

"So long as the spell-mongers have not eaten of the new grain the Nāgas cannot eat This fellow does not eat it and because of that regulation we are perishing" 234

"While he guards the fields we are nowise able to enjoy the bumper crop, though we see it like the departed spirits the waters of the rivers." 235

"Please act so that this Naisthika may fall from his vow; on our part we, too, know how adequately to requite those who oblige us." 236

That Brahman, having said 'amen' to the Nāga, became keen to endeavour and began day and night to think of some way to over-reach the guardian of the crops. 237

Secretly, while the ascetic was seated inside a hut which was away in the fields, he then placed new grain within the vessel in which food was being cooked. 238

No sooner had he commenced to eat it than the lord of the Nāgas, having poured hail and torrents of rain, carried away in a trice the rich and glorious harvest. 239

The Nāga who had passed out of destitution led, the following day, into his own region the Brahman who had obliged him and who had approached the pool. 240

He was treated there hospitably by the two maidens by command of their father and was regaled with luxuries, day after day, which are available to the immortals 241

In time having taken leave of everyone, he was ready to go to his

235 Departed spirits, witches and ghosts are denied the use of water. Water also forms the boundary which they cannot cross according to ancient belief both Eastern and Western (Compare the *Ballad of Tam O' Shanter*).

236 Naisthika is derived from Nistha meaning determination, hence any one determined to carry out his vow. Generally such a vow has reference to 'unbroken celibacy'.

own land, when the Nāga having promised to grant a boon, he prayed for the hand of Candralekhā. 242

Albeit he was unworthy for the alliance the Nāga, yielding to the dictates of gratitude, honoured him with the gift of the maiden and with wealth. 243

In this manner having acquired wealth by favour of the Nāga Chief, the Brahman whiled away a long time in the city of Narapura in all manner of daily entertainments. 244

Although she was the daughter of the lord of the Nāgas, the lady of superlative comeliness treated this husband as the deity and by her noble character, good behaviour, and like qualities made him happy. 245

While she was, on one occasion, standing on the terrace of her residence a stray horse began to feed on corn left outside to dry in the sun in the courtyard. 246

To drive the horse away the servants were called, but no one happening to be at the time in the house she, whose anklets tinkled sweetly, then descended in person. 247

With one hand she held the edge of the vesture of the head which in her hurry had slipped; she ran and with her hand like a lotus flower, she then slapped him. 248

He left the food and moved on; but thereafter there appeared, by the touch of the Nāga lady, on the body of the horse the golden imprint of her palm. 249

About this time king Nāra, having heard from his spies of the Brahman's wife with the lovely eyes, had already experienced the sprouting of love. 250

When the maddened elephant of his heart was about to bolt, to restrain him by force there existed no fear of a scandal for a hook. 251

In the insurgence of the rising flames of the king's passion the story of the horse, on the other hand, bore the similitude of the violent gale. 252

He was made to transgress the bounds of discretion by the golden imprint of the palm with the beautiful tapering fingers. 253

245. The attitude virtuous of married women towards the husband was expected to be one of adoration as if he were the deity

248. Śīrśīṃśuka=literally vesture on

head; it is now called in Kāśmīrī the 'taraṅgā.' The terra-cotta tiles excavated in the Vihāra at Hīrvan show the head dress of the period of 3rd century A.D.



Freeing himself from the fetters of decorum, he now began to harass the lovely lady by endeavouring to seduce her through emissaries who related his inmost longing. 254

When all his methods failed to win her, in his infatuation he begged for her from her husband, the Brahman. In those who are blind with lust how can there be shame! 255

Then getting repeated rebuffs from him also, the soldiers were ordered by the king to carry her away by force. 256

While they were raiding the house in front, the Brahman escaped by another passage and seeking asylum he, accompanied by his wife, entered the residence of the Nāga. 257

When the couple approached him and the facts were reported to him the lord of the Nāgas, blind with rage, sallied forth from the pool. 258

Having caused a blinding darkness originating from the fearful clouds which thundered, he burnt down the king together with the city by a terrific shower of boulders. 259

Carrying the marrow, blood and fat oozing from the bodies of the burnt human beings, the Vitastā bore the semblance of the printed plumage of the peacock. 260

Thousands of human beings, who had entered through terror the shrine of Cakradhara for refuge, were consumed in a trice. 261

The fat of Madhu and Kaitabha had formerly reached only up to the thighs of Cakradhara, but by that of the burnt up human beings on this occasion all his limbs were sprayed. 262

The sister of Suśravas, the Nāga lady from a cave of the Ramanyā mountain, then came to his assistance bringing with her heaps of boulders. 263

At the distance of little more than one Yojana when she heard that her brother had achieved his end, she dropped a shower of boulders on the villages. 264

261. See also VIII 990 sq

262 Cakradhara=holder of the Cakra (disc) is a name of Viṣṇu, Madhu and Kaitabha were two demons whom Viṣṇu, according to legend, killed on his thighs

264 Yojana is a measure of distance It equals four Krośa (Hindī Kos) or about eight miles. Alberuni says, "the

reader must learn that they (Hindus) have a measure of distances called Yojana which is equal to 8 miles or 32,000 yards. In the terms of this measure Al-fazārī has determined the circumference of the earth in his astronomical handbook He calls it *jun*, in the plural "ajwān" (Vol I p 167)

Five Yojanas of rural land was thus laid waste and known as Ramanyātavī; it is even to this day full of heavy boulders and holes. 265

After doing this hideous slaughter of humanity, next morning the Nāga was full of remorse and being depressed by the denunciation of the people, he abandoned that locality and departed. 266

Gleaming like the ocean of milk a lake was constructed by him on a distant mountain, which on their way to the pilgrimage of Amaranātha, is visited by the people to this very day. 267

Through the favour of his father-in-law the Brahman had attained the status of a Nāga; one other called the 'lake of the son-in-law' in the locality has also become celebrated. 268

Under the guise of protecting the subjects such types of destroyers arise, of a sudden, now and then who unhesitatingly cause devastation. 269

To this very day, on seeing the debris of that city and the lake which survives as a dry depression near Cakradhara, this legend is recalled by the people. 270

Passionate lust may be merely a trifling fault in kings in the opinion of persons of narrow vision, nevertheless what befell this one, as a consequence of it, has not been the lot of anyone anywhere. 271

In the case of the virtuous woman, the gods or a Brahman—as the result of the anger of anyone of them—one has heard in diverse legends of an upheaval even of the three worlds. 272

After forty years less three months when the king had enjoyed the earth, he perished through his lecherous conduct. 273

And for a short spell of time, having been visible with its palaces and encircling ramparts, the erstwhile Kinnarapura attained similitude with the city of the Gandharvas. 274

The only son of his who, owing to the inscrutable course of Karma,

267. Amaranātha—This is the famous cave of Amaranātha which is a place of pilgrimage to the present day

268 On the route of the pilgrimage to Amaranātha on the mountain top there is a lake which, according to legend, is the lake of Śaśuravas—it is also now called Śesanāg. The colour of the water is white. There is also another lake popularly called Zamatur Nāg—the Jāmātr Saras of Kalhana—which means the 'lake of the son-in-law'. Śiva in the cave at Amaranātha is in the

form of congealed ice. The pilgrimage referred to by Kalhana is still very popular and attracts the devout from distant parts of India

274 The city of the Gandharvas is an expression for the mirage. There is a pun on the word Kinnarapura which means the city of the Kinnaras. Kinnara literally 'part human' is a name of the Gandharva. The Kinnara had a human body with the face of the horse, the reverse of a Centaur.

had been taken away by his wet-nurse to Vijayakṣetra had not been deprived of life. 275

Then this king named Siddha put new life in the remnant of the population as the cloud revivifies the mountain, scorched by a forest conflagration. 276

And this exceedingly amazing occurrence of his father's time served this very shrewd king for a counsel of prudence and for enlightenment regarding the futility of cosmic existence. 277

The contact with pleasures, though he was in the midst of them, could not lead him into vice and he remained unblemished like the reflection of the moon by the mire. 278

Among kings who are hot with the fever of vanity he, meditating constantly on him whose crest is the crescent-moon, was the only one who manifested good health. 279

Reckoning it as so much straw, jewellery was rejected by that virtuous king, who found the perfect adornment in devotion to him whose decoration is the crescent-moon. 280

In the case of this king alone did royal splendour follow the trail to the next world, since he had been shrewd enough to harness it through unfaltering moral principle. 281

For sixty years he, having ruled over the land, ascended with his body, followed by his immediate retainer, to the world of him whose crest-jewel is the moon. 282

The servants who had taken shelter under Nara had met with a sad fate; those, however, who had attached themselves to his royal son as the master, came to be venerated by the world. 283

The dependent indeed goes the way adopted by the one on whom he has to depend, whether it is denounced by the world or adored by all the people. A grass string sinks downward as part of a machine on the well, when strung with flowers it attains elevation to the heads of the gods. 284

"Here is Siddha in his body—a demi-god"—such was the word the gods in heaven proclaimed by beat of drum for seven days. 285

Utpalākṣa, the lotus-eyed, such was the fame his son attained

278 The reflection of the moon in a pool of water is not sullied by the mud  
284. Yantra=apparatus or machine The reference is to the Araghāṭṭa or the well with the wheel and pots to raise water

now commonly known as the Persian wheel. The wheel is repeatedly referred to in ancient Samskr̥ta literature and its name as the—Persian wheel is a modern misnomer.

through the softness of his eyes; for thirty years and six months he ruled over the land. 286

His son Hiranyākṣa founded a city bearing his own name. He enjoyed the land for thirty-seven years and seven months. 287

Hiranyakula, his son, founder of Hiranyotsa, and Vasukula, the son of the latter, were rulers for sixty years each. 288

Then, when the land was overrun by the Mleccha hordes, his son Mihirakula of violent deeds, who was comparable to the god of destruction, became king. 289

To the South belongs the god of Death; the northern direction, eager through rivalry to vanquish it, found an excuse and in him brought forth another god of death. 290

His approach became known by the sight of vultures, crows and the like, eager to feed on those being massacred by his encircling army, to the population fleeing before him. 291

Day and night surrounded by thousands of slaughtered human beings, this royal Vetāla lived even in his pleasure palaces. 292

Pity for children, clemency towards women, or respect for the aged, this enemy of humanity of terrible appearance had none while he massacred. 293

He, on one occasion, having noticed that the queen was wearing a blouse of stuff made in Ceylon, which had foot-marks on the breasts worked in gold, was inflamed with rage. 294

289 The Mleccha hordes referred to here are the Ephthalite Huns who founded an empire on the Oxus, destroyed the Greco-Buddhist civilization in Afghanistan and extended their conquests in Northern India where their head quarters were at Sakala (Sialkot)

Mihirakula, the king of the Ephthalite or White Huns, was the Indian Attila. The Huns carried out a terrible persecution of Buddhism, destroying Stūpas and Vihāras, and massacring the monks. Hsuan-Tsang tells us that "Mo-lin-lo-chulo" (Mihirakula) "was remarkable for his tempestuous nature and his invincible courage. Among the neighbouring kings there was not one who did not obey him trembling." The Huns were defeated, according to

one account, by the last Gupta Emperor Balāditya and according to another tradition, by king Yaśovarman of Malava between 530 and 545 A.D. Mihirakula after his defeat is said to have conquered Kāśmīr and from there invaded the kingdom of Gandhāra, (E Afghanistan) where he exterminated the ruling family, destroyed the Stūpas and Vihāras and plundered the country, with his loot and innumerable prisoners he returned to Kāśmīr and on the way massacred the captives on the banks of the Indus. The Huns were eventually driven out of India by the kings of Thīnśvara of the House of Harṣa. Although the Huns were hostile to Buddhism, they protected Śīvaism and their kings built temples in honour of Śīva.

"In Ceylon cloth is manufactured bearing the mark of the king's foot",—thus he was told by the Chamberlain who had been questioned whereupon he gave orders to march. 295

Having obtained union with the stream of liquid rut from the temples of the elephants of his army, the southern ocean secured the delight of an embrace with the Yamunā. 296

Together with the king of Ceylon he, by an impetuous attack, rooted out his rage originating in the sight of footmarks on his beloved. 297

From a distance on sighting his various forces from the palaces of Lankā the Titans, apprehending a repetition of the activities of Rāma, trembled. 298

Having installed there another king he, with his fierce puissance, carried away cloth known as Yamuṣadeva, marked with the figure of the sun. 299

Turning back, he dispersed the rulers of Cola, Karnāṭa and Lāta just as by his very smell the tusker in rut scatters the elephants. 300

After his departure, the cities with the shattered battlements which were their girdles, complained of the rape to the ruling princes who had returned. 301

When he reached the gate of Kāśmīr, on hearing the distressful trumpeting of a tusker who had fallen down a precipice, his hair stood on end with delight. 302

295. The Chamberlain or Kañcukin was an important palace official and master of ceremonies. He is an important figure in the Sanskrit drama in which is depicted the home life of the ruling princes of old India.

296. The waters of the Yamunā (Jamuna) are dark, the waters of the Gangā are white. In this verse the dark stream of liquid rut deludes the sea, the lord of all rivers, into the belief that it is the river Jamuna.

299. Cola is the modern Tanjore.

300. Karmāta=modern Carnatic.

Lāta=land between the Dekhan and Gujerat watered by the Tāpī and the Narmadā rivers.

honour Napoleon during his march to Moscow is reported to have said at Smolensk, "a city occupied by the enemy is like a girl who has lost her honour" (Tolstoy's *War and Peace*).

It is interesting to note that the girdle (Tāgrī) is still worn among Kāśmīrī Brahman women. For the picture of ear-ornament peculiar to married women among Kāśmīrī Brahmans see the illustration of sculpture discovered in Pandrethan (Purānādhisthāna), believed to be Aśoka's capital, which shows the mother of Buddha wearing the 'Dyāhr'.

302. Bernier mentions a similar unfortunate accident to the elephants of

In his excitement to hear this, the perverse-minded man, who was in raptures, had a hundred mighty elephants forcibly hurled down. 303

The various wicked acts of this king have not been narrated. The touch of the sinful is pollution for the limbs, so would it be for speech to describe them; hence his other inhumanities have not been mentioned. 304

Who can understand the acts of men of amazing activities and vulgar minds, since even he took to piety for the purpose of acquiring merit? 305

For in Śrīnagarī the foul-minded man founded the temple of Mihreśvara and in Holadā a big city named Mihrapura. 306

The Brahmans of Gāndhāra accepted from him gifts of Agrahāras; they no doubt, too, were of similar character as his own and were the meanest Brahmans. 307

The advent of clouds with the gathering darkness gladdens the peacock whereas the wild goose is happy with the clear skies of autumn; for the attraction of the donor and the donee towards each other there has to be a very close similarity of tastes. 308

For seventy years having enjoyed the earth, this Bhairava on earth when his body was afflicted with several diseases entered the flames. 309

"Here is this slayer of three crores liberated who even towards himself had been pitiless"—thus had a voice, at the time when he relinquished the body, announced from the firmament. 310

Thus those who say this, in their view he alone is the liberal donor who had broken through cruelty by Agrahāras and such other works. 311

When overrun by the impious Dards, Bhauṭṭas and Mlecchas this country had lost religion, he had promulgated the observance of religious conduct by settling the people from the land of the Āryas, having determined on a terrible penance he had made the burning of his own body an act of atonement; for this very reason he had given one thousand Agrahāras in gift to the Brahmans born in the Gāndhāra country at Vijayeśvara; then eventually upon an iron platform studded with razors, swords and knives, red hot with fire,

307. Gāndhāra was the province of the Kabul valley which included the districts of Nagarhāra (Ningrahar), Lampāka (Lamghan), Kapīśā (Kabul and the

northern region towards Kohistan) and the district of Gāndhāra proper or Puruṣapura (modern Peshawar).

he had boldly given up his own body—thus others state, on account of this unadulterated popular tradition, that the cruelty of that lion-like man is irreproachable. When upon the burning of the city by the wrath of the Nāga the Khasās had become dominant, there occurred for their destruction the incidents narrated above—so say others.

312-317

While he was diverting the river Candrakulā, a rock in midstream which was found impossible to remove, caused obstruction. Then to the king, who had practised penance, the gods spoke in a dream: "a mighty Yakṣa who is a Brahmacāri resides here in the rock; were a chaste woman to touch the rock the Yakṣa would not be able to obstruct." The following day he caused to be done what he was told in the dream.

318-320

After numerous ladies of high family had endeavoured in vain, on being eventually touched by a potter woman named Candrāvati the mighty boulder moved.

321

For this sin the wrathful king had thereupon slaughtered, together with their husbands, brothers and sons, three crores of women of high families.

322

This legend is true according to some; nevertheless the slaughter of living beings on a large scale, even though for a cause, is a felony. 323

312. Daradas or Dāradas of Kalhana are the Dards. They were an Aryan people known to the ancient Greek historians. They still inhabit the mountain regions from Chitral across the Indus extending to Gilgit and the Kāśāngā valley in the north of Kāśmīr—Major Gompertz thus described them in 1928 "In some of the Dard village of the Indus Valley we find a curious state of affairs, in that the religion changes at each generation, the children of Buddhists becoming Mahomedan and those of Moslems becoming Buddhists I fancy that neither religion is taken very seriously at all by Dards of these parts" (*Magie Ladakh*, p 99)

Bhautta. People of Tibetan descent inhabiting Ladakh, Dras and the neighbouring districts. The Zoji-La Pass divides the territory of the Bhauttas from Kāśmīr.

By Mlecchas K possibly means here

the enemies of the Ephthalite Huns across the Indus

317. The Khasās repeatedly mentioned in this poem are the people who are now known as Khakha. They are a hill tribe inhabiting the region to the south and west of the Pir Pantisāl range. The Khakhas are now included in the subdivision of hill Rajput Mahomedans. The Hindu Khasās inhabit various parts of the Himalayan Range. In the Kumaon Hills there is a numerous Khasa population trying to acquire a status as hundred per cent Rajputs. Kalhana's work should prove of interest to those who desire to establish the status of the Khasās. The Khasa chiefs of Rājapuri intermarried freely—with the Ksatriya rulers of Kāśmīr. Śiṃharāja, the Khasa chief of Lohara, had married the daughter of the Śāhi kings of Kabul (VI 175, 177). Śiṃharāja's daughter was the famous queen Diddā who ruled Kāśmīr in her own right.

Thus although wicked that the king had not been assassinated by the people in an uprising, was because he was protected by the very gods who had urged him to do that act. 324

When owing to the dawn of the superior merit of the subjects' good actions the king at last perished, his son, Baka the righteous, was crowned king by the citizens. 325

Even in his case, owing to past experience, the people remained in a state of terror, as in a pleasure-house built on a cemetery, before the royal throne 326

Born from the great oppressor he became the delight of the people like the pouring rain after a day of excessive heat, dark with the clouds. 327

People deemed that the Law had arrived as it were from some other world and that Order had returned from a perilous journey. 328

This king of inestimable glory having constructed Bakaśa in Bakaśvabhra and the Bakavatī canal, founded the city called Lavanotsa. 329

There sixty-three years and thirteen days were passed by that monarch while he ruled the earth. 330

Tradition says that a certain Yogesvarī named Aṭṭā having assumed a lovely form, when Night had revealed her face, had approached the king. 331

She having made him forget himself with her delightful conversation invited him, while he was in a happy mood, to witness the glory of the festival of the sacrifice. 332

Accompanied by his sons, grandsons and hundreds of persons the king, at day-break, accordingly went to attend when the suzerain was reduced by her to the condition of the votive offering to the circle of the goddesses. 333

By this act she achieved supernatural power, the slab with the mark of her two knees indicative of her flight in the heavens may be seen even to this day. 334

325 The king is described in this verse as having been crowned by the citizens. Kingship in Kāśmīr was apparently elective. Later on in Taranga V there is a description of the conference of Brahmans assembled to elect a king when the choice falls on a learned Kāśmīrī Brahman, Yaśaskara, who is thereupon crowned king. See verses 469-477

328 Dharma is Law and Abhaya (literally absence of peril) is Order.

329 Lavanotsa was apparently situated on the highway from Śrinagara to the plains of India. The place is repeatedly mentioned see VI. 46, 57 and VIII. 762, 1537, 1658

331 The Yogesvarī, like the Lorelei, lured men to destruction.



The god Śatakapāleśa, the circle of the Mothers, and that slab in the mountains of Kherī recall this legend to memory even to this day 335

The goddess had spared Kṣitinaṇḍa, the bulbous root of the dynastic plant. This son ruled the land after him for thirty years. 336 *Kṣitinaṇḍa*

For fifty-two years and two months his son named Vasunanda then protected the land. He is famous as the author of a work on sexual science 337 *Vasunanda*

Nara, his son, for sixty years and his son Aksa, who founded the township of Aksavāla, for a like number of years became rulers. 338 *Nara* *Aksa*

Then Gopāditya, his son, who guarded the earth together with the islands, by superintendence over the order of the four castes made vivid the dawn of the golden age 339 *Gopāditya*

It was he who had made the gift of the Agrahāras, principal among whom was Śamāṅgāśa, namely Khola, Khāgikā, Hādigrāma and Skandapura. 340

Having founded Jyestheśvara on the Gopa hill, the Brahmans born in the land of the Āryas were induced to accept the Gopa Agrahāras by that pious king. 341

To Bhūksīravātikā he expelled the Brahmans who ate garlic and interned at Khāsatā those who had abandoned their own way of life. 342

And, having invited from the holy lands other Brahmans who lived in sanctity, he established them in Vaścikā and other Agrahāras. 343

"Supreme guardian of this world"—such was the epithet he had

337 No work by Vasunanda has been found

341 The Gopa hill also Gopakar, is the hill now called Śankarācārya near Śrinagar. The old name survives in the village of Gupkār situate between the Dal and the foot of the hill. The ancient temple on the hill which survives to this day perhaps dates from this period, and formed part of the original temple of Jyesthesvara. The Mīhomadan Kasmiris call it the Takht-i-Sulaiman. The Mīhomadan Iranians similarly call the throne of Solomon the grass grown plateau which is the site of the capital of Cyrus the Great, who died in 569 B.C. The tomb of

that conqueror of Media, Babylonia, and Palestine is called by them 'the Mosque of Solomon's Mother' which childless women now visit to hang amulets on the portal. In Ferghana a celebrated Buddhist relic is now known as the Takht-i-Sulaiman.

Ārya desa=land of the Āryas refers to the land of the rivers Gangā and Yamunā.

342 The use of garlic, apart from books on medicine, has been condemned from early times among the high castes in India.

343 This is an illustration of immigration by royal invitation of Brahmans from other lands into Kasmir.

gained in panegyrics; save for sacrifice he would not suffer the slaughter of animals. 344

Having protected the land for sixty years and six days, to enjoy the ripe fruit of his good actions, he went to the world of the righteous. 345

Gokaṛṇa, his son, founder of the temple of Gokaṛṇeśvara, supported the land. He ruled for fifty-seven years and nine months. 346

His son was Narendrāditya alias Kṛṇikṛṇa; he was the founder of the temples of Bhūteśvara and of a hospice. 347

The recipient of divine favours his Guru named Ugra, whose figure was radiant with spiritual power, founded the temple of Ugreśa and a circle of the Mothers. 348

Having been the lord of the land for thirty-six years and hundred days, that pious man attained to the world of the blameless in virtue of his many meritorious deeds. 349

His son of the name of Yudhiṣṭhira then became king who, on account of his small eyes, was called by the people—the blind Yudhiṣṭhira. 350

Ruling with caution over the kingdom to which he had succeeded by hereditary right, he followed for a short while the course of conduct of former kings. 351

Then, unluckily, after the lapse of some time, being intoxicated with the pride of prosperity he fell a prey to caprice; he did not favour those who were worthy to be favoured, did not treasure the intelligent, and failed to act kindly towards those who were experienced in serving him. 352-3

Being treated without any distinction on a level with his ill-educated milieu the wise, whose prestige was wounded, deserted the badly brought-up man. 354

Equal treatment of everybody is indeed a virtue of the Yogis, but it is the cause of infamy and a great fault in the case of the lord of the land. 355

His faults were turned into virtues and his virtues into faults by the sycophants who, by slow degrees, made him a lack-lustre comparable to one who has been subdued by women. 356

His speech which cut to the quick, his prolonged jesting, his perpetual talks with the satellites and his very amusements which were unworthy of royalty, gave cause for fear. 357

He pretended to admire merit in one's presence but criticized the

faults behind one's back; the king, whose regard was unstable, became the object of hatred of his dependents. 358

So, while the blundering king hardly paid any attention to it the stability of the regime fell into disorder. 359

When ignored by those who had been loyal to him, who had no self-control, the treacherous ministers, who worked for his destruction, now gained in power. 360

By encroaching on the master's authority and acting in an irresponsible manner, they made the ruling princes of adjoining territories covet the seizure of the realm. 361

Then livened up by them all of them living in different directions became, like hawks for flesh, impetuous to secure the kingdom. 362

Then fear rose in the king, who was unable to consolidate for himself a stable position, like the workman when the slab of stone has slipped from the apparatus. 363

For a long time the king's administration had been tottering and in a state of disorder and not a single remedy could be found to re-instate ordered government. 364

"As he has seen our faults, upon the restoration of order, he would undoubtedly kill us", thinking in this wise his own ministers did not accept his terms for a reconciliation. 365

Then, having formed a league, they surrounded with armed forces the royal palace drowning the shouts of men with the terrible rattle of the kettle-drums; they obstructed the light of the sun by the shadows

360. Monarchy in early India was elective (see Note VII 703) and the last verses of the fifth canto describe in detail a conference which meets to elect a king. This perhaps was due to the survival of Buddhist influence in Kāśmīr. In verse 141 above the Kāśmīrī king is described as a Mahāśākya which shows that the original character of kingship in Kāśmīr was elective. In ancient India the people were stronger in proportion to the weakness of the monarchy and numerous instances of depositions and expulsions are mentioned in the early Sanskrit works. The *Satapatha Brāhmana* relates the story of Dastarta Pāumsāyana, king of the Sṛijayas, who was deposed by his people, his dynasty had ruled the kingdom for ten generations (XII 9, 3,

1 sqq). The *Pañcavimśa-Brāhmana* mentions two instances of kings who were expelled from the realm viz., Dīrghaśravas (XV 3, 25) and Sindhu-kṣit (XII, 12, 6). The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* relates the story of king Vena who was deposed and killed in comparatively recent times (I, 13).

363. The reference here is to the method of lifting water which is commonly practised to this day in Kāśmīr and other parts of India. The peasant uses a long pole at the top end of which is tied a bucket and at the lower end a heavy stone, he fills the bucket with water balancing it with the foot to draw water from a pool, a channel or a well. The slipping of the stone would upset the balance.

of their standards borne by an array of intoxicated elephants which darkened, even by day, the terraces of the palace. 366

Then permitted by them to leave his own country, after the fight had been called off and time allowed to him, the king emerged for this purpose from the heart of the city of Śrīnagara on the high road on which were scattered, in lieu of parched grain, drops of tears of the distressed citizens at the sight of the exodus of the royal ladies who were covered with the dust from the hoofs of the horses. 367

The king having been deposed from the throne his retainers, ladies, treasure and the like were carried off by his enemies while he was fleeing, just as the creepers and fruits from a tree fallen from a high mountain are forcibly borne away by mighty boulders. 368

Proceeding along lovely mountain paths the king, yielding to fatigue, rested under trees, sitting for a while and then moving on he forgot his great sufferings; anon awakened by shouts of the vulgar which reached his ears from afar, he was seen dejected, his mind sinking in an abyss like the waters of a cataract. 369

After crossing forests heavily perfumed with the scent of many varieties of creepers and herbs and the mountain streams with boulders, which were tossed by the surging waters and which were slippery with moss, his queen, whose slim figure had the semblance of a lovely lotus plant, becoming weary would place her limbs on his lap and faint. 370

From the spur of the mountain on the frontier while the royal ladies offered handfuls of flowers as a leave-taking, even the birds resting in their own nests in the caverns of the mountains rushed down in excitement in flocks and, spreading their wings and bending their beaks towards the earth's surface, began to cry. 371

The royal ladies, who had tied on their bosom the upper garment which had slipped from their heads, watching their own land from a distance placed their hands on the foreheads and wept tears which streamed like a rivulet on the way. 372

367. Parched grain and flowers were thrown on auspicious occasions on royal processions.

368-372. These verses in the original are melodious and full of the *Rasa* of *Karuna* or *Pathos*. They recall a similar event in the history of the Moors. The last Moorish king in Spain, Boabdil,

was expelled by the Castilians in 1492 A.D. When he reached, with his family, the mountains of Padul he cast a final long look at Granada and wept. The spot where Boabdil took his sad farewell look of Granada bears to this day the name *El ultimo sospiro del Moro*—"the last sigh of the Moor."

With steadfast friendship, with apt speech, and suggestions to calm his sorrow, and by diverse other attentions which influenced him because of the undisguised acceptance of his orders, the sadness at the downfall from regal state of the king, who had taken refuge in their territory, was lessened by the good-natured chiefs. 373

[Thus the First Tarāṅga of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī the composition of Kalhapa, son of the noble Lord Caṇpaka, the great Kāśmīrī minister.]

## SECOND TARĀṄGA

Holding the bow, fashioned from the pointed horns of the goat and the bull, and Gaṇeśa formed from the physical halves of man and elephant, the Lord who has an ocean of love for multifariousness of forms—triumphant is the formation of his body which appropriately is half-woman half-man. 1

The effort to regain possession of the kingdom was abandoned by the king, owing to old age and the predictions of men who had achieved inner calm 2

Becoming a leader among the self-controlled, this modest and noble man relegated to oblivion together with his territory, the pleasures, too, of the five senses. 3

As he rushed about in his desire for the crown, his own ministers kept him at Durgāgalikā in course of time, thus, however, it has been stated by some. 4

Then a relative of king Vikramāditya, named Pratāpāditya, having been brought by them from abroad was, in his place, anointed king. 5

That he was the Vikramāditya, the enemy of the Scythians, thus in this connection, others having fallen into confusion have erroneously written, which is conflicting and worth nothing. 6

Unhappy through its own factions, this realm from that time onwards was, for some time, enjoyed by Harsa and other kings. 7

1 "We see how multifarious were the forms ultimately assumed by the ancient god of the whirlwind. Representing, as he did, the untamed forces of nature, it was quite in order that, in the world of Hindu philosophy he should symbolize the powers of destruction which are at the basis of cosmic evolution, death being the very law of existence, as a condition of life. In this superior wisdom transcending both good and evil both kindness and cruelty, both being and not-being—a wisdom, in

fact, of a Nietzschean order—lies the whole of Śaivism." Grousset, *Civilization of the East India*, Vol II p 186

6 For Alberuni's interesting note on Vikramāditya, the Conqueror of the Śakas, see Vol II p 6

7 Harṣa in this verse cannot refer either to Harṣa of Ujjain, who sent Maṅguka to be king of Kāśmīr as narrated in the third Tārāṅga, nor to Harṣavardhana of Kanauj mentioned by Hsüan-Tsang, the Chinese traveller in the 7th century

Though the land had not belonged to his forefathers, it was cherished, as if it had belonged to his forefathers, by this king like the bride by a husband who knows her heart. 8

After having enjoyed the land for thirty years when he went to heaven, Jalaukas, his son, came to be the ornament of the country. 9 *Jalaukas*

For a like period as his father, for the increase of prosperity, he shone just as at the equinox, the cool-rayed Moon, when full, shines for a like period as the Sun. 10

Then together with his crowned queen Vākpustā, of divine lustre, his son Tuñjīna reigned and gladdened the subjects. 11 *Tuñjīna*

By that couple the Earth was adorned, as is the matted hair of Śiva by the Gaṅgā and the Crescent Moon. 12

These two nobly sustained the delightful land with its various castes, like the lightning and the water-bearing cloud the bow of Indra. 13

That very blessed couple founded the shrine of Śiva known as Tungeśvara, a graceful ornament of the land, as well as a town known as Katikā. 14

In some place in the interior of Madavarājya, where the bright sunshine is oppressive, the trees, through their superhuman power bore fruit the moment they were planted. 15

He who held theatricals worthy to be seen by all people, the Avatāra of the sage Dvaipāyana, the great poet Candaka, lived during this period. 16

13 There is a pun on the word Varna which means both (1) caste and (2) colour, the latter meaning applies to the rainbow

15 The valley of Kāśmīr has been divided into two parts called Kramarājya and Madavarājya, the modern Kanrāz and Marāz. The former is below Śrinagar, the latter above the capital on either side of the Vitastā

16 It is believed that Candaka is the same as Candragopin to whom several verses are ascribed in the *Subhāsitāvalī*. According to Prof. Sylvain Lévi Candaka may be identified with Candra mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim I-Tsing. A Tibetan version of a Buddhist drama has been discovered which is ascribed to Candragomin. It is, how-

ever, not certain if he is the same as the Candaka or Candraka of Kalhana. See *Das Datum des Candragomin und Kalidāsa* by Professor Liebhich of Heidelberg

Kalhana has paid a very high tribute to Candaka in comparing him to the author of the *Mahabhārata* and it may therefore be of interest to give here a couple of verses by him—one on love and the other on war—from the *Subhāsitāvalī*, V 1629 and V 2275

Prasāde vartasva prakataya mudam  
samyaya rusam

Prīye śucyanty angāny amṛtam iva  
te śūcitu vacah

Nidhānam saukhyanam kṣanam  
abhimukham sthāpaya mukham  
Na mugdhe pratyetur bhavati

As if with the insistent purpose of testing the high character of those two, on one occasion, there yawned a providential calamity which was difficult for the subjects to bear. 17

When the fields with the ripening autumn rice-crop had covered the land in the month of Bhādrapada, of a sudden, there was a heavy snow-fall 18

In the snow, which was comparable to the boisterous laughter of the ardent Destroyer during the annihilation of the universe, the rice-crop sunk together with the people's hope of existence. 19

Then with swarming hosts of the people emaciated with hunger and with the dead, resembling the stronghold of hell, there occurred the dire calamity of a famine. 20

The love of wife, affection for the son, loving kindness for the

gatah kālaharināḥ

'Be nice, show some joy, don't be cross, sweet heart! my limbs are withering, let thy words sprinkle ambrosia on them The abode of all delights, thy face—place it for a moment opposite to mine Foolish one! Time is an antelope, it goes away never to return!'

Esāḥ me ranagatīśya dīdhi prajāṇā

Draṣṭavyānti janyam ripavo jaghri-  
nam hīyamam

Yuddheṣu bhīgyaśīpaleṣu na me  
prajāṇā

Daivam yad icchati janyam ca  
parājayam ca

"This is my solemn vow as I set forth for battle—that never shall the enemy see the backs of my steeds, I vouchsafe nothing about the fighting which is swayed by destiny let it be as Providence wills whether victory or defeat"

20 Kalhana has given more than one description of famine in Kashmir Of the famines nearer his own times he has given the dates The Portuguese priest Pierre du Jarrie, who has given us an interesting account of Akbar, relates the experiences of the two priests Father Hierosme Xavier and Benoist de Gois, who accompanied Akbar, at his request, to Kashmir

"Whilst they were in the kingdom of Caximir there was so grievous a famine that many mothers were rendered

destitute, and having no means of nourishing their children, exposed them for sale in the public places of the city Moved to compassion by this pitiable sight, the Father bought many of these little ones, who soon after receiving baptism, yielded up their spirits to their Creator A certain Saracen, seeing the charity of the Father towards these children brought him one of his own, but the Father gave it back to the mother together with a certain sum of money for its support, for he was unwilling to baptise it seeing that, if it survived, there was little prospect of its being able to live a Christian life in that country At day-break the next morning, however the mother knocked at the door of his lodging and begged him to come to her house and baptise the child as it was about to die Accompanied by some Portuguese, he went with her to the house and baptised the child, having first obtained the consent of its father The latter, after it was dead, wished to circumcise it, but this the Father would not permit, but buried it with Christian rites There was another mother, a Mahomedan woman who brought to him, under similar circumstances her infant son to be baptised and in this case, too, as soon as the rite had been performed, the spirit of the little sufferer ascended to heaven" (*Akbar and the Jesuits*, p 78)



parent, tormented by hunger, in the anxiety for a belly-full, were forgotten by everyone. 21

Owing to the torments of hunger the people selfishly hankering for food, smitten by the glance of destiny, forgot modesty, pride and high birth. 22

The father abandoned his emaciated son begging for food when his life was at the throat or the son his father and provided nourishment for himself. 23

Human beings, whose own bodies were reduced to mere skin and bones, retained selfishness and fought like goblins longing for food. 24

Coarse in speech, weak with starvation, weird, frightful in appearance, furtively looking in all directions each individual endeavoured, at the cost of all living beings in the world, to provide nourishment for his own self. 25

During the grim and awful terror, which was extremely difficult to endure for living beings, that king alone was seen melted with compassion. 26

Having dispensed with the ushers he, by his very sight, which had the charm of jewels and healing herbs, cut out the weariness of the despondent caused by destitution. 27

With his own treasure as well as with the accumulated riches of the ministers, he bought food and accompanied by his wife, day and night, restored human beings to life. 28

In the forest, in the crematorium, on the high roads or in the dwelling houses, no famine-stricken person was ignored by that king. 29

When he had no treasure in reserve and seeing that food was diminishing in the land, during the night, on one occasion, he spoke thus to the queen in his distress. 30

"O Queen! it is through some transgression of ours, no doubt, that such a calamity, difficult to survive, has befallen the innocent people". 31

"Fie on me, hapless one, in front of whom the sorrow-stricken people, seeing the earth without a refuge, are perishing who deserve to be helped." 32

"While these subjects are without a refuge and the kinsfolk are abandoning one another, what is the use of my continuing to live without the ability to protect them in this peril?" 33

"As far as was possible, I strove to get all the people to pass through these days so that none perished." 34

"But this land, whose glory has been eclipsed through the evil-mindedness of Time has, to-day, in her affliction, become destitute and her splendour has departed." 35

"Thus they are sinking in the ocean of this fearful calamity; what then is the remedy which is capable of saving the subjects?" 36

"For, without light is the world and the sunshine has been swallowed up by the cloudy days and it seems it is enveloped, as it were, on all sides by a series of the nights of annihilation." 37

"The snow-drifts having made impassable the mountains whose passes are blocked, the people, like birds in nests whose exits have been closed, have become helpless." 38

"The brave, the intelligent and the men of learning, look! the living have become, through the malignity of Time, as good as dead." 39

"Which directions are not covered with the multitude of the golden flower-buds on the earth's surface? Which realm is not adorned by men who shower the nectar of polite breeding and who are worth entertaining? What highways are not crowded by the praiseworthy men who are charming with their tradition of refinement? Among them, with their merits eclipsed, they only are continuing to reside here who are under the spell of the Destroyer." 40

"Therefore having exhausted my means, I shall now sacrifice my body in the blazing fire; for I am not able to see such a destruction of the subjects." 41

"Blessed are those kings who sleep peacefully at night seeing the citizens, in front of them like their sons, happy in every way." 42

Having thus spoken he, who was overcome with compassion, covering the face with the garment and throwing himself on the couch, the lord of the land, wept in silence. 43

While the lamps, moveless in the still air as if through curiosity, were straining their necks, the queen, as she watched him, then spoke to the sovereign. 44

40 In this verse K is describing the effect of famine on the educated and cultured Kāśmīris. The talented people of Kāśmīr have, from time to time, emigrated from their own poor country

to acquire fame and prosperity in the plains of India. Instances of such emigration are to be found in this poem. See VIII, 2227.

"O King! through the misdeeds of the subjects, what is this perversion of your judgment, that you wantonly intend what befits an irresolute man?" 45

"If the ability to cut through insurmountable difficulties is absent, O protector of the land! what then in the great is the mark of their greatness?" 46

"Who is Indra, what is the creator Brahman and what is the wretched Yama, to transgress the command of kings who are pledged to righteous conduct?" 47

"Devotion to the husband is the rule of dutiful conduct of women, loyalty that of ministers, and single-minded application in protecting the subjects is the sacred duty of kings." 48

"Get up, O foremost among the pious! Has my utterance ever been reversed? O protector of the subjects! your subjects are indeed in no peril from starvation" 49

When she had thus spoken with emotion, after meditating on the gods, in each house there fell a heap of lifeless pigeons 50

In the morning having seen this, the king desisted from the attempt at suicide and the subjects supported life with the pigeons which they received each day 51

Some other stuff it was which that saintly lady had created, for sooth, to sustain the lives of the populace—they could scarcely have been pigeons 52

In the case of those like her, who by nature have sincere compassion towards living beings, it was nowise possible that her pious conduct should have had the stigma of violence to life. 53

The sky became spotless, in due course, through the virtuous conduct of the queen and together with the sorrow of the king the famine came to an end 54

That righteous lady who was free from sin founded in favour of the Brahmans the Agrabhāra, imposing on account of its moral and material resources, of Katimusa and Rāmusa. 55

When after thirty-six years her husband had found peace, she rid herself of the fever of separation in the bed-sheets of the blazing flames as if they were lotuses. 56

55 Katimusa and Ramusa are the modern Kaimuh and Ramuh Ramuh is midway between Śrinagar and

Śupriya on the main road

56 The fibres of the stocks of the water-lily are used as a cooling application

The place, where that lady of pure life followed her deceased husband, is called Vākpustātīvi unto this very day by the people. 57

At the alms-house there, founded by that charming lady, crowds of the destitute coming from various parts are fed to this day. 58

"Who has the power to do more than these two?"—thus having determined, the fastidious Creator did not create any offspring for them 59

The Creator attains the highest rank among connoisseurs for having made the effort and produced the sugar-cane itself as the fruit, when it has made us forget the excellence of the delicious ambrosia, what indeed superior to it could have been produced? 60

'Believing that the realm had long been without the sun under clouded skies for a transgression on her part, the queen consigned her body to the flames'—so have stated some others 61

Then born in another family Vijaya was king for eight years. It was he who built the town round Vijayēśvara. 62

The son of that king who had been the Indra on earth, the far-famed king Jayendra, whose arms reached his knees, then enjoyed the land 63

His pillar-like arms supported the statue of the goddess of victory, radiant in fluttering silk, being garbed in the wave of his steadfast fame. 64

This king had for minister one who was adorned with remarkable virtue and devotion to Śiva called Sandhumatī, the best among men of intellect. 65

No such device exists in the world which is capable of removing the instability of the ears of kings, who are like elephants in rut 66

"This man of very remarkable intelligence should be mistrusted" by speaking in this wise the sycophants made the king take a prejudice against that counsellor. 67

Then having forbidden him audience the enraged king, without

64 In this verse the king is described as carrying Victory lightly—her garment is the king's own fame, but whereas the silken garment flutters, the king's fame is steadfast

66 Capalakarnatī=unsteadiness of the ears. There is a pun on this word which applies to kings as well as to rutting

elephants. The ears of a king are available to those who whisper evil and influence the king's conduct which is in consequence uncertain in the case of the elephant the ears are unsteady because of the flies which worry the animal in rut

any cause, deprived him of all his possessions and reduced him to lifelong poverty. 68

When he was withered by the summer heat of the king's enmity, the courtiers did not cheer him even by holding converse. 69

No sooner is a king in earnest in receiving a report, than those who stand before him repeat the words openly like echoes. 70

He, however, was not daunted by the displeasure of the sovereign or by indigence; he was delighted that he had secured, free from impediment, the service of Śiva. 71

At this time, owing to the might of coming events, was broadcast in every house a mysterious speech in this wise "the realm will, in future, belong to Sandhumatī." 72

"A rumour does not spread unless it is started" thus having hearkened to his entourage the king, thereupon, became nervous and lodged him in the prison-house 73

There, while he was withering away with his feet tortured by the grim fetters, there came to an end the tenth year and at the same time the king's term of life. 74

That king, while he was about to die without a son, began to be consumed by the agony arising out of the malady as well as by worry on his account. 75

Seething with the flaming fire of hatred, he did not think that, without the death of the minister, it was possible to resist destiny. 76

Whatever device to stultify what is willed to happen the unsophisticated should employ, you may be sure that, that itself is the open door designed by destiny. 77

On a heap of burnt embers to a spark of fire glowing feebly, if the Creator particularly desires to convey incomparable power, he makes the man who wishes to extinguish it mistake a pot standing near it, containing a lot of butter which has been melted with the heat, for a pot of water. 78

70 Ksmābhrt means (1) a king and (2) a mountain. In the latter case Agraga would apply to hills in front of a mountain which produce echoes of the reverberating sound issuing from the mountain. K is hunting at the sinister interest of satellites in anything which attracts the king's attention.

72 Aśruta-Sarasvatī literally means speech which is unheard.

73 Kāraṇeśma = 'house of incarceration.' In ancient India the prison system was very highly developed. The *Arthaśāstra* has many references to the administration of prisons. References to such matters as the food, clothing, fetters, interviews, etc. of prisoners and to corruption of prison-warders will be found in this poem.

78 This is a verse, which being literally

Thus, by order of the king, Sandhumatī was impaled by criminal officers in charge of executions at night and killed.

When he heard that he had been impaled, the dart of sadness of the king, who was worn out by disease, came away first and then on his life.

When after thirty-seven years the king died without any lineal descendant, the land ceased to have a king for some days.

Then learning that Sandhimatī had been killed in that manner the heart of his Guru named Īśāna, lost control albeit he was a man who had controlled the self.

As in the case of the Śirīṣa flower which is easily destroyed, in this life, alas! in the case of men of intellect their benevolence is the only thing, like the flower stalk, which survives.

He went to the funeral ground to render the final honours, as was meet for him to do, to the cultured minister who was withering away as if he were a pauper.

He saw that nothing had remained of him but the bones which the wolves were pulling violently, the moveless skeleton having been held fast at the base of the stake.

With the sound issuing in front from the apertures in the skull filled with air, he seemed to be sorrowing over such a plight.

"Alas! my son! to see you in such a plight I am alive until to-day so saying the bone pierced by the stake was pulled out by him.

His feet were covered by the hair, grey with dust, which crumbled from the skull; Īśāna carried that skeleton while keeping off the growling wolves.

Then, as he was preparing to perform the fitting ceremonies, on the forehead inscribed by the Creator, he deciphered this Śloka.

"Poverty so long as there is life, ten years' imprisonment, death on the top of the stake, then there will be sovereignty."

Of the three Pādas of the verse he, who was conversant with Yoga had seen the meaning; about the verification of the import of the

translated, is somewhat obscure, but the meaning will be clear

83. The Śirīṣa is the Albizzia Speciosa. A timber tree of moderate size, it is prominent in the gardens and on the roads of Northern India. The flowers are large, tassel-like, pale green, diffusing widely an exquisite perfume, particularly

at night. Another variety of it is the well-known Albizzia Lebbek.

89. The Śloka is a stanza or verse. Śloka has four Pādas, each Pāda consists of eight syllables. The Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata are composed in Śloka Anuṣṭubh metre so called because 'follows in praise' the Gāyatrī

fourth Pāda, which remained to be seen, he was seized with curiosity.

91

And he wondered, in his bewilderment, how this was going to happen, then, while he was long musing over the incomprehensible power of Providence, he argued.

92

"Occupied in different affairs, with the limitation of dependence, everyone strives to frustrate Fate's persistent operations with energy. It is amazing that its wondrous power, even in these conditions, comes to light through whose might the success of various events is achieved free from hindrance."

93

"In the city of Manipura Arjuna, who had been slain, was restored to life through the glamour of the Nāga maiden by Providence which is the sea of all marvels."

94

"Parikṣit who had been consumed while in the womb of his mother by the magic weapon of the son of Drona was revived, through the glory of Kṛṣṇa, by the Creator, the highest of rulers."

95

"Kaca reduced to ashes by the Titans and the Nāgas swallowed by Tārksya—to restore them to life who else but Providence could have ventured?"

96

Arguing in this wise he remained in eagerness to see the fulfilment of the prophecy and having fixed his residence at that very spot, he kept a watch and ward on the skeleton.

97

And so, once, at midnight, Īśāna, who had lost his sleep owing to the anxiety about that miracle, smelt the perfume of divine incense.

98

He heard an uncanny sound of the clang of many cymbals and bells struck violently and the loud din of tambourines. On opening the window he then saw Yoginīs standing inside a halo of light.

99-100

Noticing their excitement and that the skeleton had been removed, the startled Īśāna proceeded to the funeral ground with a drawn sword.

101

Thus he saw hidden by a tree that the skeleton, which had been placed recumbent in the centre of their troupe, was being modelled with all the limbs by the troupe of the Yoginīs.

102

With the rising tide of desire for sensual enjoyment with a lover,

94-96. These stories from the *Mahābhārata* are well-known. The story of the Serpents revived by Jīmūta-vāhana is told in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* in the

simple and elegant style of the Kaśmīrī author Somadeva (11th century), a contemporary of Kṣemendra

the nymphs, drunk with liquor, having failed to find a virile man, had sought out the skeleton and had carried it away. 103

Each different limb was furnished from their own limbs and having from somewhere brought the male organ, in a moment, they thus set him up complete with all the limbs. 104

Next, the spirit of Sandhimati which had been wandering about not having taken possession of another body, the Yoginīs having attracted by Yoga placed it therein. 105

Then, as he was being massaged with divine emollients, he awoke as if from sleep and, at will, as the leader of the troupe, he had with them the joy in the way of love. 106

The bewildered Īśāna began to get apprehensive as the night was wearing out, lest the nymphs might take back the limbs conferred by them 107

With a shout the resolute man advanced to the place with a view to preserve them, whereupon the troupe of the Yoginīs instantly vanished from view. 108

Then was heard their voice—"Have no fear, O Īśāna! there is no loss of limb on our part and towards this chosen lover no deceit" 109

"Through having been our chosen lover he, who has been modelled with a divine body, will be renowned on earth as Sandhimān and because of his gentlemanliness as Āryarāja as well." 110

Then clad in celestial garments, wearing a garland and decked with celestial ornaments, the resplendent Sandhimān having regained memory of the past saluted his Guru. 111

Īśāna, on his part, when he embraced him who had become very difficult to meet even in dreams, who can describe the pitch of excitement he had reached: 112

While the two of them together, in turn, pondered over the cycle of life which, at the same time, is futile and marvellous—on this subject the conversation of these two which flowed was calm and thoughtful. 113

Then having heard the news from somewhere, the residents of

110. Āryarāja=chief of the Āryas. The term Ārya is used to differentiate from the Anārya, the non-Aryans, or barbarians. Ārya also means gentleman. In early times, the pater-familias was addressed as Ārya and the wife in the Indian household addressed her husband

as Ārya-putra (son of the Ārya). See VIII 3247. It is interesting to find the survival of this term Ārya through the Prakṛta Ajja in the modern Jī used as a suffix for respect and as a term of address in the Dekhan and in Western and Northern India.



Srinagara, young and old together with the ministers, arrived at that very spot 114

From the lack of resemblance to his former figure, the doubt that he was not the same man was dispelled by him by asking everybody relevant questions. 115

To the prayer of the citizens to rule over a realm where a king was lacking he, who was free from desire, acceded with difficulty at the behest of the Gurū. 116

Having conducted him, who looked lovely with his divine body, to the neighbourhood of a garden the Brahmans, to the accompaniment of music, bathed him with the ceremonial waters of the coronation. 117

As regards the etiquette appropriate in the case of a new king he had not to wait for instructions; on the other hand, he who was experienced in affairs simplified all procedure. 118

Then attired as was meet for a king and escorted by the army, he entered the city which was gay with the sound of the blessings of the citizens and showers of parched grain poured from the terraces. 119

While he, who was free from the passions, occupied the mighty throne, no calamity either divine or human befell the subjects. 120  
The heart of this self-controlled man was captivated by the forest regions with mountain peaks of perpetual beauty and lovely ridges and not by women by attractions suitable for amour and lovely hips. 121

When he was touched by an ascetic's hands, associated with the sacred perfume of wild flowers and fragrant with camphor and incense, he was delighted. 122

When he was not visiting Bhūteśa, Vardhamāneśa and Vijayeśa, he was regular in application to the affairs of state day after day. 123

Touched by the breezes laden with the spray of water used for the washing of the stairs of Śiva's temple, his body used to become moveless with joy. 124

When upon the removal of the earlier worship it was bathed and looked beautiful without the spectacular decorations, then only he felt that he had secured the sight of Vijayeśvara. 125

121. In this verse there is a pun on the words which, as translated, apply to the

mountains and to women.

The musical sound of water falling from the pitchers poured on the Liṅga for the ceremonial bath and running round the base was dear, even while asleep, to him who disliked the lute. 126

With ascetics in ashes, Rudrākṣa, and the matted hair, the court of this king shone as if it were an assembly of Śiva. 127

The vow of this sovereign to consecrate one thousand Śiva Liṅgas daily was not broken at any time. 128

When by mistake this had not been fulfilled, a slab was carved by his servants with one thousand modelled Liṅgas all round it, which is seen to this day. V247, 6 K8 129

In the various tanks he placed a series of lotus seeds resembling Liṅgas for religious merit in the form of lotus flowers. 130

In various places by depositing Śiva Liṅgas in the waters in large numbers, he transformed the streams to resemble the Narmadā. 131

For each Liṅga prosperous villages were assigned by him, the enjoyment of which by the members of the priests' corporation in these days, has come to an end by lapse of time. 132

With magnificent edifices, colossal Liṅgas, colossal Bulls and colossal Tridents, his great devotee of Śiva ennobled the land. 133

After constructing Sandhiśvara at the funeral ground, where his body had been set up, after the name of the Guru Īśāna, he consecrated Īśāneśvara to Śiva. 134

To Thedā, Bhīmādevī and other localities, he imparted splendour at every step with palatial buildings containing convents, statuary and Liṅgas. 12 2837 135

Hallowed by its self-originating Liṅgas and the sanctuaries the kingdom of Kaśmīr, this wise man, adorned by devotion, alone knew how to enjoy. 136

Bathing in the water of the cascades and holding festive worship

126 The worship of the Liṅga seems to be about 4,000 years old. The clay tablets of Mohenjo Daro have representations of the Liṅga, of Śakti and of Mother Earth.

130 The seeds of the lotus which resemble Liṅgas are used for rosaries.

131 The pebbles of the river Narmadā are still worshipped as Liṅgas, under the name of Śalagrāma, they represent Viṣṇu.

132 Paṇṣid (Paṇi=round, Sid=to Sit)

literally a round table conference. K. uses the term for the conclave of the officiating priests (Purohita) of the temples and sanctuaries (Tirtha). The members of the conclave are referred to in the different Tīrthas as Pāṇṣadya and Pāṇṣadi. It was these priests who organised hunger-strikes in a body to get redress of grievances or as a demonstration against a minister or measure of policy.

of the flower Lingas in the sylvan glades, was passed by this king the month of spring. 137

And in the very delightful summer of Kaśmīr, difficult to find in the three worlds, by the worship of the snow Lingas beyond the forests, he attained the satisfaction of having done his duty. 138

Having reached the edges of the lakes, which screened the directions with masses of open lotuses, this favourite of fortune became absorbed in meditation upon him on whose crown is the crescent-moon. 139

Dipping in the blue lotus pools, which the rise of Agastya had made free from venom, he spent the autumn in the worship of Śiva. 140

While the lord of the land observed the festive vigils, in the society of all kinds of ascetics, the nights of Māgha did not pass in vain. 141

While the good man was rendering fruitful in this wise the sovereignty acquired in a very marvellous manner, he passed fifty less three years. 142

The inner calm being his passion, he had not been looking to the affairs of the realm and the subjects, during this period, took to disaffection. 143

While they were in search of some one fit for the throne, they heard of an ambitious and enlightened prince royal of the house of Yudhiṣṭhira. 144

For, at this time the great-grandson of Yudhiṣṭhira named Gopāditya was kept as a protégé, with a view to gain a victory over the sovereign of Kaśmīr, by the king of Gāndhāra. 145

This prince while residing there without securing imperial power, in course of time, had a son who had the infallible divine marks. 146

That youth, at the behest of his father, proceeded to the realm of the ruler of Prāgyjotiṣa, descended from the line of Viṣṇu, during the Svayamvara of his maiden daughter. 147

There, with the parasol of Varuṇa to shade him, in the presence of rajahs, the royal maiden Amṛtalekhā honoured him with the garland of the chosen one. 148

By this omen, the people came to know of his coming advancement like the advent of the water-bearing clouds by the westerly winds. 149

140 Agastya is the star of Canopus whose rise in the month of Bhādrapada marks the end of the season of rain and storms when the turbid water becomes

clean. See III, 325, VIII. 237.  
147. The capital of Assam according to the Viṣṇu-Purāṇa was the legendary city of Prāgyjotiṣa.

For, this parasol brought by king Naraka from Varuṇa shaded none but a Cakravartī sovereign. 150

When the prince loaded with wealth returned to his father with his wife, the ministers invited him to Kaśmīr which was worthy of his House. 151

The Āryarāja knowing that his own government was torn by factions, made no resistance although he had the power and, on the contrary, remained anxious to abdicate. 152

And he thought to himself "truly the Creator of beings has been pleased with me that he is ready to remove all those long-standing impediments to self-realization." 153

"When much remains to be achieved, I am fortunate that, like a wayfarer in the monsoon, I have not been deluded through idleness into sleep." 154

"By giving up in my own time fortune, like a courtesan who has ceased to love, the shame of a forcible expulsion has luckily been avoided by me." 155

"Like an actor while I played my part proudly for a long time upon the stage of the realm, unto the very dénouement the spectators, fortunately, did not loose interest." 156

"Luckily I, who had always loudly proclaimed my indifference to fortune, am not afraid at the moment of abdication like a boaster during a battle." 157

In this wise musing inwardly, looking forward to sacrifice everything, the king was happy in building kingdoms in his mind like a pauper. 158

The following day, having convened all the subjects, he, in the midst of the conference, delivered the government to them like a fixed deposit which has been safely guarded. 159

And what he had voluntarily given up no one was able, in spite of effort, to induce him to accept like a mighty snake its cast-off slough. 160

Having taken the Liṅga he worshipped, the lord of the subjects in gleaming white raiment, without a turban, and on foot only, set forth with the face turned towards the North. 161

156 Nirvyūḍha A technical term meaning the unravelling of the plot (Sk Vastu) It is thus literally translated as the dénouement. A number of Samskr̥ta words

have similarly been literally translated by using French words or expressions which are now current in English. See Tarangas III. 186, VII. 606, VII. 2707.

On the track of the sovereign who, observing silence, had set forth with eyes lowered towards his feet, the citizens followed shedding tears in silence. 162

When he had traversed a Gavyūti, he sat down under a tree and having consoled each individual choking with tears induced him to return. 163

On the way at the foot of the various mountains he tarried and was seen dismissing the people and with a reduced entourage, in due course, was seen proceeding higher. He passed on like a river which, having filled up low-lying lands from its own bed, rises, and flowing on is followed by meagre waters. 164

Halting in his stride in the midst of the forest he, having paid his respects to all up to the last person among the people, whom sorrow and emotion had made tearful and whose speech faltered, finally dismissed them from his presence and plunged into the forest where the cave residences were illumined by the iridescence of the crest-jewels of numerous wandering holy men, drowsy with the murmurs of the breeze caught in their garments of birch-bark. 165

Then at the foot of a tree on the edge of a sylvan pool, he made a habitation by filling, for a store of water, the hollow of folded leaves as vessels when the day was dying and by piling up for a high couch the clean foliage of trees. 166

The mountains to whose peaks clung the gleaming sunshine and whose shaded slopes were variegated with the verdant sward; where the shepherd maidens met and slumbered beneath jasmine creepers gay with spotless white flowers; which were resonant with the melody

163 Gavyūti is a measure of distance and equals one Krośa (Hindi kos) In Western India the measure of distance is the 'gau' which is derived from this term and is the equivalent of the Celtic 'league,' or the French lieue de poste=2 miles and 743 yards

165. Bhūrja is the Birch. The bark of the Birch in Kāśmīr, like that of other varieties of trees in India, was used for making garments worn by those who had renounced life. Such clothes were called Valkala. Birch-bark was and is still used in Kāśmīr as a substitute for paper, birch-bark manuscripts were discovered among the relics in the

Stūpas of the upper Kabul valley by the first Western explorers.

In 1892 the leader of the French Mission to Tibet M. Dubreuil de Rhons secured in a place, not far from Khotan, an old birch-bark manuscript in Kharo-ṣṭhī script. The MS. which was in Prākṛta was deciphered by M. Senart as a version of the Dhammapada. Since then Russian, French and German scholars have discovered a number of valuable old MSS. in Samskrta, Pāli, Prākṛta and the Kushan dialects written on birch-bark which, no doubt, was exported to Central Asia from Kāśmīr.

from the flute of the forest-guards mingling with the falling waters of the cascades—when they came within the range of his vision, not being far, they induced the weary man to sleep. 167

By the trumpeting of wild elephants, from time to time, which held out a challenge to an antagonist like the rattle of a war-drum, and by the cry of the crane, he, who was eager to proceed, reckoned that the night was worn out. 168

The day following, having got rid of sleep in a nearby lotus pool and concluding the morning prayers with the usual rites, the king arrived at the familiar Sodara spring sanctuary of the Lord of created beings situated near Nandiśa. 169

At Nandiksetra, while he stood in front of the Lord of the three worlds, he of himself became fit for the attainment of what he had hoped for. Proud of his ashes, with his neatly arranged hair tied in a knot, carrying a rosary and marked with Rudrākṣa he was watched wistfully by the aged ascetics. 170

170 Count Kaiserling's reflections inspired by the sight of the figure of Śiva dancing the Tāṇḍav are interesting. "Again and again I must think of the dancing Śhiva in the museum in Madras: this many-armed, anatomically impossible bronze realises a possibility which no Greek has ever allowed us to suspect—it is simply a wild undisciplined god; who deliberately dices the world to pieces.—How is such a creation arrived at? Only by the realisation of the God within us, and by the ability to re-create this immediate inner experience as immediately in terms of visibility. The artists of the East have accomplished this apparently impossible task. And they have succeeded in doing so by virtue of what I have been writing during all these days: their culture of concentration. We know little or nothing of the great artists of Hindustan. But we know of those of China and Japan, their heirs, that they were all Yogis, that they saw the only path to art in Yoga. They did, of course, in their first student years, draw after nature with the most earnest perseverance, in order to become the complete masters of their means of expression, but they regarded this merely as a

preliminary. For them the essential was the problem of absorption. They became absorbed in themselves, or in a waterfall, a landscape, a human face according to what they wished to represent, until they had become one with their object, and then they created it from within, unconcerned by all outer forms. It is said of Li Lung-Mien, the master of the Sung Dynasty, that his main occupation did not consist in work but in meditating by the side of the mountain slopes, or near the brooks. Tao-tse was once asked by the Emperor to paint a certain landscape. He returned without sketches or studies and replied to surprised questioning, 'I have brought nature back in my heart.' Kuo-Hsi teaches, in his writings concerning landscape painting: 'The artist must, above all, enter into spiritual relation with the hills and rivers which he wishes to paint.' Inner collectedness seemed to these artists to be more important than external training. And, surely, the completely 'inward' individual stands above reason, for its laws live within his mind; he does not need to obey them any more, just as he who knows is beyond good and evil. As his knowledge uncon-

As he wandered about for alms in the hermitage of each Muni, he got a warm reception, owing to his observance of the vows of Śiva, from the women ascetics vying with one another to give him alms. But as his alms-bowl was filled with choice fruits and blossoms by the trees he, who deserved respect, had not to suffer the humiliation of mendicancy even when he lived the life of renunciation. 171

[Thus the Second Taranga of the Rājataranginī, the composition of Kalhana, son of the noble Lord Canpaka, the great Kaśmīrī minister.]

sciously controls all his activity, thus the knowledge of the artist-Yogi directs unfailingly even the most capricious delineation. The rhythm of Far Eastern drawing is not of rational origin: it is an inner rhythm, like that of music. If one compares the design of Leonardo or Durer with it, one sees at once what the difference consists in: the one is the outcome of the concentration of reason which necessarily leads to the discovery of objective rules, the other is the product of pure self-realisation, pure subjectivity condensed into form. Thus the East has succeeded

in what has never yet been reached in the West: the visible representation of the Divine as such. I know nothing more grand in this world than the figure of Buddha; it is an absolutely perfect embodiment of spirituality in the visible domain. And this is not owing to the expression of calm, of soulfulness, and inwardness which it bears, but it is due to the figure in itself, independent of all concurrence with corresponding phenomena in nature." (*Travel Diary of a Philosopher*, Vol. I, pp. 278-80)

### THIRD TARANGA

"Give up the elephant hide!"

"In the interior of his temples are pearls worthy of your pointed breasts."

"What is the use of the flame on your forehead?"

"From it may come collyrium worthy of acceptance for your eyes."

Replying in this wise and ready to follow up with a repartee if an objection were raised also to the serpent by the beloved, may Śiva, whose body is composed of two halves, protect you. 1

Then Meghavāhana, whose rising fame had spread wide, was brought in by the subjects, who had gone to the territory of Gāndhāra led by the ministers. 2

The love which this king, who was devoted to his subjects, had for humanity, the people came to know later like the whiteness of linen after it is washed 3

Even the lives of the Bodhisattvas, who were compassionate towards living beings, this large-hearted king, in turn, excelled by his noble actions. 4

At his very coronation the officials, charged with orders in this behalf, caused to be proclaimed everywhere by beat of drum, the regulation regarding non-slaughter. 5

When the slaughter of animals was forbidden in the realm by the blessed king, the butchers and others were helped to gain a livelihood from his own coffers. 6

1 The benedictory stanzas are a special feature of Indian poetry and drama. They ingeniously illustrate the misc-en-scène. Compare with this verse the first verse in the political play *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* of the Mauryan period when the Greeks were driven out of India by the Emperor Chandra Gupta. In this Tarāṅga Kālidāsa includes a selection of tales of mystery and miracle to illustrate the Adbhuta Rasa (the sense of the marvellous) which he knew would lead

to sceptic questioning on the part of his audience (See below verses 94-95)

2 Gāndhāra The Kabul valley was the home of Buddhism for nearly a thousand years. The recent finds by learned French archaeologists such as M. J. Hackin and M. Barthou in Afghanistan of Gandhāran sculpture and specimens of Græco-Buddhist art have now been arranged in the Afghanistan section of the Musée Guimet in Paris.



In the reign of this king who like Buddha, the opponent of Māra, was opposed to slaughter, an animal effigy in melted butter was offered at sacrifices and one of paste during the offerings to the spirits. 7

He created an Agrahāra called Meghavana and this founder of Mayuṣṭagrāma then built the Megha convent supreme in religious merits. 8

For the use of Bhiksus from the plains, his wife Amṛtaprabhā caused a lofty vihāra to be built known as Amṛtabhavana. 9

From a certain foreign country named Lo had come her father's Guru, who in his language was described as Stunpā; he was the founder of the Stūpa, Lo Stonpā. 10

In Naḍavana the wife of the king, known as Yūkadevī built a Vihāra of marvellous proportions, bent on emulating the co-wife. 11

In one half of it those Bhikṣus, who conducted themselves in accordance with precepts, were accommodated by her; in the other half those who were reproachable being householders with wives, sons and cows. 12

Then another wife of the king, named Indradevī, built Indradevī-bhavana and a Vihāra with a quadrangle and a Stūpa. 13

By his other queens namely Khādanā and Sammā many magnificent Vihāras, called after their names, were constructed. 14

Though he was born in recent times, the era of this king's regime, owing to incidents which cast into the shade the legends of former kings, became marvellous. 15

Once when the sovereign was engaged in sport in the country, he heard a huc and cry raised by frightened people in this wise, "a thief, here is a thief"! not far from him. 16

10 I am indebted to the learned Bhikkhu Sāmkṛtyāyana Rāhula, well-known for his deep knowledge of the Tibetan language, for the meaning of the Tibetan word Ston-pā (Sk. Śāstā, Upadestā) In Tibetan, the word means Teacher or Preacher and was applied only to the Buddha. According to the learned Bhikkhu the word is still in current use in Ladakh where it is pronounced Ton-pā, while in Lhasa it is

now pronounced Tom-bā. South Tibet is still called Loh. This is an interesting reference to Tibet, which at that period must have been in intimate contact with Assam, on account of their common Buddhist culture. The queen of Kaśmīr who was the princess of Assam must have belonged to a Buddhist family since this preceptor, the founder of the Stūpa, was a learned Buddhist Teacher. 16. The Nāgas see I 201, Note.

"Is any one present here! let the thief be bound" when he, enraged, had thus exclaimed, the hue and cry ceased but no thief could be discovered. 17

A few days later when he had again gone out there appeared in front of him, as suppliants for his protection, two or three women of celestial beauty. 18

When the tender-hearted king had stopped his horse and granted their prayer they addressed him, in the following words, with their hands folded hollow and pressed to the parting of their hair. 19

"Sire! When with divine power the land is being maintained by you how can there be fear from another, O ocean of clemency!" 20

"At the time when our husbands, the Nāgas, having become clouds had screened the vault of the sky, the farmers, fearing a sudden shower of hail-stones and worried needlessly in their minds about safeguarding the bumper crop of ripening rice, drove them within the zone of your impetuous wrath. For when Your Majesty hearing the cry of distress of "a thief, a thief" angrily ordered "arrest the Nāgas", at your mere command they fell down caught in a lasso. May you be pleased to show them favour, through pity for us, now." 21-24

Having hearkened to this the king, whose face was bright with clemency, smilingly ordered "Let all those Nāgas be released from their shackles." 25

By that order of the king, the Nāgas immediately shook themselves free from the fetters and, having made obeisance to his feet, went off with their spouses. 26

Now in order to compel rulers to desist from violence to living beings he, who was sincere in the observance of the law, set out on a conquest up to the horizon. 27

His plan of campaign was one which Jina himself might have envied owing to his praiseworthy valour and supervision of the populace against terrorism. 28

17. Kāli Ko'tra The ancient *facon de parler* still survives in the Hindustani "Koi hail" to call a servant.  
28. Jina=Literally it means the Conqueror, here it means the Buddha who

had conquered the self. See also Tarāṅga VIII. 2234 The sect of Janas derives its name from this very word as the Janas, too, call their Teachers 'the conquerors.' *Alberuni*, Vol. I p 243.

Having overpowered the kings by his valour and having initiated them to the principle of non-violence, the unblemished monarch arrived in the neighbourhood of the lord of the streams. 29

While in the shade of palm-groves his weary legionaries were enjoying a rest he, for a while, pondered over the plan of invasion of the various islands. 30

At this time from the outskirts of the wood on the foreshore, he heard a cry of distress thus "under the very sway of Meghavāhana I am being slain". 31

Wounded in the heart as if by a hot steel shaft, the king thereupon immediately proceeded to that spot with the moving parasol. 32

Then he saw, in front of the temple of Caṇḍikā, a man with his face turned down about to be slain by some leader of Śābara warriors. 33

"O thou who knowest not thyself! fie on this thy nefarious conduct!" When thus threatened by the king that Śābara, through fear, submitted to him as follows: 34

"My infant son is on the point of death afflicted with disease; this rite prescribed by the deities would bring him much relief." 35

"The obstruction of the sacrificial offering will mean his instant death and may you be warned that, the lives of the entire circle of his relatives depend upon his being alive." 36

"A waif, who has been captured from the depth of the forest, Sire! you are protecting, how is it that you ignore a boy to whom many are related?" 37

Thereupon the high-souled king swayed by these words of the Śābara and the terrified looks of the victim said: 38

"Do not be nervous O Kīrāta! I myself will save thy son who has many relatives as well as the victim who is without kindred." 39

"I hereby offer as the sacrifice to Caṇḍikā my own body; strike me unhesitatingly and may these two persons live." 40

Wonder-struck by his nobility of mind and amazing spiritual greatness the Śābara, who was thrilled with his hair standing on end, then addressed him. 41

29. The lord of the streams is the sea which in Samskrta poetry is described as the husband of the rivers

33. Śābara=the Bhils.

39. Kīrāta=The Bhils—an aboriginal Indian tribe of the Vindhya hills and Rājputanā.

"While you strive after over-much tenderness, O lord of the earth! some sort of error of judgement arises in your mind." 42

"That which deserves to be safeguarded unhesitatingly, even at the cost of life in the three worlds, your body—how is it that you so easily ignore it, which is nobly fitted for enjoyments on earth?" 43

"Neither honour, nor reputation nor wealth nor even wives nor relatives, neither the law nor sons do kings safeguard in their thirst for life." 44

"Therefore grant this favour O protector of the subjects! do not extend your mercy to this victim and may the boy and all those subjects flourish while you live." 45

Intending to offer himself as the sacrifice the king, as if worshipping Cāmundā with the lustre of his teeth as the collective oblation, then replied. 46

"How can the taste for righteous conduct, which is like ambrosia, interest you denizens of the jungle? The joy of plunging in the Gangā is not known to those who reside in sandy deserts." 47

"When with the body which surely is perishable I am preparing to purchase imperishable glory thou, O fool! art waxing obstinate to wash out my aim." 48

"Say nothing more! if thou hast an aversion to strike, is not my own sword capable of achieving the purpose?" 49

Having said thus, he prepared to offer his body himself and grasped the sword drawn from the scabbard to cut off his own head. 50

Then as he was about to strike, his head was covered with celestial flowers while his hand was held by some one of celestial figure. 51

Then he beheld, while he was in that state, a person of divine form in front of him, but neither Caṇḍikā nor the victim nor the Kirāta nor the little boy. 52

That divine person then said to him "O you moon of the middle world! Ocean of compassion! know me to be Varuṇa brought under your sway by your spirituality." 53

"This parasol which serves you to-day was formerly carried away from my town by the mighty Bhauma, your father-in-law's ancestor." 54

46 Cāmundā=the terrible; a name of the goddess Kālīkā. Human sacrifice to Cāmundā is an episode in Bhavabhūti's

famous play *Mālati-Mādhava*. In the 5th Act the hero saves the heroine by slaying the priest Aghoraghanta.

"Without the sole supreme ornament of the nether world—this parasol of miraculous power—our townsmen are suffering mishaps at every step." 55

"Therefore I, who desired to regain it, in order to test your generosity, O compassionate one! created such an illusion." 56

"For the sins of your predecessor, the son of Vasukula, who deprived living beings of their life, you appear to be doing penance through non-violence." 57

"The two produce fear and delight in the dynasty which is worthy of sustaining the land as in the body of Śeṣa, which is capable of supporting the earth, the emission of poison and the cluster of jewels on the hood produce fear and delight; the two bring darkness and lustre on the dynasty whose glory pervades the ends of the horizon as in fire, whose lustre penetrates all directions, there are the lines of smoke and the jets of flame; the two are of the nature of exhaustion and comfort in the dynasty which has held in restraint a galaxy of spirited feudatory princes like a day in the monsoon, overcast with clouds, when oppressive heat and a rain shower bring exhaustion and comfort. It is a wonder that in the same great dynasty is seen the birth of one who was the slayer of three crores and of you, a sovereign who is non-violent!" 58-61

Thereupon the monarch bowed to the lord of sea-monsters while he spoke thus and offered worship, a hymn and the parasol, with the hands folded hollow. 62

When he had graciously accepted the parasol the ruler of the land, foremost among the virtuous, spoke to Varuṇa as follows: 63

"The wishing-tree and the righteous cannot be placed under the same head; since the former yields fruits upon being requested, the latter do so of their own accord." 64

"That parasol—how could it have been vendible for religious merit for us, if Your Honour had not requested a good turn in favour of the distressed?" 65

"The generous donor should do full favour to those who are being

62. Lord of the sea monsters is Varuṇa, who like Neptune, is the Sea god

64 Samasīrṣikā. This is an interesting word—Sama means equal or on a level, Śīrṣa is the head. Literally the word

means a state of things where the heads are on a level. The same expression which is found later in verse 135 is repeated elsewhere in the poem.

honoured with gifts, while affording comfort with its shade the tree also gives fruits." 66

"Thus, encouraged by the honourable treatment, your humble servant, O lord! prays for another small favour." 67

"The entire earth has been brought under subjection through your favour, for the conquest of the islands may you be pleased to suggest a device to cross the waters" 68

Thus beseeched the lord of the waters replied to the king, "When you desire to cross over, the water of the ocean will be transformed into a solid by me" 69

Thereupon while the king exclaimed, "What a great favour!" the lord Varuṇa together with the parasol became invisible. 70

The next day parting the waters in a line he crossed, with his amazed and delighted legionaries, the ocean, whose surging had been stopped by divine power. 71

Then the king, whose virtues were his collection of precious stones, climbed with his forces the diadem of the ocean, Mount Rohaṇa, the collection of varieties of precious stones. 72

There while his warriors lodged in the shade of groves of palm trees, the sovereign ruler of Lankā, Vibhīṣaṇa approached him amiably. 73

Picturesque was the meeting between the ruler of men and the ruler of the giants, where the first hurried words of mutual courtesy were rendered inaudible by the loud plaudits of the bards. 74

Then the lord of the giants, having conducted the ornament of the earth to Lankā, hospitably treated him to luxuries available only in the world of the immortals. 75

The designation of giants as the "devourers of flesh" which had been literally true was reduced, upon their accepting his commandment, to a term retained by usage. 76

The lord of the giants presented him with banners, whose crests were decorated with representations of giants' heads, in token of their perpetual submission. 77

These, acquired from beyond the sea, are to this day taken out in

72. There is a pun on the word Ratnākara—'collection of ratna' which means both virtue and precious stones.

73. Vibhīṣaṇa=brother of Rāvana whom Rāma installed as the king of Lankā.

the procession of the kings in Kaśmīr and are well-known as the "standards from beyond." 78

In this way, having forbidden, as far as the race of giants, the slaughter of animals, that ruler of men returned to his own kingdom. 79

From that time onwards, the commandment of that paramount sovereign relating to the cessation of slaughter, was not transgressed by any one. 80

Neither by otters and like small animals, nor by lions and others in the deep forests, nor by hawks and the rest in the sky, were living beings killed during his regime. 81

Thus while the time passed a Brahman, overwhelmed with sorrow, brought his son suffering from disease to the portals of the king and began to lament 82

"For lack of animal food demanded by Durgā here is this son of mine, who have no other progeny, about to die to-day of fever." 83

"If through insistence on non-violence, O protector of the land! you do not save him, in the event of his death, who else would appear to me to be the cause of it?" 84

"May you, who are the spiritual authority over the castes, be pleased to give the decision yourself as to what is the difference between the life of a Brahman and that of an animal." 85

"Those protectors of the subjects who killed even persons practising austerities to secure the lives of Brahmans alas! O mother earth! are not to be seen now-a-days." 86

83. Durgā is the goddess Kālīkā

86 The king referred to in this verse is Rāmacandra. A low-caste man practised austerities which resulted in the death of the son of a Brahman. The Brahman protested to king Rāmacandra who went out into the forest, discovered the low-caste man, cut off his head and thereby restored to life the Brahman's son. The deceased then appeared before king Rāmacandra to express his gratitude for having been released from mortal coil. He had been condemned, as the result of a curse, to a life of degradation which was to end upon his being slain by the redeemer Rāmacandra. This story from the Rāmāyana is an incident in the second Act of Bhavabhūti's famous play *Uttara-Rāma-Charita*

Representations of the Earth as the Mother have been discovered from several ancient sites including Mohenjo Daro and Vedic burial mounds of the seventh or eighth century B.C. The figures are found on clay tablets, terracotta, as well as on gold leaf plaques. (See Coomaraswami, *Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pt. XXX fig. 105) In the Vedic literature, the Earth is referred to as the Great Mother—Prthivī-Mātaram Mahim (*Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*, II. 4, 6, 8). The ancient idea underlies our national anthem the 'Vande Mātaram'. This patriotic song was adopted by the Indian National Congress from the celebrated Bengali novel *Ānanda Math* of Bankim Chandra Chatterji in which a band of Sannyāsīs sing it in honour of Mother India. See also VIII. 1236.

While the Brahman was thus speaking, accusingly in language bitter with grief the king, the remover of the sufferings of the miserable, long reflected in this wise : 87

"That animals are not to be slaughtered, such is the ordinance which I have formerly made, how should I for the sake even of a Brahman upset the solemn obligation?" 88

"If on account of me the Brahman should now die then, too, the case will be one of extreme sinfulness and intentional ruin." 89

"Spinning in doubt my mind is unable to adhere to either side, like a flower fallen into the whirlpool at the confluence of two streams." 90

"So by offering as sacrifice my own body, if Durgā were to be propitiated by me, it would be a just act to preserve, together with the pledge, the lives of the two." 91

Having thus inwardly thought over it for some time the king, ready to sacrifice his body, dismissed the Brahman after saying, "Tomorrow I propose to act in your favour." 92

During the night Durgā, having prevented the king who was intent on sacrificing himself, restored to normal health the Brahman's son. 93

In describing such among other incidents which are incredible to the common people about that king, albeit he was of recent times, we feel embarrassed. 94

And yet those who proceed in the traditional way with a certain type of literary composition do not closely conform to the opinions of the audience by following them. 95

When he found peace having enjoyed the land for thirty-four years, the whole world was as if without the sun deprived of light. 96

Then king Śreṣṭhasena, his son, protected the country, whom the people called Pravarasena and Tuñjina. 97

In the jewelled mirror of his sabre, which clung firmly to his pillar-like arm, the glory of the world appeared to be reflected with an eager face. 98

Having first constructed Pravareśvara together with a Mātṛcakra

94-95. K. realises that the age of miracles was over and the contemporary people of Kāśmīr were not likely to hear his poem without ridiculing it, if no explanation was given for the inclusion

of ancient tales of mystery and miracle. The explanation of K. is that he followed the traditional method of the Kāvya which made it incumbent on him to obey the rules of its technique.



he consecrated various sacred foundations in the ancient capital. 99

As he treated the territory subject to his authority as if it were the courtyard of his house, included among the villages was the territory of Trigarta which he conferred on Pravareśa. 100

He, supreme over the rulers who unreservedly owned the fields of the Earth as their family property, of merciful disposition, was king for thirty years. 101

Hiranya and Tormāṇa, his two sons, enjoying sovereignty and the privilege of heir-apparent respectively, thereafter afforded gratification to the land. 102

*Hiranya  
Tormāṇa*

Having forbidden the abundant coins struck by the brother, which was improper, Dinnāras struck in his own name were put in circulation by Tormāṇa. 103

"Ignoring me how is it that he has the effrontery to act as if he were king!" thus the king, his elder brother, growing angered placed him in confinement. 104

When owing to his prolonged confinement he had given up sorrowing, his queen named Añjanā, daughter of Vajrendra of the House of Ikṣvāku, became pregnant. 105

When she was nearing delivery, advised by her husband, who felt ashamed, she entered the house of a certain potter and give birth to a son. 106

By the potter-woman the royal prince was treated as her child, like the young cuckoo by the she-crow, and was duly brought up. 107

102 Tormāṇa This is a Turkish name. It is found among the early Turks who conquered India and became Buddhists and the later Hindu Turks of Kabul and of the Frontier Province of the 10th century known as the Śāhi. See Taraṅga V. 233.

103. Samskrta Dinnāra is derived from the Roman Denarius which is still used for the coinage current in modern Czechoslovakia. In old Kāśmīr the term Dinnāra was used generally for any coin as well as for coins of specific value. Dinnāras were coined in gold and silver as well as in copper. A hundred shell or cowries were equal to one copper Dinnāra. When K refers to salaries of high officers and others in

terms of thousands of Dinnāras he means the copper Dinnāras. See VI, 38, VII. 145 sq, VII, 163, VII 478, and VIII. 1918, etc.

107 The crow brings up the young of the cuckoo. This is not merely poetical fancy but is a fact which is stranger than fiction. In Samskrta poetry there are many references to this. The cuckoo builds no nest; in the crow's nest she lays her eggs which are hatched by the crow. King Dusyanta in Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā* maintains that "women are deceivers ever" and in support compares them to the cuckoo—*Prāg antarīkṣa-gamanāt svamapatyajātam anyair dvi-jatā parabhṛtāḥ pariposayanti*. See also VIII. 3175 and 3178.

To the mother and the potter-woman who looked after him, he was known as the hidden treasure to the Earth and the female serpent. 108

The grandson of Pravarasena, the royal child, was called by the potter-woman, at the behest of the mother, after the same name as his grandfather. 109

As he grew up the child, who loved the friendship of the brave, could not endure the company of his associates as the lotus which loves the friendship of the sun disdains contact with water. 110

Followed only by little boys of high family who were brave and educated, people watched him at play with astonishment. 111

He, who had extraordinary energy, was made by the little boys in their games the rajah of their own group as the lion cub, in the forest, by the young animals. 112

He distributed presents, conferred favours and kept the lads under control; never did he behave in a manner unworthy of a king. 113

When the potters gave him a ball of clay to make pots and the like he accepted it and made a series of Śiva Liṅgas. 114

While at play he, who had a wonderful bearing, was once seen by his maternal uncle Jayendra who politely greeted him. 115

When it was announced to him by the lads, "This is Jayendra", by looking at him with the condescension of a king's son he seemed to confer a favour. 116

From his spirit and noble bearing, believing him to have been born in no common family, Jayendra suspected him, from resemblance to his brother-in-law, to be his nephew. 117

He hastened, tempted by the anxiety to discover the truth, to follow him and when in his eagerness he arrived at the house he saw his sister. 118

She and he, who had seen each other after a long time, were overcome by emotion and the brother and sister continued to shed tears doubly hot because of their sighs. 119

The boy asked of the potter-woman, "Mother! who are these two", and he was thus informed, "Child! this lady is thy mother and he is thy maternal uncle." 120

108. The serpent is the guardian of treasure hidden in the ground; it is said that the nuser, the owner of the treasure, becomes after death its guardian in the

form of a serpent. Numerous references will be found in this poem to this poetic fancy.

Having counselled the boy who, enraged at his father's imprisonment, was helpless in view of the circumstances, Jayendra then departed to attend to his affairs. 121

When he was preparing to incite an insurrection, by chance, Tormāna, the sun among men, released from imprisonment by his brother, died. 122

After dissuading his mother from death Pravarasena, saddened by grief, desirous of visiting places of pilgrimage, then went abroad. 123

At this juncture, after protecting the land for thirty years less ten months, Hiranya, too, attained peace, without issue. 124

In those days there flourished in the incomparable Ujjayini, the glorious Vikramāditya the Emperor, the one lord of the parasol, whose other appellation was Harsa. 125

To this monarch of wondrous luck, resorted Laksmī deserting the four arms of Viṣṇu and the seas. 126

He having used wealth as an instrument for the advancement of merit, men of virtue even to this day stand in front of the wealthy with their necks held high. 127

By annihilating the Śakas he had already made light the burden of the task of Viṣṇu, who is to come down as an Avatāra for the extermination of the Mlecchas. 128

To this king, who was renowned in different part of the horizon, who was easily accessible to men of merit, and whose court was open to all, came a poet of the name Mātrigupta. 129

This poet, who had grown up in different courts, observing the very remarkable character of that profound king, thought to himself. 130

*Matrigupta*

125 K. refers to the king Vikrama whom legend credits with the victory over the Scythians (Śaka) in commemoration of which, it is said, was started the Śaka era (78 A.C.) which is still observed in Kaśmīr and the Dekhan. The learned scholar Dr. Bhau Dāji of Bombay believed that Mātrigupta was the famous poet Kālidāsa. According to Dr. Hoernle the tradition about Vikrama referred to king Yaśodharman, conqueror of the Hūnas, and this view was supported by Professor Pathak who laid stress on the fact that in his account of the conquests of Raghu Kālidāsa

refers, in the *Raghuvamśa*, to the Hūnas and apparently locates them in Kaśmīr, because he mentions the saffron which grows only in Kaśmīr.

K. refers in verse 330 below to Śilāditya as the son of Vikrama. Dr. Bhau Dāji had first pointed out that this is the same Śilāditya who has been mentioned by Hsuan-Tsang as having ruled in Mālava about sixty years before his visit i.e. about 580 A.C.

128. For an account of the Śakas see Prof. W. Norman Brown's *Story of Kālaka*, Chapt. I. (Smithsonian Institution, Washington, 1933)

"Here is this king, a lover of virtue, whom, through merits of former existence, I have come across; to discover his superior one must turn to kings of antiquity." 131

"While he is king, philosophers, scholars, and those learned in the scriptures need never fold their hands for the sake of honour or appreciation." 132

"Like a well-bred woman, wit, through repartee, makes its own meaning clear to him and intellectual skill does not lie fallow." 133

"Since he has suppressed the conversation of the wicked and he discriminates between what is proper and improper, one does not by serving him reduce one's merit to a state of futility." 134

"The savants and the charlatans not having been placed under the same head, men of merit in his presence have not to experience a living death." 135

"Grace-payments according to worth emanating from him who is discriminate are not bewailed, with the heaving of sighs, by the high-minded." 136

"While he secures his own end by duly honouring according to merit, this king, who has awareness of character, stimulates enthusiasm in every body." 137

"The exertions of officials, who in serving him suffer hardships in order to create a favourable attitude, are not like the sale of snow in the Himālayas." 138

"There is no confidant the reputation of whose merit is misleading, no minister who delights in squabbles and no member of council who does not fulfil his obligations at the court of the king." 139

"His servants do not use coarse language, do not cut to the quick one another with sarcastic phrases, nor do they league together being intolerant of the admission of others." 140

"Of those who follow their own whims, who adore their own wisdom, and who are blinded by the pride that they know everything, this king does not look at the faces." 141

"When conversation with him is going on which is full of promise, it is not open to wicked persons of low birth, ever to cut it off in the middle." 142

136. The translation is literal. The meaning is that the learned felt no heart-burning on account of men of

inferior merit having been favoured.

138 Sale of snow on the Himalayas is like carrying coals to Newcastle

"Having encountered through the merits of the past this king, who is free from all faults and who is worthy to be served, the realization of my ambition is not far distant." 143

"This king who is profound, appreciates merit and is firm in intellect, it seems to me, is one who might be served without fear of trouble." 144

"Nor after accepting reward from this king when he has been gratified, does it seem to me worthwhile, as in the case of other kings, to go wandering on the surface of this earth to find another who may be worth serving." 145

In this wise having very firmly convinced himself, he did not seek favour with that assembly as he would have with a new one, nor did he thrust himself in the midst of the conversation of men of merit. 146

While thus, with conspicuous humility, he displayed his merit, the king realized that he was anxious to please in order to secure a command to prove his special qualification. 147

And he thought to himself, "This high-minded man is not merely qualified; his profundity proclaims that he deserves an honourable treatment for his noble character." 148

Such was the king's view; nevertheless, in order to know the inwardness of his mind and to test him, he was not offered the customary gifts and reception. 149

That intelligent man understood by that lack of formality that, the noble-minded king had accepted him and took to serving him with affection. 150

And in course of time, by the increasing assiduity of service on the part of that intelligent man, the king suffered no more inconvenience than from his own body. 151

By his attendance, which was neither too short nor again too long in duration, he induced in the king, like the nights of autumn, the mood of delight. 152

At the gibes of those who were servants from birth, the changing moods of the door-keepers, or the false plaudits of the sycophants, he was not upset. 153

When he was the recipient of favourable remarks, he remained unshakeable like the pursuing shadow; when ignored he did not grow angered as if he were a competitor of the king. 154

He, who took the circumstances into consideration, did not leer at the maid servants; did not sit with them who were envious of the king, nor hold conversation with the vulgar in the presence of the sovereign. 155

The courtiers and their folk, who by nature are scandal-mongers about royalty, could not get him to disparage the master — they who make a living by backbiting. 156

Those who politely spoke to him, day after day, about the futility of his firm attachment to the king, failed to make him slacken his ardour — they who were unable to endure his enthusiasm for service. 157

By praising, on occasions, the excellence of others, too, he, who was free from prejudices, revealed his own learning and won the hearts of the members of the assembly. 158

In this wise, while he served the king with a mighty endeavour, the indefatigable Mātṛgupta passed six seasons. 159

Thus, weak in every limb, with dusty and worn out garments, the king espied him, by chance, when going out and thought to himself. 160

"This virtuous stranger, who is without refuge and without kindred, has been made to suffer hardships by me from a desire to test his steadfastness." 161

"As to where is his lodging, what food he gets and what raiment he has, I, infatuated by luxury, alas! have not cared about." 162

"As the spring endows with splendour the tree, even to this day this man withering in the cold blast and the sun has not been furnished with decoration by me." 163

"Who would treat him with medicine in illness or cheer him when despondent, who would remove the fatigue, when tired, of him who is impecunious?" 164

"To him, while he serves me, I am not holding out either the philosopher's stone or ambrosia that I should stupidly test him to such an extent!" 165

158. Sabhya is a member of the Sabhā or Assembly. The Sabhā of Vikrama consisted of the famous Nine Gems of whom Kālidāsa, the Shakespeare of India, was one. Sabhā is an ancient political term which, it is interesting to note, is

in daily use at the present time. An open air public meeting is now-a-days called Sabhā and in this sense the public meeting of the citizens of Śrīnagara convened by the Pretender Bhikṣācara is called Sabhā by Kallhana, see VIII 912

"For his merit and the hardships of strenuous service, by what honourable distinctions shall I obtain the discharge of my debt?" 166

While the king thus reflected, no honour whatever seemed to him to be a fitting expression of his own favour towards this servant. 167

Meanwhile winter had set in which, with its frost and winds heavily laden with dew drops, seemed to burn the body. 168

Reduced to perpetual darkness the directions, in the power of the severe cold weather, appeared as if they were enveloped in a dark-blue shawl. 169

Suffering from cold, the sun longed for the warmth of the submarine fire and hastening to move into the sea made the days short. 170

In the living rooms brilliantly illumined with lamps and warmed by cheerful braziers, once, the king awoke, by chance, in the middle of the night. 171

The wintry winds with their loud grating noise having entered the palace to a slight extent, he noticed in front of him the lamps flickering. 172

To relight them as he was looking for the servants, he then called in a clear voice thus: "Among the sentries outside who is on duty?" 173

While all were comfortably asleep, from the vestibule outside he then heard the words: "Majesty! here I am Mātīgupta." 174

"Come in!" such being the order given by the king himself he, thereupon, entered the apartment, which was lovely with the intimate presence of Lakṣmī, without being challenged by anyone. 175

He was ordered to light the lamps which having done he, with light steps, was about to go outside when he was asked to stop awhile by the king. 176

Nervousness having duplicated his shivering due to cold, he stood in front of the sovereign not too far away wondering: "Whatever is he going to say!" 177

Then the king asked him, "How much is there of the night?" he replied, "Your Majesty, one watch and a half of the night remains." 178

Thereupon the king asked him, "How has the time of night been accurately judged by you; how is it that you have had no sleep at night?" 179

Whereupon having composed this verse in a moment he, bent

upon ridding himself either of his aspirations or poverty owing to his miserable condition, made his submission in this wise. 180

"When benumbed with cold I, blowing at the dying embers with cracked lower lip and throat weak with hunger, was sinking like a bean pod in the ocean of anxiety, Sleep, like a sweetheart in a huff, left me and went somewhere far away; the night, like land bestowed on a deserving person, is not exhausted." 181

Having hearkened to this and praised with thanks his exertion, the king permitted that prince of poets to go to his former place. 182

And he thought to himself, "Fie on me that, while I hear from a man of merit, who is mentally depressed, hot words of anguish, I remain even now just the same." 183

"Believing the thanks from me to be purposeless as if they were from an ordinary person he, to whom my heart is not known, must surely be unhappy outside." 184

"Long have I considered strenuously about some honour worthy of him, no gift of high value has till this day occurred to me." 185

"And yet I am reminded now by his *bon mot* that there happens to be without a rajah the charming realm of Kaśmīr." 186

"To this deserving man that land shall be granted by me, ignoring even great rulers who are eagerly praying for it." 187

Thus having swiftly decided that very night, the king despatched emissaries secretly to the ministers of Kaśmīr. 188

And he commanded them: "He who should show you my ordinance, Mātrgupta by name, should unhesitatingly be anointed king." 189

Thus when the emissaries had departed the king, having had the ordinance inscribed, passed the rest of that night with the satisfaction of having accomplished the task. 190

Mātrgupta, on the other hand, thinking that even the conversation with the king had become infructuous, accepted disappointment and felt as if he were rid of a burden. 191

And inwardly he argued: "The task has been accomplished, to-day the doubt has been given the quietus; the demon of hope having left me I shall now move about peacefully." 192

"From the habit of following the trodden path what a delusion this had been on my part that I should have considered from reports among the people that he was worthy to be served!" 193



"The multitude of snakes who live on air are made notorious as the pleasure seekers; those who ward off the singing bees with their wide ears have been termed the singers; that tree has been named the calm in whose interior is stored fire; in this wise by the common people, with unfettered speech, everything is made topsyturvy." 194

"And yet there is no lack of understanding in him, who has made fortunes' favourites the families of those who have been attached to him." 195

"This king who is open-handed and unsullied, how is he at fault: My reproachable lack of merit of the past it is which counteracts any benefit." 196

"If the ocean with the surging waves gleaming with precious stones is hindered by winds while heading for the shore, the fault lies indeed in the reversal of luck of his suppliant but not in the least with the liberality of that donor." 197

"Those who lie recumbent coveting rewards, had better deal with the dependents of royalty and not with their masters who yield fruit after severe tests of hardship." 198

"Those who stand at the pedestal of Śiva, by them is obtained nothing else but ashes immediately; those, however, who secure from his bull the shining gold, what happy days for ever are not for them?" 199

"As I think over it I still see no fault of mine upon discovering which this king lost his affection even while he was being served!" 200

"And yet he who has not been honoured by others, if he presents himself before him, how could he secure reward from the sovereign who follows the trodden path?" 201

"Those very particles of water which for ever are floating unheeded in the midst of the ocean, when they are taken up by the clouds and

194. There is a pun on the words the snake, the elephant and the Śamī tree. The snake is supposed by the poets to live on air, and the Śamī is the mythical tree which hid fire in its trunk. Literally Śamī comes from śama meaning inner calm or repose.

197. The sea which possesses a store of precious stones is the donor; it advances with its waves containing gem-stones

to be given to the suppliant on the shore but is hindered by the winds

199. It appears from this verse that, votaries were not found wanting in K's time who worshipped the bull of Śiva as being easier of approach than the mighty Destroyer. The Bull came up upon the churning of the ocean by the gods and the Titans as one of the jewels.

fall down in a shower are embraced and received by the encircling waves and the ocean publicly raises them to the state of precious pearls; as a rule even an insignificant person, when he has received honour from others, is respected on his approach by the lords of men."

202

Musing in this wise, he became devoid of respect towards him who was worthy to be served. The understanding of even a philosopher, when disappointed, suffers a set-back.

203

When the night had merged into morning the king seated in the hall of assembly ordered the chamberlain, "Let Mātṛgupta be summoned."

204

Thereupon being admitted by the ushers, many of whom had rushed out, he entered the presence of the king like one who had given up hope.

205

To him when he had made his obeisance the king, after a little while with a sign of the eye-brow, had a document delivered by the officer in charge of written instruments.

206

And himself said to him, "Well! Is the country of Kaśmīr known to you? Go there and deliver this rescript to the authorities."

207

"By our person is he sworn, who should read the instrument on the way; this obligation you should strive not to forget at any time."

208

Ignorant of its purpose Mātṛgupta, apprehending hardships, deemed the royal command a flame of fire and not the lustre from the facets of precious stones.

209

"It shall be as is the command"—thus having spoken when Mātṛgupta had departed, the king, free from pride, continued the conversation as before with the men in his confidence.

210

Upon seeing Mātṛgupta set out who was unfit for hardship,

202 This is an interesting verse It refers to the habit of ruling princes to honour those who have been the recipients of honours from other princes According to poetic fancy, pearls are formed from rain drops in the mouths of oysters while the constellation Svāti is ascendant of "Bhartrhari "Svātyām sāgarasuktimadhyapatitam san mauktikaṁ jāyate."

206 Kings in ancient India were supposed to be restrained in speech. The sign of the eye-brow replaced as far as possible verbal orders. Even at the present day such signs may be observed among the older generation of the ruling princes in India See IV. 221, VIII. 2625. Lekhādhikārin is the officer in charge of record or instruments in writing.

207. Sāsana is a Firman or rescript.

emaciated, without provision for the journey, and without friends the people thus blamed the king:— 211

“O what lack of discrimination on the part of the king that he should have employed a distinguished person on a job suitable for an ordinary man.” 212

“The un-understanding king has, forsooth, considered just him fit for suffering who has been serving day and night and supporting hardships.” 213

“The mode of approach which a servant adopts for the service of the master the latter, through lack of insight, considers him fit only therein.” 214

“Thus man of merit, seeing that he himself was superior in qualifications to the men of merit whom the king had taken up, had hopefully sought refuge with him.” 215

“In the quest for happiness and for relief from the peril of the enemy of the serpents Śeṣa serving with his body as a couch for Viṣṇu on the contrary sacrificed comfort, since the latter, on learning of his ability to bear hardships, has placed upon him the fatiguing and unending burden of the earth.” 216

“Who else but him has the lack of insight that to this man of merit, who has displayed superior qualifications, he should, forsooth, have done such honour!” 217

“He who has a taste for variegated colourful objects, who is in love with the bow of Indra though it is unsubstantial, ‘on seeing my fan-tail what favour might he not grant me?’ thus displaying the glory of the fan-tail he dances but the cloud drops nothing else but particles of water on the peacock; who else is there save him who has an empty heart?” 218

In the mind of the cheerful Mātṛgupta, while he journeyed, there was no inkling whatever, *en route*, of the greatness of coming events. 219

From omens, foretelling good luck, rising up each one trying to be the first, he seemed to get a helping hand and suffered no fatigue. 220

218. The peacock dances before its mate in the season of the clouds. The poet utilizes this love dance and makes the peacock soliloquise on sighting the clouds. The bow of Indra = the rainbow. Śūnyāśaya = empty heart, refers to the hollow or unsubstantial character of the

rainbow

220 Augury exercised a great influence on politics in ancient times. Among the Romans the signs of the will of the gods were eagerly scanned from the flight of birds, warnings of unusual phenomena, etc. Dr. Seyffert writes:

He saw on the way on top of the hood of a snake a wagtail; in a dream he saw himself ascending a palace and traversing the sea. 221

And he thought to himself being learned in the Śāstras: "With these signs foretelling good fortune, the king's command might indeed bring me luck!" 222

"If the fruit were to be mine, however small, in Kaśmīr, in virtue of the glory of that country, what various other things will it not have surpassed?" 223

Roads which could be traversed without difficulty, householders to whom guests were welcome, and hospitable reception offered themselves to him at every step. 224

In this wise, when he had traversed the road in front of him, with the verdure of its undulating trees and gleaming like a dish of yogurt on an auspicious occasion, he beheld the Himālaya. 225

Delightful with the resin of the pines and laden with the spray of the Gaṅgā, the soft breezes of the land, which was to be under his guardianship, rose up to meet him. 226

Thus he arrived in the locality known as Kramavarta at the drum-station named Kāmbuva, which at present is located in Śūrapura. 227

In that place, to which all kinds of people had thronged, he then heard that the principal ministers of Kaśmīr, for some unknown reason, were present there. 228

Thereupon removing the dress he had on hitherto, he clad himself in white raiment and went before them to deliver the king's ordnance. 229

"No public act whether of peace or war could be undertaken without auspices. They were especially necessary at the election of all officials, the entry upon all offices, at all comitia, and at the departure of a general for war" In India Kautilya (4th century B.C.) in his work on political science writes in condemnation of these practices as follows. "Wealth passes by the unsophisticated who consult too much the constellations, for wealth is the constellation of constellations how can the stars be effective? Resolute men even by hundred efforts secure wealth; by wealth is overcome wealth as are elephants by counter-elephants" (*Kautilya* IX. 4.) For omens see below verse

230 and VIII. 744, 766.

225 The first sight which meets the eye of the tourist from the plains is that of the gleaming white snow on the mountains of Kaśmīr. Dadhi (in Hindi Dahi)=Yogurt which is commonly called 'curd' in India. Yogurt is from Turkish Jugrat. The Europeans among whom Yogurt is now popular have learnt the use of it from the Bulgarians and the Hungarians.

226 The Gaṅgā mentioned here is not the mighty river; several streams in Kaśmīr are considered as the manifestations of the holy Gaṅgā.

227. The drum-station=a military observation post equipped with a large drum to sound alarm and give warning

When he set out some wayfarers followed him, whose rise had been indicated by portents, to see the advent of the fruit of those omens. 230

Then hearing that an emissary of Vikramāditya had come, the door-keeper immediately announced to the Kaśmīrī ministers that he had arrived. 231

"Be pleased to come, be pleased to enter" thus was he addressed on all sides and he thus met those assembled grandees unhindered. 232

After the ministers, according to seniority, had welcomed him with honour, he then sat down on the highest seat to which he was directed by them. 233

By the ministers who had treated him with respect, he was asked about the king's command and slowly and as if feeling bashful he delivered the rescript to them. 234

They after saluting the sovereign's epistle met together privately and having opened and read it, filled with deference, they addressed him. 235

"Is Mātṛgupta Your Honour's own estimable name?", and he, on his part, said, "Yes, that is so" with a smile. 236

"Who among the masters of ceremonies is present?"—such were the words which were heard and then were seen the requisite materials for a coronation collected together. 237

Thereupon thronged by a large concourse of vociferous people that place, in a mere trice, began to surge like the sea. 238

Next Mātṛgupta, who was installed on a golden chair of state facing the east, was sprinkled with the water of coronation by the assembled ministers. 239

Rolling down his chest, broad like the slope of the Vindhya, the resonant water of the coronation had the semblance of the flowing Narmadā. 240

After his body had been bathed and annointed and all his limbs decked with ornaments, the subjects, while he occupied the royal throne, made their submission to him as the king. 241

"By the king Vikramāditya, who had been petitioned for his personal protection, you who have been delegated as one equal to his ownself, may you rule over this land." 242

239 One should face the east—the direction of the rising sun—for religious and auspicious ceremonies, for energy and well-being generally.

242-245. It is interesting to compare with this passage the welcome accorded

to Aurangzeb by the Kaśmīrī poets which Bernier describes as follows: "We were no sooner arrived than Aurangzeb received from the bards poems in praise of this favoured land which he accepted and rewarded with

"By this kingdom have been given away realms as gifts over and over again; O king! do not consider it to be a gift given by others." 243

"As in the case of birth which is secured through one's own Karma, the parents are merely the immediate cause of its advent so are other persons, for the commencement of their rule, in the case of kings." 244

"Such being the case by saying to another whosoever he may be 'I am at your service' you should not, O king! bring us and yourself into contempt." 245

Thus did they rightly say to him, but king Mātrigupta, recalling the honourable treatment of the master, remained for a while smiling. 246

By abundant largesses worthy of the new sovereignty he made it an auspicious day; in that very place of great good luck he passed that day. 247

Upon being requested the next day by the ministers to enter the city, he then despatched an emissary to the giver of the kingdom with wonderful gifts. 248

In view of the superiority of the land thinking this might mean a rivalry with the master, he felt ashamed in his mind and reckoned himself guilty. 249

Then having summoned other servants with a view to refer to the reminiscence of the service of the master, he sent, though of small value, presents which were worthy of him. 250

Recalling his uncommon virtues with tearful eyes, he himself wrote out one of his verses and sent it. 251

"You do not alter your demeanour, you never boast, you give no indication of your longing to confer gifts, you let fall good fruits. Like the silent shower from a cloud, O king! your favour is noticed only when you are granting it." 252

Then having entered Śrīnagara with the troops, which shut out the edges of the horizon, he began to protect the country according to tradition, as if it had come to him in the order of succession. 253

Whether in liberality or manliness this king whose mind was

kindness. One of them, I remember, speaking of the surrounding mountains observed that their extraordinary height had caused the skies to retire into the vaulted form which we see, that nature had exhausted all her skill in the creation of this country, and rendered it inaccess-

sible to the attack of a hostile force, because, being the mistress of the kingdoms of the Earth, it was wise to preserve her in perfect peace and security that she might exercise universal dominion without the possibility of ever being subject to any."

ennobled by a due sense of proportion had, like a petitioner, no limit to his ambition. 254

In his open-handedness, he made preparations to celebrate sacrifices with extensive Dakṣinās, when at the thought of the slaughter of animals he shrank through compassion. 255

He thereupon ordered the prohibition of slaughter in his kingdom and as long as he ruled he offered powder of gold, etc. and flour mixed with yogurt. 256

When this porridge was being distributed by king Mātrigupta, who did not, with surging joy, experience the quenching of his thirst? 257

This virtuous king, who had seen adversity and was generous, was even more than Vikramāditya accessible to those who sought benefits from him. 258

By his praiseworthy discrimination were made fragrant the joys of dalliance with fortune of that king which charmed men of wisdom. 259

When Menṭha represented before him the "Death of Hayagrīva" which was new, until the finale no remarks of approval or condemnation fell from him. 260

Then, as he started to tie up the volume, the king placed below it a gold vessel lest its loveliness might percolate! 261

The poet Bhartṛmṇṭha who had been honoured by such appreciation, on his part, deemed superfluous the gift of money. 262

He installed Madhusūdana known as Mātriguptasvāmin whose villages, in time, Mamma took for his own temple. 263

In this wise while the king was ruling the land, the government of which he had acquired, five years less three months and one day passed. 264

While the son of Añjanā with the waters of the Tīrthas was gratifying the ancestors, he heard that in his own country had occurred such an encroachment by another. 265

256 Karambhaka is the familiar Hindi 'Khicadi', a preparation of rice and 'dal' (beans) cooked together. It appears on the menu in the hotels as Kedgerree. Khicadi is distributed to the Brahmans to this day. See also V 16 and VIII 811, where the word Karambhaka recurs. It is interesting to note that Pulāka (rice cooked with meat and dried fruit) was a favourite dish in

ancient India. See Note VIII. 1641.

261. Lāvanya=Loveliness, beauty. It is thus described in the *Sabdakalpadrūpa* Muktāphalesu chhāyāyas taralavām ivāntarā/Pratibhāti yad angsu tal lāvanyam ihocyate. The lustre of pearls which is their "water" is Lāvanya. The meaning is that for fear of the Lāvanya oozing out of the poem, a plate was placed below the book!

The melting mood of sorrow for the father disappeared with anger like the moisture of the dew drops on the tree with the solar heat. 266

When he reached Śrīparvata a Siddha, named Aśvapāda, garbed as a Pāśupata, addressed him while giving him roots for food. 267

"In a former birth when I had achieved self-realization I asked you, who were my acolyte, what your desire was and your aspiration was for sovereignty." 268

"When I was striving to secure you the fulfilment of the heart's desire, he who has the moon for his crest instructed me as follows" 269

"This is my own celestial attendant who is your acolyte; in another birth I shall fulfil his desire for sovereignty." 270

"The blessed Lord, having granted you the sight, will endow your aspiration with fruit" having thus spoken he became invisible. 271

While he aspiring to imperial power was practising austerities there for a year, Śiva, who had been reminded by the words of the Siddha, appeared to him. 272

To Śiva in the guise of an ascetic who had declared that his desired object would be granted, Pravarasena prayed for kingship, vigilant for world conquest. 273

"Ignoring salvation why do you long for the pleasures of royalty which are transient?", thus was he addressed by Śiva desirous of discovering his intentions. 274

He replied to him, "Believing you to be Śiva in the guise of an ascetic I spoke thus; obviously you are not the god, the Lord of the universe" 275

"For the great, to whom prayers are made for small favours, grant rewards in no small measure of their own accord; the generous one granted the ocean of milk to him who, from thirst, had asked for some milk." 276

"Do you know the humiliation which has brought torment, which cuts to the quick this family whose mental peace in the attainment of heavenly bliss has been disturbed?" 277

267 Pāśupata See Note I 17 This sect included in their ritual the song and the dance, the devotees expressing their sentiments by movements in accordance with the rules of the *Nāṭyaśāstra*. In the later ceremonial of the Tantras, Śiva

was represented by men and his consort Śakti, female energy, by women

276 For the story of Upamanyu see the *Mahabhārata* XIII 14-352 sqq Also VIII 3390,



The Lord of the universe, whose love is perfect, having made his prayer fructuous and having revealed his figure then spoke to him once more. 278

"While you are steeped in the felicities of sovereignty, by my command, in time, Āsvapāda will make to you the sign which will be the harbinger of the attainment of beatific communion." 279

When after saying this the god had vanished, Pravarasena fulfilled the vow of austerity and taking leave of Āsvapāda returned to his beloved country. 280

Then having learnt the whole story, he stopped his ministers, who had come over to his side, from attacking Mātrgupta and spoke these words: 281

"My mind is straining to root out the proud Vikramāditya; towards Mātrgupta our mind is not provoked by anger." 282

"What is the use of even crushing a foe who is unable to bear sufferings? The ambition to conquer is glorious against those who have the power to exterminate." 283

Those lotuses, who detest the rising of the moon, who else but he is their antagonist? What kind of policy indeed is this that he should split the tusks of the mighty tuskers who are the enemies of the lotuses? To proclaim their might the great, having given up the rivalry with these who are not their equals, it is a wonder! vent their waxing wrath upon those who hold sway over the former. 284

After conquering the territory of Trigarta as this king was marching forth, he heard that Vikramāditya had succumbed to death. 285

That day the king, who sighed repeatedly, had neither bath nor sleep and remained with his face cast down. 286

The next day he heard that Mātrgupta, who abandoning the country had departed from Kāśmīr, had made a halt at no great distance. 287

"By some of my own partisans he must have been expelled" thus apprehensive Pravarasena proceeded to him with a meagre retinue. 288

284. There are two kinds of lotuses—the sun-lotus which opens and closes with the rising and setting of the sun and the moon-lotus which opens and closes with the rise and the setting of the moon. The moon would therefore be the enemy of the sun-lotus. Poets love to describe ivory as the rival in white-

ness of the moon. The moon is thus described as hostile to ivory which is said to crack in the moonlight! The elephant is the enemy of the lotuses because he destroys the lotus pool and tears up the lotus plants. See VII 1099, also VIII. 2856, 2865 and 3142

Having done him honour and after he had been seated comfortably the king, bowing with courtesy, in due course, asked him the reason for the abdication of the throne. 289

He replied to him after a while having sighed and smiled "the benefactor has departed, O king! through whom we were in enjoyment of the land." 290

"So long as on its surface are the rays of the sun the crystal is illumined in all directions, otherwise it does not shine in the least and is just a stone." 291

"Then the king asked "Who has wronged you that with the desire for revenge against him you are mourning for that sovereign?" 292

Thereupon Mātrgupta replied while his lower lip was blanched by the smile of disdain, "none dare do us an injury by superior might." 293

"When we were raised to an honourable position by him, who had an insight into character, he had not offered melted butter as sacrifice in the ashes nor had he sown corn in saline soil." 294

"But those, who remembering benefits admit being under the sway of gratitude, follow the foot-steps of their benefactors—even they who are inanimate." 295

"Does not the sun-stone after sunset suffer extinction of light and the moon-stone wane after the waning moon?" 296

"Therefore by going to hallowed Benares, eagerly looking for the bliss of repose, I propose to renounce everything as is meet for a twice-born man." 297

"In the absence of that monarch who was like a jewel-lamp, the earth has been darkened at which I fear even to look—What need is there to talk about association with luxuries?" 298

In thus wise hearing the speech of that sea of propriety, the brave Pravarasena was amazed and he, too, said what was meet 299

"Of a truth this goddess Earth, O king! is one who gives birth to jewels; by the birth of men like yourself who are righteous and grateful she is resplendent." 300

294. The meaning is that, Vikramāditya, who raised the speaker to exalted position, was a shrewd and prudent person

296. The sun-stone, according to poetic

fancy, radiates the heat of the sun whereas the moon-stone melts in the moonlight

298. Jewel-lamp. Lustrous jewels used as night-lights, see IV. 15.

"Who else but that king is worthy of praise for appreciative insight into character? In such a commonplace world he alone understood you according to your merit." 301

"Long indeed would the paths of gratitude have been spurned were it not, O brave one! for you who have yourself shown how to tread them." 302

"If it is not the maturing of my good luck to-day, why then had he not given ere long; if he has no selfish end with me, why does he not favour his own poor kinsmen; if from me who has watched his loopholes, he had no fear why should this avaricious man part with this;" in this wise inwardly a mean man thinks, as a rule, when a good turn is done to him." 303

"Among persons of very superior qualifications honourable treatment, however meagre, being nourished by their merits of the past, grows to be a plant with a hundred ramifications." 304

"Thus you are the foremost among men of virtue and have been appreciated by philosophers; like a jewel that has been appraised, it is clear, you are highly thought of among the righteous." 305

"Therefore please confer a favour on us and do not renounce kingship; let me acquire a reputation for having been on the side of the righteous." 306

"The country which was formerly bestowed by him and later by me also, may you be pleased to let it show affection towards you once more." 307

Having hearkened thus to the words of the king, who was guileless in his generous conduct, Mātrgupta having smiled spoke these words with deliberation. 308

"Those words, without which what has to be mentioned cannot be expressed, in saying them what alternative is there save overstepping the bounds of decorum?" 309

"Hence I must say something even though it be harsh albeit I am convinced that guileless and straightforward has been your conduct as a gentleman." 310

"All remember every one else's unimportance in the early conditions of life. To one's ownself alone is, however, known one's dignity at the present moment." 311

310 Āryatva=the conduct of an Ārya or gentleman.

"My former status in life is in your mind while yours is in my mind, by them we both have been deluded and do not understand each other's heart." 312

"Having been a king how is a person like me to accept fortune as a present and with one stroke wipe out all that is meet and proper? 313

"Uncommonly glorious was the generosity of that king; could a man like me, for the mere enjoyment of pleasures, reduce it to a commonplace?" 314

"Moreover if I did yearn for pleasures, O king! so long as I keep up my pride, by whom have they been denied to me?" 315

"The benefit conferred upon me by him, were it to remain unrequited, would go waste in my limbs—let this resolution now exert its power." 316

"By my following the way which was that king's, I would bring publicity to his reputation for discriminating between worthy and unworthy recipients." 317

"In discharging my duty to this extent when fame is his only relic, I should at least prove myself true to obligations by the renunciation of pleasures." 318

When after saying this he fell silent, the king declared, "So long as you are alive your riches shall not be touched by me." 319

Then going to Benares Mātrgupta assumed the ochre-brown garment and, having renounced everything, that good man became a Yati. 320

King Pravarasena, too, duly sent the entire revenue of Kāśmīr to Mātrgupta, being firm in his resolution. 321

He distributed the wealth, which came in spite of him, among all his suppliants and subsisting on alms the just man supported life for ten years. 322

This account of the three, whose bearing towards one another

320. Yati—from 'yam' to control—is a person who is self-controlled. The word is in common use at the present day as a designation of those who live the life

of renunciation. It is also used among the Jains for those who have retired from active life

was one of pride and who were full of mutual consideration, is like the waters of the river of the three-fold course. 323

King Pravarasena thereafter compelled the rulers of other territories to bend and his martial glory rendered the directions easy to traverse for his growing renown. 324

The military glory, which swallowed up the seas and traversed the mountains, was in its rise like Agastya bringing calm to the world. 325

His army caused the leaves of the Tamāla to wither and destroyed the palm groves on the sea-shore; at the same time it compelled the wives of his enemies to remove from their faces the forehead marks and tear off the ear-ornaments. 326

To the eastern sea which embraces the body of Gaṅgā, by the streaming ichor of his war elephants, he gave the semblance of a union with the Yamunā. 327

On the shore of the western sea with his armies in contact with the edges of the horizon, he invaded the country of Saurāṣṭra and having uprooted the people broke up their kingdom. 328

Of this Indra on earth, who sought glory, the righteous conquest, free from hatred and worldly attachment, grew in extent among the rulers of the earth. 329

He restored to his ancestral realm the son of Vikramāditya, Pratāpatsīla, whose other name was Śilāditya, who had been expelled by his enemies. 330

The lion-throne of his ancestors, carried away by the enemy, was then brought back by him from the city of Vikramāditya to his own city once more. 331

323. The river of the three-fold course is the Gaṅgā. The three courses are, the one in heaven, (the *Via Lacta*=Sk. *Viyat-Gaṅgā*), the second one on Earth, the third in Pātāla or Hades where the waters of the Gaṅgā restored to life the sons of Sagara as described, in the *Mahābhārata*, in the charming story of the prince Bhagīratha. See 530 below and Appendix C.

326. There is a pun on the word Tamāla which means the tree Tamāla as well as the forehead, and Tādī-dala which

means Palm leaf as well as ear-ring.

328. Surāṣṭra known to the ancient Greeks as Surastrene is the modern Sorath or Kathiawad.

329. The rules of Kṣatriya chivalry insisted on Dharmayuddha meaning war for righteous purpose, Dharmavyaya would therefore mean conquest by righteous war. War of might against right would contravene the rule of Kṣatriya chivalry, the verse refers to this traditional view of warfare in India.

When, citing various pretexts, king Mummuni failed to acknowledge defeat, he conquered him seven times and let him go. 332

When, from effrontery, on the eighth occasion he was ready to allege an excuse, "curse the beast; let this man be manacled" exclaimed the king in anger. 333

"I should not be killed being an animal, O brave one!" thus he spoke and anxious to be free from peril he danced, in the midst of the assembly, imitating a peacock. 334

After witnessing the dance and the cry of the peacock, the king gave him, together with the promise of safety, a present befitting an actor. 335

While he was residing in the city of his grandfather after conquering in all directions, there arose the desire in his heart to found a city after his own name. 336

Thus, on one occasion, to discover a site and the auspicious time the brave man, sun among kings, set out during the night on a ramble of adventure. 337

As he walked, the cluster of stars reflected in the front jewel of the king's diadem bore a semblance to the protecting mustard seeds. 338

Then in his wanderings he approached, on the outskirts of a crematorium, a stream on the bank of which the trees vividly lit up by the numerous funeral fires looked weird. 339

At that time, on the further side of that stream facing this man of great courage, there appeared a mighty giant shrieking with upraised arms. 340

The king looked flame-coloured owing to the giant's glowing eye-glances which fell on him and like a proud mountain, embraced by the blaze of a meteor, he began to shine. 341

Then filling the directions with echo while he laughed aloud, the night-walker spoke to the unaffrighted king. 342

"Leaving aside Vikramāditya, Śūdraka overflowing with courage, and you O protector of the land! resolute courage in perfection is difficult to find elsewhere." 343

338. Mustard seeds are still used to keep off the evil eye and evil spirits.

342 The giants, demons, the Titans

and others are the Powers of Darkness and are called Nisācara, literally night-walker,

"O supreme lord of the country! your desire shall be fulfilled; cross over on this bridge and come near me." 344

So saying the giant extended his leg from the further side and bridged the waters of the Mahāsarit. 345

Realizing that the bridge was made of a limb of the giant's body, the valiant Pravarasena bore the short sword unsheathed. 346

He having chopped off the giant's flesh made a flight of steps, hence that place is nowadays called Kṣurikābal. 347

He spoke to the king, who had approached him, about the auspicious time; "at dawn after seeing the measuring line put down by me construct the city" as he said this the giant vanished. 348

He discovered the line dropped by the Vetāla in the village of Śāritaka where resided the goddess Śārikā and the Yakṣa Atta. 349

Through devotion while he was about to carry out in that place, first of all, the consecration of Pravareśvara, Jayasvāmin having broken through the diagram, took his seat of his own accord on the basement. 350

This image was made known by the king after the name of the architect Jaya, who knew the auspicious time declared by the Vetāla. 351

To show favour towards the city because of Pravarasena's pious devotion, Vināyaka Bhīmasvāmin with his face to the west, turned, of his own accord, to face the east. 352

346 Kṣurikā has been translated as the short sword. It may also mean a knife. The Kṣatriyas in India like the warriors of medieval Japan had two swords—the long and the short swords. The Japanese knight followed a code of chivalry which bore a close resemblance to the Kṣatriya code of India. Indeed up to the 13th century the long and the short swords in Japan bore on them a Sanskrit inscription as legend.

347 The modern Khudbal. Bal in Kāśmīrī is 'place' and forms part of several place names.

349-350 From the goddess Śārikā is

derived the name of the hill Hārparvat (Śārikāparvata) which, with Akbar's fort on it, is a prominent land mark near Śrīnagar. The shrine of Śārikā on the slope of the hill is still a place of pilgrimage. The temple from where Pravarasena ascended to heaven is now no more, only its high gate-way and large blocks of stone remain which may be seen at the corner of the cemetery which surrounds the Ziarat of Bahāuddin. The cemetery walls and tombs are full of sculptured stones and relics of Hindu temples.

Five temples of goddesses, Sadbhāvaśrī and others, bearing the characteristic epithet of Śrī, were placed in that city by him, who was the ruler of the Pañcājana. 353

Over the Vitastā this king had the Great Bridge constructed and only since that time has the design of such boat bridges become well known. 354

Jayendra, the maternal uncle of the king, carried out the construction of Śrī Jayendra Vihāra and the colossal image of Buddha. 355

The minister, who enjoyed Ceylon and other isles, of the name of Morāka constructed the world famous Morākabhavana. 356

Famous with its thirty-six lakhs of houses was the city, which had for its boundaries Vardhanasvāmīn and Viśvakarman. 357

Only on the left bank of the Vitastā, it is said, was the city formerly built by him, provided with markets in its wards. 358

The high mansions there kissed the sky, by ascending them one could, towards the end of summer, see the world glistening with rain-showers and efflorescent in Caitra. 359

Apart from this city, where on earth could one have easily found clean and charming canals from the river in pleasure houses and streets? 360

Nowhere else was seen a recreation hill in the centre of a city, from where was visible a panoramic view of the houses as if from the way to heaven. 361

Where else but there, could residents have got in front of their houses the water of the Vitastā on an oppressive summer day with large lumps of snow and sugar? 362

To each temple of the gods in that city, such treasure had been given by the kings that, it would have been possible to buy with it a thousand times the Earth draped by the seas. 363

353. Pañcājana This is an intriguing word with many possible meanings. It may mean

(1) The four castes with the barbarians as the fifth, see the exposition in *Śārirabhiāśya* on *Brahma Sūtras* 1.4, 11-13.

(2) The five classes of beings viz the gods, men, Gandharvas, Nāgas, and the Pitṛ. (3) or does it possibly mean the Pañcāyats as

we know them!

354 This is an interesting verse which dates the building of boat bridges in Kāśmīr.

359 Caitra is the name of the Lunar month in which the full moon stands in the constellation Citrā. It corresponds to March-April in Spring

362 The love of the Kāśmīris for cold drinks in summer is again referred to in VIII. 1863.



While the king who was like a father to his people resided in that city, in time, it was sixty years since his acquisition of paramountcy. 364

On his forehead marked with the trident, the locks white with age, wore the grace of the waters of the Gaṅgā clinging to it mistaking it to be Śiva's. 365

Then it was that Aśvapāda, by command of Śiva, employed a Kāśmīrī Brahman named Jayanta, who had arrived at this juncture and was by his side. 366

"You are weary O wayfarer! From no other country is to be secured what you desire. To king Pravarasena you should show this letter." 367

When having thus spoken, he delivered the letter "I am weary with marching and unable to go a long journey immediately" so said the Brahman to him. 368

"In any case bathe to-day being a Brahman who has been touched by me a Kāpāṅka" after saying this he was thrown by the latter into the waters of a pool nearby. 369

On opening his eyes he saw himself standing in his own country and the servants of the king, who was absorbed in worship, busy in carrying water. 370

In order to announce himself, he then threw the letter without hesitation in a bath pitcher which was being carried to the king from the river. 371

But when the letter, fallen from the pitcher, was read by the king, who was giving a bath to Pravateśa, he had Jayanta brought near him. 372

"Duty has been discharged, much has been given in charity, the pleasures of life have been enjoyed, a life-time has been spent, what else remains to be done by you! Come away and proceed to the abode of Śiva." 373

Thereby having realized the sign, he gratified the Brahman by

365 The Gaṅgā is carried on the head by Śiva. The waters of the Gaṅgā are always referred to as white, the Yamunā water as dark. This description is accurate, one sees at Prayāga (the modern Allahabad) at the confluence of these

two mighty rivers a line which divides the cream coloured waters of the Gaṅgā from the dark-blue waters of the Yamunā

373 This is the verse which formed the contents of the letter.

granting him his cherished desire and penetrating that palace of stone plunged into the stainless sky. 374

He was seen by the people going in the direction of which Kailāsa is the ornament, occasioning in the bright sky the rising of a second sun. 375

Jayanta, who through the miraculous events had obtained riches, made them free from stigma by founding after his name Agrahāra and other pious works. 376

In this wise having enjoyed the sovereignty of the world, the best among the rulers of the earth attended with that very body the court of the Lord of beings. 377

In the temple of Pravareśa at the spot where the king had achieved salvation, there is to be seen, even to this day, a gate which rivals the gate of paradise. 378

His son, born from queen Ratnaprabhā Devī, king Yudhiṣṭhira, ruled for forty years less three months. 379

His ministers known by the appellations of Sarvaratna, Jaya and Skandagupta gained distinction by their Vihāras, Caityas and other works. 380

He who made the township of Bhavaccheda, famous with Caityas and other sacred edifices, Vajrendra, the son of Jayendra, was also his minister. 381

Those who like artists painted with the sandal of fame the faces of the ladies, the Directions,—Kumārasena and others—were also among his principal ministers of state. 382

By Padmāvatī he had a son, Narendrāditya, whose other name was Lahkhaṇa; he founded Narendrasvāmin. 383

The two sons of Vajrendra, Vajra and Kanaka were his ministers, renowned for their pious acts and his queen was Vimalaprabhā. 384

He founded an office of state for the preservation of written records; this powerful armed king ascended to heaven after thirteen years. 385

382 The art of making up the face must have been in vogue in old Kāśmīr with trained artists to do the Beauty Parlour treatment. The ladies of Nepāl to this day enamel and make up their faces artistically. The meaning of the verse

is that Kumārasena and other ministers spread the king's fame in all directions. K. utilizes the feminine gender of the cardinal points in Saṁskṛta for a play on the word and makes them the ladies for whom the ministers acted as the artists.

His younger brother, Ranāditya, then became king, whom the people soon began to call by his other name Tuñjīna. 386

Unique in this world was his head marked with the sign of the conch; it bore the extraordinary beauty of the sun's lustre merged in the lord of the night. 387

On the forest of the necks of his enemies descended like torrential rain his sword, while the eyes of their wives became pools holding excess of water. 388

Unprecedented was the fire of his valour which, on entering hostile territory, put currents of water in the eyes of the women of the enemy and caused grass to sprout in their houses. 389

When the sword was enamoured of his hand, none but headless trunks could hold a dance in the forces of the enemy. 390

The beloved queen consort of unsurpassed glory of this king of divine figure, was the Śakti of Viṣṇu come to earth as queen Ranārambhā. 391

For he, it is said, had been formerly a gamester in another birth and on one occasion, was reduced to desperation by the gamblers having won everything he possessed. 392

Ready as he was to give up the body, he yet mused how he might gain something, not even at the fagend are gamblers indifferent to achieving their own purpose. 393

He planned to visit in Mount Vindhya the goddess Bhramaravāsīnī, whose sight was never infructuous, desirous of asking for a boon, unmindful of his own life. 394

With wasps, hornets and other insects he, who would enter her abode, would find five Yojanas difficult to traverse. 395

Against those adamant wasps, the sensible man reckoned that a counter-measure should not be difficult to devise for a body, which eventually has to be thrown away. 396

First with a steel armour and then with a buffalo hide he covered the body and then gave a coating of clay mixed with cow-dung. 397

Thus with repeated coatings of clay dried by the sun-rays on his

387 The sign of the conch is one of the divine signs of royalty.

391. Śakti is a mystical term which, like aura, is a subtle emanation, glory—envelope—of the spirit.

394. This account of the goddess is remarkably like that of the Bhramaravāsīnī of the Vindhya described in his Prākṛta poem by Vākpati.

body, he set out, like a moving clod of earth, with grim determination. 398

Leaving behind the straight path together with the desire for life, he plunged into a cave which was terrifying in its dense darkness. 399

Thereupon there rose up from the recesses, frightful swarms of wasps rending the ear with the whirl of their wings like the rattle of Death's drum. 400

Their eyes being injured by the dust from the dried up coating of clay, they could not attack him impetuously although they struck to hurt him. 401

The wasps which had their eyes blinded by dust retreated, but others, ever new ones, falling on him broke to pieces the clay coating. 402

While the infuriate wasps were attacking, he went over three Yojanas and the clay coating, while he was yet on the way, was in turn worn out. 403

Thereafter as they repeatedly struck at the buffalo hide, a weird noise, rat-a-tat, arose which was dreadful. 404

When he had done half of the fourth Yojana, he realized from the ringing sound that the wasps were attacking the steel armour. 405

Thereupon he began to run with great speed and while he was being torn by the wasps, he lost the steel armour; his mind did not part with fortitude nevertheless. 406

When the shrine of the goddess was as near as one Gavyūti, the resolute-minded man ran on, shaking off the wasps with his arms. 407

Thus with bones and muscles remaining on his body, stripped of flesh by the wasps, protecting the eyes with the hands, he reached the shrine. 408

The attack of the wasps died down; beholding a light he fell in front of the feet of the goddess unconscious of life. 409

To comfort him in whom a little life yet remained, the goddess having made his body lovely then touched him on the limbs with her hand. 410

By the touch of her divine hand streaming with nectar, he was soon restored to normal health and began to cast his eyes in all directions. 411

But the goddess, whom just when he entered he had seen, of terri-

fyng appearance seated on the edge of the lion-throne, he did not see her now any more. 412

Instead he beheld a lovely lotus-eyed woman, standing in a bower of creepers in a garden on the edge of a lotus pool. 413

She had accepted as an offering a necklace of pearls; and Youth in prayer folding hollow its hands, which were represented by her round breasts, had worshipped her limbs with inestimable blossoms of loveliness. 414

Pink like new barley were her two feet which suffered distress and were practising austerities for the sight of her face hidden by the breasts. 415

Her lower lip was bright like the red Bimba, her tresses were black, her face was like the white-rayed moon, her waist was like the lion's, she had a glorious figure; she seemed to have been made up of all the gods. 416

Gazing in that solitude at her, whose limbs were irreproachable in the pride of her youth, he was reduced to subservience by desire which was unrestrained by the god of Love. 417

For she, who had camouflaged her unapproachability in a flood of beauty and sweetness, seemed to his mind to be an Apsarā and not a goddess. 418

Softened by compassion she said to him, "You have long been wrung with pain on the way; gentle friend! having composed yourself, in a while, ask for an appropriate boon." 419

He replied to her, "My fatigue has been extinguished at the sight of your ladyship; but how can your ladyship, not being a goddess, be competent to confer a boon?" 420

The goddess said to him, "My good man! what is this delusion in your mind? Whether I am a goddess or not a goddess, I am, however, able to let you choose a favour." 421

Thereupon having extorted a promise to gain his desired object and transgressing far beyond the bounds of decency, he begged her for union. 422

415 The breasts being prominent obstructed the 'darśan' of the face which the feet were anxious to have

416 A similar description is to be found

in the first Act of Bhavabhūti's play *Mālatī-Mādhava* and in Kālidāsa's poem *Megha-dūta*.

"You foul-minded one!" she exclaimed, "what is this unseemly behaviour on your part! ask for something else for I am the Bhramara-vāsini." 423

Even after knowing that she was the goddess, his mind could not take notice of it; desires, which are connected with former births, by whom have they been stemmed? 424

He replied to her, "O goddess! if you wish to honour your own word comply with my request. I want nothing else." 425

"For in the case of living beings the fragrance which, as in the case of seasanum, has once adhered to them cannot be removed from them until the end." 426

"Maybe you are a goddess or a lovely woman, whether terrifying or charming, such as I saw you before so you appear to me." 427

In this wise he spoke and perceiving that he was firmly resolved she, from generosity, said, "Thus it shall be in another birth." 428

"Those who are subject to the law of mortality dare not touch divine beings; therefore, go! man of brutal thoughts!" and thereafter she vanished. 429

"With the company of that goddess I might have an enriched birth," thus reflecting, from the end of the branch of the Banyan tree at Prayāga, he then renounced the body. 430

He was born as Raṇāditya and she as Raṇārambhā, who, despite the existence as a mortal, did not lose the reminiscence of the other birth. 431

Ratisena, king of the Colas, while he was preparing to worship the ocean, received her from the midst of the waves flashing like a row of jewels. 432

From her childhood her divine speech was manifest and when she was adorned by youth, the king considering her worthy of a divine person declined to give her to terrestrial rulers albeit they were suitors. 433

When the ministers of Raṇāditya arrived on a mission and he in the very same manner was about to refuse, she herself declared this suit to be the best. 434

430 The 'Undecaying Vata' of Prayāga in those days was not near the confluence of the rivers, the credulous threw themselves down from it to die so that they

may gain eternal happiness. This practice is referred to by Hsüan-Tsang See *Beal* Vol I p. 232 For Vata see IV 449 note

For this purpose the father was then told about the origin of her birth and he immediately sent her to the family of his friend, the king of Kulūta. 435

Overjoyed, Ranāditya journeyed to that country which was not remote and having married her made her the presiding deity of his Pure Interior. 436

Fearing the touch of a mortal, although she was the principal queen, she kept him by her glamour in a state of infatuation and did not touch him at any time. 437

Having placed a phantom woman on the King's couch in her own likeness, she herself in the form of a bee went out at night. 438

He who was a devotee of Śiva founded two temples after the names of himself and of the queen and he had two Liṅgas executed out of large slabs by the sculptors. 439

The next day at the time when the ceremonial installation was about to be performed, an astrologer, who had come from abroad, denounced the two Liṅgas. 440

He who had experience and prescience repeatedly declared that the inside of the sculptured Liṅgas was filled with bits of stones and frogs. 441

To the king who not knowing what to do was bewildered and dismayed by the hindrance to the consecration, the queen, of divine vision, spoke of her own accord. 442

"O king! on the occasion of the wedding of Pārvatī, of yore, the Creator, who was officiating as the priest, took from the votive vessels an image used for worship by himself." 443

"Seeing that image of Viṣṇu being worshipped by him, Śiva then considered it inane as a form of Śakti without Śiva." 444

"Thereupon having lumped together the jewels presented by the gods and the Titans who had been the invited guests, he himself made a Liṅga adored by the world." 445

"The image of Viṣṇu and that Liṅga worshipped by Śiva, which was worthy to be worshipped by the Creator himself, in time, came into the possession of Rāvaṇa 446

442 Vighna=impediment; a hindrance in a religious ceremony would tend to

bring disaster on him who was about to perform it

"By him also the two gods were worshipped in Laṅkā and after the death of Rāvaṇa they were carried off by the monkeys." 447

"After the wont of animals those stupid monkeys who lived on the Himālaya, when their curiosity had died down, deposited the two gods in the Uttara-mānasa." 448

"From that lake with the help of skilful artisans they have been already salvaged by me; early in the morning you will no doubt see them brought here." 449

"They should both be installed with ceremony"—having thus spoken to the king, the queen went to the Pure Interior and remembered the Siddhas who move about in the sky. 450

No sooner had she thought of them than they appeared and having, at the bidding of the queen, salvaged from the water, placed the two gods Hari and Hara in the king's palace. 451

In the morning seeing Hara and Nārāyaṇa crowned with celestial flowers in the royal residence, the people fell into exceeding wonderment. 452

When the auspicious moment for the consecration approached, while the king being a devotee of Śiva was intent on formally installing Raṇeśvara first, owing to the divine power of Raṇārambhā the miraculous image of Raṇasvāmin, of a sudden, having pierced the holy diagram, of its own accord, took its seat on the pedestal. 453-454

To test its power, the queen thereupon made offerings of treasure; the self originating one himself had villages granted to his various devotees. 455

A Siddha named Brahmā who, working as a waterman had been living incognito, was recognized and made to perform the ceremony of consecration for these two; the mode of his life having been discovered he, after consecrating Raṇeśvara, moved away in the sky and secretly concluded the consecration of Raṇasvāmin, but the people had not noticed that he had descended to the pedestal in person—such a version exists to this day in the mind of some. 456-458

The queen caused a magnificent Brahmamaṇḍapa to be erected in honour of that Siddha, supreme among the philosophers, who was comparable to Brahman. 459



Raṇārambhāsvāmin and Raṇārambhādeva were built by this couple and by them was also constructed a convent for Pāśupata on the crest of the Pradyumna. 460

A handsome sanatorium for diseased persons to convalesce as also to relieve the danger to queen Senāmukhī was constructed by him. 461

In the village of Śunharotsikā he founded Mārtaṇḍa, whose fame has spread everywhere under the name of Raṇapurāsvāmin. 462

By Amṛtaprabhā, another consort of that king, was constructed Amṛteśvara there, on the right of the temple of Raṇeśa. 463

In the Vihāra, built by a queen of king Meghavāhana known as Bhinnā, a fine statue of Buddha was also placed by her. 464

To the king who was enamoured of the queen and sympathetic towards her she, on one occasion, imparted the Hāṭakeśvara Mantra which gave access to Pātāla 465

"His possession of me should not be in vain"—thinking in this wise the Mantra had been imparted and having secured it, he achieved the acme of his desire for many years. 466

Having practised dire austerities at Iṣṭikāpatha, he went to Nandīśilā and for several years had the joy in the way of love through the realization of the Mantra. 467

Through dreams and omens of realization, his confidence became inviolable and penetrating the waters of the Candrabhāgā, he entered the cavern of Namuci. 468

When the cave was laid open for twenty one days, he entered and led the citizens to participate in the enjoyments with the Daitya women. 469

Thus the king, having enjoyed the land for three hundred years, obtained the lordship of the nether world as the laudable culmination of Nirvāṇa. 470

460. Pradyumna Hill is the Hārparvat on the crest of which is Akbar's fort  
465. Pātāla, the nether world (Greek Hades), was the region of the Nāgas and

other semi-divine beings.

469 Daitya=sons of Diti are the Titans in contrast to "the shining ones" (the Devas), viz the gods

seeing the danger of pitting himself against Subhas, at that time one of the most popular leaders after Gandhi and Nehru, got cold feet. He withdrew his candidature. At the last moment the old guard spitefully put up as its candidate Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, a loyal party supporter, but comparatively an obscure opponent. Pattabhi was badly defeated. The old guard was furious. Such rebellion had never been known to the Congress hierarchy. Subhas and the old guard came into open conflict. Having suffered a rebuff by the withdrawal of his candidate Azad, Gandhiji allowed events to take their own ugly turn. Both sides came to a head-on collision at Tripuri. Special trains loaded with real and bogus delegates were rushed to Tripuri, Bengal unitedly spearheading support for Subhas, and the Central Provinces and Punjab, etc. lending conspicuous support to the old guard. Fate was unkind to Subhas. He developed high fever and intestinal trouble on the eve of the session. He had to be borne to the *pandal* on a stretcher. Opponents uncharitably suggested that the illness was a fake and a ruse to create a stalemate in the Session. Even a special doctor was sent to verify the nature of the illness. His portrait had to substitute for him in the presidential procession of fifty-two elephants.

Thirteen members of the Working Committee resigned, including Nehru, leaving Subhas only with one member, his brother Sarat. On behalf of the old guard Govind Ballabh Pant moved a resolution in the AICC, which in effect expressed lack of confidence in the President. This was ruled out of order. It was the only meeting the President attended. In the subjects Committee and the open session, supporters of one section flung shoes, abuses, and cat calls at the speakers of the opposite section. Feelings ran high. Rowdy scenes were witnessed. Confusion followed. The only important resolution which emerged was a demand for the summoning of a Constituent Assembly. Subhas remained ill for a few weeks. The Congress remained without a Working Committee. Meanwhile, he tried hard to win the support of Gandhi to appoint a generally acceptable personnel for the Working Committee. Finally he

decided to resign. He summoned a meeting of the AICC in Calcutta, before which he submitted his resignation.

I had gone to Calcutta for the session. Rajen Babu was elected President for the rest of the term. But before the meeting dispersed the infuriated Bengal youths made a mad rush at the leaders, sparing only Nehru. A shower of shoes, chappals, potatoes, brinjals and stones fell on the dais. In the pandemonium Kripalani fell down, Govind Ballabh Pant escaped with a torn dhoti and ripped shirt, Rajendra Prasad lost his cap and his shoes and many others, the bigger and the lesser fry, were mauled, mobbed and beaten up in the *melée*! I just escaped unhurt with the help of Subhas.

The struggle had become private as well as public on both sides. The old guard was opposed to the aggressive views of Subhas and jealous of his increasing popularity. Subhas started the Forward Bloc, an ostensibly progressive and aggressive group within the Congress. He went on a tour of Bengal, Bihar and South India. The people gave him a hero's reception. Thousands lined the route of his processions. Many thousands attended the meetings. He called the old guard reactionary, Congress Ministers corrupt, and severely criticised the decisions of the AICC.

A mock inquisition was held. What Subhas claimed "as a right", namely to criticise wrong policies and decisions, was taken as the best evidence of "indiscipline". A man who, next to Gandhi and Nehru, was then the bravest, the boldest and the most honest as a patriot in the country, who had suffered and sacrificed as few others had done, was declared "unfit for holding any office in the Congress for three years". He was virtually bull-dozed out of the organization. It was a farcical inquisition, a mean vendetta, and a blatant crime, which neither morality could justify, nor decency condone. Gandhi neither commended it nor condoned it. He just kept conveniently aloof.

## And Then the War!

I was on my way to Calcutta. I had a "reserved" lower berth in a four-berth first class compartment. The opposite berth was occupied by Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, the Vice-Chancellor of the Aligarh Muslim University, a member of the Muslim League, a Cambridge wrangler, with an outstanding record in mathematics. He was a "dependable" member of the Legislative Assembly.

By evening the train steamed into Allahabad. Judging from the number of people on the platform, it would appear as if the Kumbh mela<sup>1</sup> had just dispersed. Out of the jostling crowd emerged a familiar Gandhi cap, and the sound of a distressed voice calling my name. It was Upadhyaya, the faithful secretary of the Nehrus. "Can you find some room for Panditji? He has to go to Calcutta?" "He is most welcome. Where is he?" I said, looking despairingly at the crowd around me. Nehru still kept to the Gandhian craze of travelling third class. But rarely was suitable accommodation available except by previous arrangement in third or even second class. Gandhi was different. As a volunteer, I had travelled quite a few times with Gandhiji in third class. People often left a whole compartment free to him and his entourage. Whenever I travelled third class independently, I realized the difference. Often even while standing it was a relief if one could get near a window and 'breathe'. On this occasion Nehru had tried all the classes and

<sup>1</sup> A big Hindu religious festival

all the compartments, but found that even access was impossible, leave aside a seat. As soon as Nehru entered, almost all the "transients" left. His third class ticket had to be changed to first class. "What a waste of money," he remarked. "How can any worker travel these days?" Then, turning to me. "I can sleep on the floor, so long as nobody objects to my adding to the congestion." He did not realize the magic that was Nehru, or if he realized, he was only apologising for the discomfort he may cause. The occupant of an upper berth soon rolled up his bedding and left, saying, "Panditji, you can use my berth. I can catch the next train I have not far to go." Before I could reach my bedroll to put it on the upper berth, Nehru had already spread his, saying with a smile, "You are too fat to climb to the upper berth. Besides, I would be scared all night thinking what would happen if you rolled off by chance!" That was his way of doing a kindness.

"Have you ordered dinner?" he said. "I intend going to the dining car at the next station. If you will join, I will order for two," I observed. "Cancel it," he said peremptorily. "I have enough for two in that basket there. Besides, it is good, clean, home stuff." It was a fairly large basket. The prospect was tempting. I looked forward to a real "Kashmiri" meal: rice, curry, *puris*, spicy *kababs*, with a few odd delicacies thrown in. I cancelled my order. As Nehru went in for a wash, Ziauddin asked me to introduce him to the "great leader". I would have preferred to avoid this delicate task. I knew Nehru's deep aversion for "Communalists and loyalists". Ziauddin was both to the "nth" degree I, however, did the introduction with much formality and pretended politeness. When I came out later after my wash, surprisingly enough I found both engaged in lively, cordial conversation. This was intriguing.

Soon, with the deftness of an expert butler, Nehru started laying plates, napkins, knives and forks. He took out the tumblers and began cleaning them as if he were preparing for a surgical operation. He would permit no help. Meanwhile my appetite was on edge. Soon came the parthian shot! "Incidentally, I am a vegetarian these days. But we have some

boiled eggs," he said still engaged with the tumblers. Kashmiri vegetarian cooking was famous, and it little mattered, I felt, if there was any meat or not. He slowly brought out boiled eggs, boiled potatoes, a cut cucumber, fresh tomatoes, two large carrots and a bowl of shredded cabbage in vinegar. "There you are, with slices of bread and *papad*" The basket had nearly touched the bottom. He saw the despair on my face "I assure you it is good, healthy food," he said "I have also some bananas and dates for dessert." Meanwhile, Ziauddin approached Nehru very hesitantly, and asked if he could be "given the privilege of sharing food" with us. Nehru cordially invited him even though he realized that the austerity dinner before us was not enough for three. He had misunderstood. Ziauddin had his own large basket which he wanted to share. I was surprised when Nehru, who earlier announced himself a "vegetarian", took the curry *pullao* and *kababs* of Ziauddin. I could not attribute this sudden change-over to his appetite. He explained later. "With me vegetarian food is a dietary preference, not a matter of religion or faith. Having first misunderstood the doctor's request, I felt, he would be terribly hurt if I did not share his food when he put it before us." "But why this cordiality?" I interposed. "You know he is a communalist and a lousy loyalist," I said, "although as a person he is extraordinarily agreeable and pleasant." "You forget", said Nehru, rather abruptly, "he is also one of the most distinguished Indian scholars, the best stuff that Cambridge has produced. He is a man of whom any country could be proud. In a free India he would be a great citizen. The curse of political domination is, it makes our best brains cheap job hunters and office seekers." This was another aspect of Nehru. He had no narrow prejudices.

Nehru read till late in the night. As a relaxation he liked reading science fiction and detective stories, a habit from jail life. "Nobody objects to these and the Bible!" he remarked. He was loaded with some of the latest books on physics, politics, history and international affairs. He read many books at the same time, not one book at one time. From Europe he

had brought some of the latest foreign magazines. Very early in the morning when I opened my eyes I saw Nehru at the edge of my seat looking out of the open window into the distance, almost oblivious of his surroundings, lost in his own thoughts and in the fast-moving panorama of the countryside. Nehru was a notorious hustler, a man of action, who wanted to do things, or to get things done quickly. But at the same time Nehru lived for a great part in himself—aloof, immersed in his thoughts, dreaming his own strange dreams, building a new world in his imagination, fighting imaginary battles to destroy the ugliness of tyranny and injustice around him. I watched him for a long time pretending to be asleep. As the train slowed down, he suddenly became aware of his surroundings. Addressing me, he said, "Now get ready. I have ordered tea at the next stop. I do not know where we are. But we are running late by four hours."

As we were going to Calcutta, the conversation naturally turned to Subhas, who he knew was a great friend of mine and of whom I knew he was once very fond despite recent occurrences. "Why did the Congress have to drive such a fearless, devoted, honest patriot into the wilderness?" I asked. "As a matter of fact he is one of my chief worries, just now," he said. "If he had less conceit and more sense of accommodation, one could do something to salvage the situation. I myself do not agree with the old guard. But I do not approve some of his ways and plans either." "Is it the conceit of Subhas, or the dictatorial arrogance of Sardar Patel—or both—that have caused the split?" I asked. "If Subhash had not opposed Dr Pattabhi Sitaramayya, or if he had not defeated him, would he have been made an outcaste?" "It is not so bad as that", Panditji argued, "but it is true that on both sides a great deal of the personal factor has entered into the controversy. A lot of bitterness has resulted at a time when we should have all pulled together. The idea of Subhash that India should exploit the coming crisis, and join hands with Britain's future enemies to destroy British imperialism, apart from being fantastic, has an element of opportunism, utterly distasteful to some of us."

The idea, I informed him, was not very fantastic. Subhash had already built up international connections. I told him of a recent visit of one Baron Von Studnitz, a top Hitlerite, head of a powerful newspaper syndicate in Germany. The Baron had met me and evidently some other editors. He had pleaded that Hitler was a friend of India, that Germany would help India gain her independence, and some of the German companies in India would be willing to offer financial aid to papers who published the "truth" about Germany. One of the top leaders of the Forward Bloc, the head of an insurance company in Delhi,<sup>2</sup> had been to Japan. He had been freely suggesting that at the "proper time" Japan would help India, and that even then funds were available for such papers as would stop painting China a martyr of Japanese aggression and present Japan as a friend of the Indian people. Just as there was serious danger that some of the Communists may blindly support whatever position Russia may take up in the war, there was the danger that some others may seriously embroil themselves in support of the axis powers, through these so-called friends, in the hope that this may bring independence nearer. It may be part of a plan, or a desperate move, but it was not altogether "fantastic".

"I am glad you have told me all this", said Nehru. "I had heard some similar rumours, but did not credit them. At this time we have to be firm, determined and clear-cut about our policy. Whatever happens we can never join hands with Hitler and Mussolini."

At Calcutta I went with Nehru to call on Gurudev Rabindranath Tagore. He could move only in a wheel chair. But he liked to move in the corridors of the large house in which he was then staying at Bariackpore. Age had marked deep furrows on the benign face. But it was still a face one could associate with the masterpieces of Michael Angelo or Leonardo da Vinci—long silvery locks falling across the shoulder; the beard of a sage; deep, dreamy eyes, and yet so

<sup>2</sup>Lala Shankar Lall.



alert as to move with every gesture, every thought. How unlike he was from Gandhi, or, for that matter, any of his contemporaries. He could belong to any country, any age! He was wisdom incarnate! He spoke softly, in well-modulated accents, with carefully chosen pauses. After Nehru and the poet emerged from their private *tête-à-tête*, Tagore wished us all, and remarked that nothing cheered him more than prowling on his wheel chair in the corridors, looking at the trees and the flowers. "If only man could take his lessons from nature!" he observed. Then, bending towards a plant, he plucked a flower and handed it to Nehru. Nehru was dressed in a dhoti and a long loose shirt. "Wear it", said the poet. "But, Gurudev, a flower and a kurta hardly go well together," Nehru demurred. "The simpler the dress the more beautiful must a flower look. See how the fisher women adorn themselves with flowers. For them the *champak* and the jasmine are like diamonds and pearls." And then the poet became suddenly grave. After a pause, he remarked, "If only the nations of the world could adjust themselves like a composite flower..." Here Nehru repeated, after a pause, ". . . if only!" I interrupted by making a brief reference to the concept of a confederate union in Asia. Tagore smiled. "It would be something after my heart," he said. And then, addressing Nehru, he said, as if making a request: "It is not of Asia alone that you should think. Keep also in mind Africa. Asia and Africa should march hand in hand. There can be no freedom for Asia unless there is also freedom for Africa." Two years later the poet died. Nehru and Subhash went their separate ways. Both had misjudged the future. The war they feared came sooner than they had expected. In a formal statement on the 1st of September, 1939, Lord Linlithgow announced that "India was at war with the axis powers".

## Jinnah Explodes a Bomb

During the first phase of the war, up to Dunkirk, it seemed as if the Civil Service was more concerned with fighting the "battle of India", rather than winning the battle of Britain. By a special ordinance the Press was gagged, and in addition all war news was subjected to stringent censorship. Our ability as Editors to publish as much of the truth as possible, and yet avoid heavy penalties, was a continuous rope-dancing trick. It was not surprising that some of us broke down under the nervous strain. Even though the Congress had put forward no active programme of opposition, young aggressive workers of the Congress were picked up for all sorts of petty offences and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. Subhash Bose was one of the conspicuous ones to be arrested, along with Jayaprakash Narayan, Narendra Deva, etc. Subhash was interned in his house. A heavy guard of security police was posted around the premises to prevent his communicating with anyone outside. His mother and a servant were the only inmates. The health of Subhash had again broken down as a result of ill treatment in prison, and his hunger strikes in protest. Mentally he had reached the limit of frustration. He had been expelled from the Congress for "indiscipline", when his offence was only that he wanted the Congress to give an ultimatum to the British, and make a bold bid for freedom. Subhash felt that even if later the Congress felt compelled by circumstances to accept his programme, he would not find the personal atmosphere congenial for rendering any active service.

And yet he also felt that at that critical hour, when destiny was writing a new chapter in world history, he could not stay still, mark time, and watch events from the window of an internee

Devoutly religious as he was, it was in this mood that Subhash took to a spell of meditation and prolonged prayer. Not even his mother was permitted to disturb. After several days Subhash accidentally looked into the mirror. For a moment he himself could not identify the long haired, flat-bearded, mongolian eyed apparition reflected in the mirror. It seemed to him as if his prayers had been heard. One evening, dressed only in a *lungi*<sup>1</sup>, he walked out of the house, unnoticed by the security guards. From his brother's place he changed into clothes appropriate to a northern Indian moslem. In stages, under assumed names, and by different subterfuges, he reached Afghanistan. From Afghanistan he reached Germany via Moscow. From the Berlin Radio he addressed his compatriots in India. He announced that it was his intention to raise an army of Indians outside India, to liberate his motherland. He called upon his countrymen to help this army of liberation when the appropriate time came. It was a solemn dramatic appeal which had a tremendous effect on the people.

Other leaders were seriously divided on such polemical issues as to whether their participation in the war should be non violent and moral, or violent but defensive. Whether, if imperialism was bad, Nazism and totalitarianism were worse. The common people, however, were more concerned about the overthrow of the British and it was exciting and exhilarating for them to feel that a trusted patriot and a great hero was planning to return to India at the head of an Indian army of liberation. Subhash in exile became an even greater hero in the eyes of the people than Subhash in prison. All sorts of legends began to grow around him.

As the war led from one catastrophe to another, Nehru felt more and more bewildered and confused but all the time

<sup>1</sup> A wrap around the legs used by Moslems

impatient for action: to do something dramatic and spectacular not only to advance the cause of freedom, but also to enable India to play an important role in shaping world events. By 1941, Russia had been invaded by Germany Japan attacked Pearl Harbour. The United States entered the war. American forces arrived in India, to help the Chinese and to build up resistance against the Japanese. The Japanese, in a quick, dramatic sweep, captured Indo-China, Thailand, Burma, Indonesia, Singapore and Malaya. They even threatened the eastern border of India.

Gandhi found in the war both a challenge to his doctrine of nonviolence and a test. During an interview with Linlithgow he broke down in tears at the ghastly prospect of London being bombed, and such landmarks as Westminster Abbey and St Paul's Cathedral being destroyed. When France collapsed he was overwhelmed. Reports of every act of carnage distressed him profoundly. But his advice to his own people, to the people of England and even to the people of Germany was the same. "Resort to the weapon of nonviolence. Discard violence. Violence will destroy the victor and the vanquished alike." He invited Hitler in a letter which was neither published nor despatched by the British censor, to desist from the mad course of violence and destruction. Even if he conquered the world, what would he gain if in the process he and Germany lost their soul. He also addressed an open letter to the people of England, which, however, was widely published only to expose him to the censure and the ridicule of critics abroad. He appealed to the British to lay down arms and resort to nonviolent resistance. "Your soldiers are doing the same work of destruction as the Germans," he wrote. "The only difference is that perhaps yours are not as thorough as those of the Germans."

Initially his advice to the Congress was not to embarrass Britain at this juncture. He even suggested that Congress Ministries may be allowed to function in the provinces, and that Congress should offer its moral support to Britain, but not actively participate in the war effort. Up to a point his

Congress colleagues were with Gandhi. They could not, however, go along with him, so far as nonviolence in defence or resistance to Fascist aggression were concerned. Nehru and his supporters took a more realistic view and broke away from Gandhi on this vital point. They declared that if England agreed to introduce such changes in the government structure which would enable Indians to direct their own destiny and organise their own defence as free people, they would support the war effort, and undertake to mobilise all the nation's resources for self-defence and to winning the war. The only response from Britain to the Congress offer were a few admonitory speeches by Amery, the Secretary of State, and a half-hearted statement by the Viceroy that Dominion Status for India still remained the objective of Britain after the war.

The Congress withdrew the offer of cooperation, and called upon all Congress Ministries to resign. At the Ramgarh Congress held under the Presidentship of Maulana Azad, Gandhi again became dictator. He was given a free hand to lay down the programme of action. The first thing needed according to Gandhi was a moral clean-up. He asked Congress Committees to select men and women capable of offering *satyagraha* if the call came. They should be "willing and able to suffer imprisonment", and to lose then all if heavy fines or other penalties were levied. A large number of power-hunters and job-seekers left the Congress. The Congress which had become almost an election fighting organization, seething with corruption, suddenly came back to life. The younger workers, among the common people, rallied to Gandhi's call. The elders prepared themselves for a fight. Thousands of women volunteered for arrest.

When Jinnah was a schoolboy in Karachi, he often passed by a soothsaver on his way to school. The astrologer one day insisted on seeing his hand. He told him that he would rise to a position of great influence and power by the time he was sixty-five, and later in life he was destined to become a "king."<sup>2</sup> Jinnah entered the 65th year of his life on the "significant"

<sup>2</sup> Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah*, p. 6.

date of December 25, 1940. Incidentally his date of birth, like many other things about Jinnah, seemed to have also been chosen by Jinnah. In the register of his school in Karachi the date recorded is October 20, 1875<sup>3</sup> Jinnah evidently did not react favourably to this nondescript date or the year. He later shifted the official date to December 25, 1876, probably after the adage: "Some people are born great, and some people chose the right date to be born great"

Jinnah was born in the house of a hide merchant, Jinnah Poonya. After matriculation, Jinnah went to London, joined Lincoln's Inn, worked hard, and at the age of twenty became a barrister. At twenty-three he was practising at the High Court Bar. Jinnah's first wife had died earlier. Jinnah married a second time rather late in life. He was thirty-seven when he fell in love with a Parsi girl of seventeen, the daughter of a multi-millionaire of Bombay, Sir Dinshaw Petit. The parents objected. But when Ruttie Petit was eighteen, she married Jinnah secretly. She soon became one of the social celebrities in Bombay, Delhi and Simla. She had an abundant sense of humour, a flare for good clothes, a passion for fun, dance and music, and was the only one who could deflate Jinnah's pomposity. Unfortunately, she did not live long enough to bring him down to earth. As a memory of their marriage, she left him a daughter, who also left her father and sought refuge with her grand parents.

Jinnah had a standing grievance against his forefathers for adopting the family name "Jinnah", meaning "short". Jinnah was tall, slim to the point of being bony, with a tailored handsomeness enhanced by the sabre-point crease of his trousers, and the tidy effect conveyed by his hair carefully plastered back into an unchanging position. He dressed in meticulous European style, wore a hard collar to give an extra lift to the neck line, so that the chin could assume a pose of natural arrogance. He had small, deep-set, peering eyes, a sharp, conspicuous nose, and large thin lips embedded in natural wrinkles

<sup>3</sup> Ibid., p 3

which converted a smile into a grin, and a laugh into a whimper. He did smile and did laugh occasionally, but never at his own expense. Even in company he gave the impression of being aloof.

He was as much a Muslim as Nehru was a Hindu.<sup>4</sup> Like Nehru he felt a lot in common with the West, a stranger among his own people, and a misfit in both places. He hated dirt of any kind and even refused to shake hands unless he was sure that the other's were clean. Once Gandhi was presiding over a public meeting in Gujarat. This was when Gandhi was only an initiate immigrant and Jinnah was a name in Indian politics to conjure with. Jinnah was to be the chief speaker. Gandhi invited him to sit down next to him on a platform without chairs. Jinnah reluctantly sat down hanging his legs down the edge of the platform. When Jinnah started speaking, Gandhi interrupted and requested that the audience being mainly uneducated, Jinnah might speak to them in Gujarati. Jinnah had never employed Gujarati even to speak to his dog. He considered this a rude request and an unkind cut. He never liked Gandhi afterwards till the day of his death.

Jinnah had hitherto continued to live in an old Goanese style bungalow on Mount Pleasant Road, which reminded him of his early bachelor days and also of his later tragic married life. For him it had become a sort of "ghost house". On his sixty-fifth birthday he moved into a new house built by him in the same neighbourhood—a palatial grey stone structure, with wide crescent arched verandahs, spacious balconies, large high roofed rooms, a marble portico, reached through a long driveway, with a marble terrace overlooking a large well laid garden in the rear. His instructions to the Italian architect, who built 1, Mount Pleasant Road, were "a big reception room, a big verandah, and big lawns for garden parties". In New Delhi at the same time, Jinnah acquired one of the most outstanding

<sup>4</sup> Jinnah and Sapru were once appearing in a Court in Hyderabad. A point of Muslim Law was involved. Jinnah was ignorant of Arabic. Sapru translated The Quran for him. Headlines in the papers next day said: "Maulana Sapru translates Quran for Pandit Jinnah".

private residential buildings, custom built by Walter George, a noted architect. Built in an unusual colonial cum Italian style its French windows were in striking colours. It had a four acre garden. Ironically enough it was located on Aurangzeb Road—named after the great Moghul Emperor who shook the foundations of the Moghul Empire trying to increase Muslim convert at the point of the sword!

On his sixty-fifth birthday, one of Jinnah's petulant admirer observed a long streak of gray hair, breaking at the top of the forehead into a two tone patch. Jinnah remarked, 'But I have never felt so fighting fit'. Jinnah had hitherto been known as "Mr Jinnah". Gandhi was universally called "Mahatma", the "great spirit", Patel, "Sardar" (the commander), Subhash "Netaji" (the supreme leader). Even Abdul Ghaffar Khan was called "Badshah Khan". In the League there were either Knights or Khan Bahadurs. It was time Jinnah gave a title to himself. It all started with Gandhi. In one of his letters Gandhi addressed him in a rather sophisticated Indian style "*Janab Jinnah Sahib*" and not just "Mr Jinnah". To Jinnah it seemed rather a joke like addressing him as "Mr Jinnah Esquire". If it had to be something Indian, it should have been well chosen. To flatter him Gandhi addressed "Dear Qaid-i-Azam". Jinnah did not object. He was thus henceforth known as "Qaid-e-Azam" (supreme law giver or commander).

At this very time Jinnah, with the astuteness of a career seeking opportunist, took his great political somersault. It was well timed, well planned, and as a checkmating device a master move. In an article in *Time and Tide* (March 9, 1940), he wrote: "A constitution must be evolved that recognizes that there are in India two nations, who must both share governance of their common motherland." A few months later when he found gathering response to his tune from British officials and some Muslims, he even omitted a reference to "their common motherland", and called for a division of India on the basis of his "two nation" theory. Gandhi, Nehru and other leaders dismissed the very concept of Hindus and Muslims being two nations as fantastic nonsense. "Those whom God had made



one," said Gandhi, "man will never be able to divide." No responsible British Statesman in England or India then seriously or genuinely subscribed to the theory or believed at the time that the division of India was desirable. But in the very impossibility of the demand reactionary British officials saw its vital appeal.

If Jinnah got enough supporters and stood firmly by his demand the Government could always plead that, even though willing to consider favourably the Congress proposals, it could make no advance without a previous settlement between the Congress and the League. It was in this pampered mood that Jinnah arrived in Simla to meet the Viceroy.<sup>5</sup> Gandhi was there. Someone suggested to Jinnah that it might be desirable if he and Gandhi could meet before meeting the Viceroy. Jinnah agreed, but added, "I am willing to see him if he wishes, but I am not willing that you should say that I wish to see him." Gandhi, when approached, replied "If I were to say that I wish to see Jinnah, it would be a lie. But if Jinnah wishes to meet me I will walk barefoot from here to Cecil Hotel." They did not meet. Jinnah obtained from the Viceroy a pledge in writing that His Majesty's Government "could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a government." To complete the blockade, Jinnah went further. Through the Nawab of Bhopal, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, and through influential officials he got the princes to agree that in case of any constitutional settlement "they will not stab the League in the back", and in return the princes will have the support of Jinnah and the League.

Lord Linlithgow finally moved. The Viceroy decided on his own to "enlarge the Executive Council", raising the number of members from seven to twelve and increasing Indian mem-

<sup>5</sup> The Viceroy had called a Conference at Simla of Party leaders on August 9, 1940 to which Jinnah and Gandhi were invited.

bers, who were to be outside the fold of the Congress or the League, from three to eight.

Gandhi now felt that, unless the Congress expressed its resentment against the contemptuous manner in which its demands were being treated, "it would be strangled to death". He searched his armoury of *satyagraha* for some weapon. The Congress Ministries now had long been out of office. The Congress Committees had been working as *satyagraha* committees, screening tested *satyagrahis*, and weeding out the chaff. Finally the inspiration came. Gandhi unfolded his plan of "individual civil disobedience" to the Congress Working Committee which met at Wardha. He selected one of his earliest associates, Vinoba Bhave, to offer individual civil disobedience in vindication of the right of freedom of expression.

Vinoba Bhave's was a queer name. No one had hitherto known him outside the inmates of Gandhi's *ashram*. Gandhi had been known to produce heroes "out of clay". But Vinoba was no clay. He was his most trusted disciple in the art of *satyagraha*. As an undergraduate he had joined Gandhi, renouncing all his worldly possessions. By devoted study he became a Sanskrit and Arabic scholar and also mastered the arts of "spinning, weaving, cooking and scavenging". On October 17, the goatie-bearded Vinoba started from village to village making speeches against participation in the war. He was arrested on the 21st and sentenced to three months' imprisonment.

Nehru was chosen to follow Vinoba on November 7. Before Nehru could offer *satyagraha*, the Government arrested him for some speeches he had made in the villages of his home province. The battle of India, the bureaucrats felt, had been joined. The battle of Britain was the concern of the Home Government. By mid summer over 20,000 men and women had been convicted and nearly 14,000 were in jail. Gandhi could have filled up Indian prisons with a hundred thousand more men and women, if he so desired. But Gandhi saw that Britain's troubles, far from being over, were increasing every day. He therefore decided to go slow.

## A Game of Chess

In December, 1941, compelled more by adversity than out of any sense of chivalry, Linlithgow reciprocated Gandhi's previous year's Christmas gesture and released Azad, the Congress President, and Jawaharlal Nehru.<sup>1</sup> This was prefaced by a laconic communique which merely said that "the Government of India, confident in the determination of all responsible opinion in India to support the war effort until victory is secured, have reached the conclusion that the civil disobedience prisoners whose offences have been formal or symbolic in character can be set free". Following this, thousands of satyagrahis were simultaneously released from prison all over India. Gandhi did not anticipate this general amnesty at this time. Nor had he provided for such a contingency. Amery<sup>2</sup> at this time had arrogantly hoped "that the isolation of jail life will enable Congress leaders to reflect and regret" Gandhi described his statement as "sprinkling chillies on a festering sore". In one of his challenging moods, Gandhi declared that if the Government expect by these releases "that prisoners will have a change of opinions in their self-invited solitude, I am hoping that the Government will be soon disillusioned". A few weeks later it was Gandhi who felt disillusioned!

Congress leaders, including Azad and Nehru, did have fresh thoughts in the solitude of their prison cells. They had reacted

<sup>1</sup> The previous year Gandhi called off his individual disobedience during Christmas

<sup>2</sup> The reactionary Secretary of State for India

differently from Gandhi to the lightning events that had taken place during their incarceration. For Gandhi war was a challenge to his creed of nonviolence. Nehru saw in Indian freedom a great determining factor for the course of future history. He was profoundly interested in the preservation of Russia and the survival of China. Even if India could not help the Russians and the Chinese at present, should India add to the embarrassments of the United Nations? This was the question Nehru felt he and Congressmen had to answer. Even more vital than these developments was the danger of a likely invasion of India by Japan. This invasion had become an imminent reality. Other Congress leaders had come out of prison too tired to seek a fresh sentence. They hoped that the Congress could be persuaded to accept office, even if it were necessary to leave to Britain and the allies the general guidance and control of war operations in India. Rajagopalachari was conspicuous in that category. On one basic point those who supported Nehru and those who backed Rajagopalachari were agreed: namely, that individual civil disobedience should be abandoned. At Gandhi's request a meeting of the AICC was summoned. He hoped that the AICC would endorse his decision to carry on the struggle, and take up the "challenge of Amery and the Government". The Working Committee met<sup>3</sup> at Bardoli, where Gandhi was then recuperating, and the AICC met later at Wardha also to suit the convenience of Gandhi. After prolonged discussions, spread over several days to Gandhi's chagrin, the Working Committee and the AICC both adopted a resolution, mainly drafted by Nehru and supported by Rajagopalachari, which renewed the old offer of the Congress to participate actively in the war effort, if effective power was transferred to Indian hands. Meantime, as a "sop" to Gandhi, his dictatorship was maintained. Gandhi saw through the "sop". He wrote to Azad, the then President, wanting to be relieved of the responsibility of leading the campaign any further.<sup>4</sup> Defining his own doctrinaire position, he said he now wanted

<sup>3</sup> On the 23rd of December, 1941

<sup>4</sup> Tendulkar, *Mahatma Gandhi*, January 5, 1942, Vol VI, p 43

the support of only those "who are sure in their heart of hearts, that prudence, political insight, policy, every consideration demands that *ahimsa* may not be sacrificed for 'Swaraj'." To many it seemed at the time that for Gandhi *ahimsa* had become more important than "Swaraj".

Rajagopalachari carried rebellion a step further. He called a meeting of the Congress members of the Madras Legislature, which passed a resolution demanding, as an immediate measure, a National Coalition Government at the Centre, with popular governments in the Provinces, supported by a declaration of Indian freedom after the war. He further declared that, if his demand was accepted, "my conception of nonviolence would not prohibit even an old man like myself from responding to the appeal for joining the colours in defence of my land and its freedom." Whether he had any secret hope or not, uncharitable critics did suggest that the stock of Rajagopalachari with the British at this time was so high that, if an eventuality arose and the Viceroy had any say, Rajaji could have easily got the Prime Ministership in a coalition government. Rumours spread of serious differences between Gandhi, Nehru and Rajagopalachari. Gandhi, though disappointed in both, affirmed his faith in Nehru rejecting the proposal of Rajagopalachari. His shrewd, experienced mind saw that whatever Britain's distress, it would not accept the demands of Nehru but there was a chance of Rajaji's offer being accepted. Rajaji's offer would not bring India the power to mobilise its own defence, but would involve India in the war. This Gandhi wanted to avoid at all costs. Whatever may have been the extent of Gandhi's pessimism he was unduly confident that the British would accept the Congress demand and will have to bow to the compulsion of events that were taking place in the East and the West.

By early March Burma was occupied. Rangoon fell into Japanese hands. As many British and Australian soldiers as could be evacuated by sea were shipped off. Those who could not be sent by sea were escorted under air protection by the "Burma Road", a route reserved for "Europeans only". Even local Europeans and Anglo-Burmese, men and women, were

assured this safe route of escape to India. Indian soldiers were left behind, to surrender or to fend their way through thick jungles and rugged mountains, without food or water. More than a million Indian citizens were made to evacuate, and to seek a journey home with their children and even babies in arms, through thick unexplored jungle country. An incident which shocked India occurred when the Japanese were advancing across the Sittang river. Three Indian brigades were stationed on the "do or die" mission of holding the bridge against Japanese advance. When resistance became risky the British and Dominion soldiers were ordered to retreat. After "all of them" had safely crossed, the bridge was blown up, leaving the brave Indian fighters either to take the risk of swimming back or to surrender to the Japanese.

There was complete censorship at the time, but these stories, sometimes highly exaggerated, were broadcast to India through the axis radios, from Saigon, Berlin or Rome. They soon became current all over the country. Churchill mentioned this particular incident rather callously. "After a fortnight of fighting against superior and growing Japanese forces the three British Indian brigades who formed the 17th Division were all forced to the line of the river Salwaan. Here a fierce battle was fought but it became obvious that a further retreat to the river Sittang was imperative. Over the swift-flowing river, five hundred yards wide, there was only one bridge. Under the impression that our three retreating brigades were greatly weakened, scattered and beaten, and in fact trapped, the order was given by the Commander of the brigade, with the permission of the divisional commander, to blow up the bridge. When the division successfully fought its way back to the river bank it found the bridge destroyed and the broad flood before it. This was a major disaster"<sup>5</sup>

At the same time temporarily deprived of American supplies and with British forces collapsing like nine-pins in neighbouring South-East Asia, Chinese anxieties increased. Chiang

<sup>5</sup> Winston Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol. IV, pp 135-36

Kai-Shek and Madame Chiang, with Roosevelt's consent, flew to India to hold consultations "with the Viceroy, the Military Commanders and Indian political leaders".

One could see from the start that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek, so far as the Viceroy was concerned, was an unwelcome guest—a sort of nuisance that had to be tolerated. Even a junior Maharaja received greater courtesy at the Viceroy's House than was extended to the Chinese dictator. The General and Madame Chiang were housed not in the main Viceregal lodge but in a secretary's quarters in the Viceregal Estate. It was explained that the Generalissimo and his wife wanted to be left "free" to meet anyone they liked. As one very, very British Aide remarked: "They could use their own garlic and their spices to their hearts' content." Lord Linlithgow arranged a formal banquet in their honour but scarcely took much notice of their existence. In fact the manner in which Nehru had free access to them during their period of stay, it seemed as if Nehru and not the Viceroy was the host.

Chiang Kai-Shek, slim, tall and affable, created a favourable impression on the Indian people. Madame Chiang Kai-Shek, spruce, vibrant and attractive made a great personal hit. Wagging official tongues even suggested that she had become terribly fond of Nehru or vice-versa. The Congress High Command had at the time a lot of widowers and bachelors. Yet both admirers, and those otherwise disposed, associated Nehru more than any one else with romance, because he was handsome, attractive and ingratiating. In spreading the rumour "wagging tongues" saw a double advantage: hitting an unwelcome guest and a rebellious patriot with one stone. In fact, at this very time, paid muck-rakers and paid penpushers of the heavily subsidised "War Front" had been engaged in spreading noxious stories even about Gandhi. Unlike Nehru, who just laughed at gossip stories about himself, Gandhi felt deeply hurt at such malevolent propaganda. "My brahmacharya", he wrote, "is said to be a cloak to hide my sensuality. I took the vow of brahmacharya in 1906 and that for the better service of the country." Since then he explained he looked

upon woman "as the mother of man", and while women disciples had massaged him, had freely slept around him in the ashram, had worked with him, they had "felt safe with me in every respect". He said more in anger than in defence, "if I were sexually attracted by women, I have courage enough even at this time of life to become a polygamist."

During the brief visit of the Generalissimo a crisis arose. Chiang Kai-Shek and his wife intimated to the Viceroy that they wanted to proceed to Wardha to meet Gandhi. They felt that they could not give Gandhi the trouble of taking the journey to Delhi which would be in the nature of a disrespect. It was explained that on account of security difficulties a visit to Wardha would be difficult and risky. They offered to go to Wardha by the ordinary train and assured that they felt quite safe undertaking the journey with Nehru as their escort. The matter was referred by Linlithgow to Churchill. He blatantly wrote to Chiang Kai-Shek, "Your suggested visit to Mr Gandhi at Wardha might impede the desire we have for rallying all India to the war front against Japan. Your Excellency will be so very kind as not to press the matter contrary to the wishes of the Viceroy or the King Emperor." For once Churchill allowed the Viceroy to have precedence over the "King Emperor"!

If Mohammed could not go to the "mountain", the "mountain" moved to meet "Mohammed". On hearing of this, Gandhi, even though unwell, took a train to Calcutta, where the Chiang Kai-Sheks had reached to emplane for Chungking, to meet them. The Chinese were overwhelmed by this gesture. After Gandhi's arrival, the Generalissimo and his wife, instead of waiting to receive him at Government House, went to call on him, and then offered to come later after he had rested and had his meal. Gandhi informed them that he had already eaten in the train to spend all the time he could with them till their departure. He also suggested that in case they would have an improvised Indian meal, they could stay on, and save time. They did. Government House, which preserved the ghosts of all the Nawabs from Hastings to Curzon, had never hitherto



suffered the social affrontery of official guests cancelling a meal, to eat with "rebels".

One leader who frankly felt displeased with Chiang Kai-Shek and his wife was Jinnah. Firstly they met Jinnah as casually as they met some of the other political leaders. They spent a lot of time with Nehru and a whole four hours with Gandhi. Madame Chiang Kai-Shek acted as translator when the Generalissimo talked to Nehru or Gandhi. But an official interpreter was called in during the interview with Jinnah. This was the time when Jinnah had begun to consider himself as important as Gandhi and was feeling touchy about his position.

Jinnah, having sponsored the idea of Pakistan, had yet no clear idea as to what he meant by Pakistan as applied to existing provinces. He had fathered an idea evolved by some British thinkers, and had made a shot in the dark. It had unexpectedly gathered more supporters than he had dreamt of. There were, however, many influential, serious minded Muslim leaders, in the League and outside, who opposed any scheme to divide India. Although the Pakistan resolution was adopted at the Muslim League session in Lahore, Sir Sikander Hayat Khan, the Prime Minister of the Punjab, who had a more effective Muslim majority behind him in the North than Jinnah, opposed the concept of dividing India.<sup>6</sup> The Khan brothers in the North-West Frontier, Fazlul Haq, the Premier of Bengal, and Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, the head of a Coalition Congress Ministry in Sind were all opposed to the division of the coun-

<sup>6</sup>Speaking in the Punjab Legislative Assembly (March, 1941) he said "I say, give complete autonomy and freedom to the units (provinces) and let them be demarcated into regions or zones on a territorial basis. The centre will be elastic in the sense that except for subjects entrusted to it by agreement, e.g. Defence Maritime Customs, Currency, Coinage and External Affairs such other matters would be delegated to it as agreed to by the units. He said further, 'We do not ask for freedom that there may be Muslim Raj here and Hindu Raj elsewhere. If that is what Pakistan means, I will have nothing to do with it. Punjab will not be Pakistan, but just Punjab, land of the five rivers. Punjab is Punjab and will always remain Punjab whatever anybody might say'".

try and together were definitely more influential than Jinnah. They commanded a much wider following among Muslims.

The Congress leadership at this time, however, behaved tactlessly. Gandhi secured the election of Azad as Congress President, to fulfill a promise which Subhas had checkmated earlier. But Azad was not a convincing agency to settle communal issues, interim or ultimate with the Muslim leaders. Jinnah ridiculed him as a mere "mulla" and a "show boy" of the Congress. While the Congress had the support of the Red Shirts, the Ahirais, etc. Azad's personal following in the Congress had considerably dwindled. National-minded Muslim leaders further felt that if it came to "offices", Azad would be inclined to favour only some of his own "Muslim" supporters. British propaganda against him only emphasised the "show boy" image. Even some Congressmen began to believe that the Maulana was being preserved in the Congress Presidential Chair only to advertise the secular character of the Congress. For them Maulana Azad was a religious and not a secular personality. At Gandhi's instance, Maulana Azad offered to Jinnah that the Congress would have no objection if the control of the Central Government in the interim period was handed over to the Muslim League. It was a spectacular and generous offer. But Jinnah refused to take it seriously. Jinnah said to Pressmen: "Gandhi thinks I am a fool. Does he think that with Hindu majorities arrayed against it, the League in office will have any initiative or freedom?"

Rajagopalachari on the other hand alienated Jinnah by his over-cleverness. In his impatience for power, and in the hope that he was doing something really great, he hustled through a resolution by Congress members of the Madras Legislature accepting the principle of Pakistan. Jinnah welcomed the acceptance in principle but remarked that he did not want the type of "truncated and moth-eaten Pakistan" proposed by Rajaji. The damage, however, had been done! Within a few months the communal climate changed radically for the worse. Destiny was on the side of Jinnah. Pakistan became in the months to come a war cry, a slogan, an ideal for emotionally-

minded Muslims Insensate though the demand was, it gathered momentum, supported by equally insensate British reactionaries and by disorder seeking hooligans A Frankenstein was born, imperilling the unity of India Jinnah had fathered the beast, and the Congress had allowed it to grow

Sir Stafford Cripps, the Lord Privy Seal of England, arrived at this juncture on a one man mission to explore a settlement with Indian leaders on the basis of "fresh proposals" Tall, wizard eyed, animated, pipe smoking, the Right Hon'ble Sir Stafford Cripps, P C, K C, F R S, M P had been not only one of the top legal luminaries of England but was a politician of outstanding ability Son of a peer, Lord Parmoor, he had discarded his title and his tuxedos to join the Labour Party This was his second visit to India Soon after the declaration of war, he took a private trip to India, his first, as he said at the time, "voyage of discovery" It was a short visit in which he saw several cities, met many of India's great leaders and returned convinced that India's demand for freedom could not be deferred He went all the way to Wardha to meet Gandhi He returned disporting a white khadi suit and even a Gandhi cap When I remarked that Cripps looked very much like a Kashmiri Pandit in his Gandhi cap, Cripps quipped "Nehru would look very much like an Englishman in a Saville Row suit and a bowler hat But believe me the Gandhi cap is more comfortable than the bowler hat" Addressing the House of Commons on his return from India, he said "I believe we have to make up our minds, therefore whether we are genuinely determined not in words but in action to give self government to the people of India" He made some positive suggestions, which followed closely the then demands of the Congress He had now come with official proposals from the British Government

It was rumoured at the time that Roosevelt had been pressing Churchill to make a generous gesture to the Congress and to win over its support for the war effort He sent Louis Johnson as a special representative to India to hold a watching brief Johnson arrived a few days after Cripps The news had

been cleverly spread that originally Churchill wanted to make a declaration assuring independence to India, but the Viceroy had protested, and the same was withdrawn. It was, therefore, felt that Cripps had been sent to win over both the Viceroy and the Congress.

Whether Cripps had a bad start, or he started badly, is difficult to say. Whether Cripps' mission was a political eyewash to appease American critics, or a feeler to judge what minimum could satisfy the Congress in its existing mood, has remained a mystery. The fact, however, is that Cripps' mission failed miserably. Soon after arrival on the 23rd of March, Cripps announced that his proposals would be a close secret, till he chose to release them to the Press. This by itself created an element of mystery, and offered to Pressmen a professional challenge. On the first day Cripps met only the Viceroy and the then members of the Executive Council. Among them were eight Indians recently added to it by Linlithgow. It was obvious that if his proposals succeeded, all eight of these would *lose their jobs*. *Cripps did not realize that he had unfolded his "secret" to men who would be least interested in preserving it.* By midnight we had exclusively obtained the full summary of the proposals.<sup>7</sup> When my morning paper came out they were secret no longer. I showed the proposals to Gandhi and some of the Congress leaders. Gandhi was quick to react. In the course of a long interview, he summed up his feelings laconically: "The proposals are like a blank cheque on a crashing bank." Gandhi's reactions were flashed all over the world. Cripps told me later that the untimely "leakage" of the proposals and Gandhi's categorical rejection had sabotaged his mission before it was started.

Cripps soon realized that he was dealing with a hostile Viceroy, supported by a hostile bureaucracy, who had more friends in the British Cabinet than he had. The India Committee of the War Cabinet, on whose advice Churchill relied those days, consisted of five members, four of whom were

<sup>7</sup> This was a spectacular journalistic scoop made possible with the collaboration of P. D. Sharma, my special correspondent

notorious reactionaries so far as India was concerned. Lord Simon had headed the fateful Simon Commission. The Lord President of the Council, Sir John Anderson, had been Governor of Bengal when Government terrorism, on the lines of "the Black-and-Tans" in Ireland, was let loose on the people. Sir James Cripps, the Secretary of State for war, had served as Finance Member in the Viceroy's Cabinet. He had shown extraordinary forensic ability in the Assembly to assail the Congress Opposition, not without an element of contempt, leading to uproarious protests. Mr Amery, the Secretary of State, had not been to India, but ever since his appointment he had rarely said a kind word about Indian politicians.

Cripps' proposals, even though they had been summarily condemned by Gandhi, offered a sporting chance to India acquiring substantial power immediately, and full power after the war. They would have enabled the Congress to employ the interregnum in settling communal differences, with the help of Muslims still wedded to the unity of India. It was unfortunate that at this crucial juncture Azad should have been Congress President, and as such should have been the principal agent of the Congress to negotiate with Cripps. Cripps wanted the Congress and other Indian leaders to read more between the lines than had been spelt out. The Maulana had to negotiate through an interpreter. He also wanted everything to be reduced to writing. Cripps therefore could not break the reserve that continued between them throughout the prolonged negotiations. As a sop to Jinnah, a clause had been introduced in Cripps' proposals leaving the option of seceding from the Union to any province subject to certain provisos. Azad being a Muslim, Cripps could not freely explain how, in practice, this clause would be ineffective, since it was unthinkable for a "whole" province at any time to exercise this option. Gandhi's opposition was based less on the merits of the proposals and more on ideological grounds. He apprehended that their acceptance would logically require India's fullest participation in the war and "Goodbye" to nonviolence. Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Kripalani and a few others blindly supported

Gandhi. They were however prepared to reconsider their position if Cripps spelt out clearly, in unambiguous language, that the Viceroy's Executive Council, apart from being entirely constituted by Indians from different parties, would have the status of a Cabinet, with the Viceroy as the constitutional head, and further that the Indian Minister of Defence will have very substantial powers in the guidance, direction and mobilisation for war. Nehru was for acceptance but lacked the courage to say so emphatically. The Congress had reached a stage of political masochism, through a process of continuous suffering, that anyone suggesting acceptance of office was suspected of weakness, or unwillingness to suffer more. Azad tried to sail between the negative attitude of Gandhi, Patel and Rajendra Prasad, and the positive approach of Nehru.

When Nehru finally entered the negotiations at Cripps' insistence, it was too late. Reactionary forces in England and India had already fouled the atmosphere. Even though Cripps was supposed to be consulting Linlithgow, the Viceroy had no knowledge that Cripps at one stage had assured Nehru that the Executive Council would have almost the status of a Cabinet. A delegation of the princes met Cripps the next day. Whether Cripps wanted further to convince the Congress of his bonafides, or he seriously believed that Congress was sure to accept his proposals, he told the princes: "Frankly, gentlemen, we are packing up. You will be well advised to settle with Gandhi and Nehru." The same day he told the representatives of the European Chamber of Commerce: "You must be prepared for a change in Government. I am sure the Congress leaders will give you a fair deal." The agitated princes and leaders of the European association the same evening disturbed Linlithgow at a tennis party in the Viceroy's House. Nehru meanwhile was willing to give Cripps' offer a fair trial. He almost converted a substantial following in the Working Committee to his way of thinking. But it was too late. The Viceroy had set the reactionary forces at work in England.

London soon intervened. It was now Cripps who began to resile from one position after another. He could not resist the

pressure of the Cabinet at home and the reactionary forces behind the Viceroy in India. By the end of the first week of April Cripps was no longer the smiling, affable, open-minded Cripps at all. He was reserved, even irritable and impatient. Finally, a stage was reached when he took up a "take-it-or-leave-it" attitude towards the original proposals. Negotiations reached a breaking point. Louis Johnson, Roosevelt's newly arrived representative lent a hand. He met Nehru and Cripps several times. It was like offering artificial respiration to a dead man. While Congress leaders were still hoping to negotiate further, Cripps suddenly decided to pack up shop and go home. He was evidently acting under orders. On the very day he decided to leave India, Roosevelt was frantically persuading Churchill to ask Cripps to continue negotiations, as, according to Louis Johnson, things seemed nearer to a settlement. Roosevelt was politely informed that the date of his message unfortunately "coincided" with the date of Cripps' departure and hence his "wishes" could not be implemented.

During the negotiations Jinnah played his cards most skilfully. He did not like Cripps from the very start because Cripps did not show him the same deference as he showed Gandhi, Nehru and Azad. After a couple of interviews Cripps had taken Jinnah for granted and continued to meet Azad, or one Congress leader or another almost daily. Jinnah boiled with rage but did not openly resent this. He even did not resent Cripps' meeting other Muslim leaders, like Khan Bahadur Allah Bux, Premier of Sind and Chief of the Nationalist Muslims Conference, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, head of the Punjab Unionist Party and Premier of the Punjab and Fazlul Haq, Head of the Krishak Praja Party and Premier of Bengal. As a shrewd judge of situations, he maintained a sort of pretended indifference to Cripps, because, as he often remarked contemptuously to us, the League would not be a loser whether the Congress accepted Cripps' proposals or rejected them. "Pakistan" which was hitherto only a kite flown by the League, he said, had been accepted in the Cripps proposals in principle. The Congress rejection of the proposals could not

repudiate this part, so long as the British upheld it. Besides one group of Congress leaders led by Rajagopalachari had already offered Pakistan; "the rest does not matter". "I take advantage of their muddle-headedness," he said to queries in the lobby. "They are all mixed up in Gandhi's spiritualism and Nehru's idealism."

Jinnah called a meeting of the League executive and prepared two draft resolutions, which were secretly adopted. If the Congress accepted the proposals, the League would do likewise and ask for a fuller quota of representation in the Central Government, promising additionally full participation in the war effort. If the Congress rejected the proposals, the Muslim League would also reject the proposals, while appreciating the acceptance of the principle of "provincial option". It would then remain lukewarm to the war effort. When the Congress rejected the proposals, Jinnah released the second draft!



## The Big Revolt: 1942

War had now reached India's doorsteps. Common people at this time were less concerned about the Japanese or the Germans, but more about spiralling prices of daily necessities, scarcity of food grains and the spectre of spreading epidemics. Thousands had started dying in Bengal of sheer starvation. The total of such deaths reached half a million. The allies suffered one defeat after the other. In the words of Churchill: "We had a long succession of misfortunes and defeats. Malaya, Singapore, Burma; only a few more marches, one more success, and Mussolini and Rommel would enter Cairo, or its ruins, together."<sup>1</sup>

The Japanese forces were lined up from Cox Bazar to Kohima. Japanese submarines were freely operating in the Bay of Bengal, and had sunk nearly a hundred thousand tons of shipping. Calcutta port had been cleared. Japanese battleships and cruisers had been within an ace of occupying Trincomalee and Colombo, which would have given them easy control of Ceylon and Cape Comorin. Bombs had fallen on Vizagapatnam twice. But curiously enough there was no scare among the common people.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Winston Churchill, *The Second World War*, Vol IV, p. 352

<sup>2</sup> I was travelling by train from Madras to Calcutta. During the night, bombs had torn up the railway track, delaying the train by several hours. As soon as it was daylight, and we came to know the cause of the delay, all the passengers rushed out to witness the damage. A large crowd had already collected from the neighbourhood. Quite a few people had picked

I was in Calcutta at the time of the second bombing. Almost all over the city the planes dropped leaflets, but confined their bombing to Dalhousie Square around which most of the European business houses and Government buildings were located. In the same area stood the monument erected to the memory of three hundred English soldiers who at one time were allegedly caged in a small room, called the "Black Hole". The "Black Hole" story had been challenged by many students of history. Before his escape Subhash Bose had organized a protest for the removal of this monument commemorating a fiction. For this he was arrested. When the bombs fell, most people believed that the operation had been directed by Subhash Bose himself from the air to blow up the Black Hole monument. The fact that the bombs fell in a crowded square at daytime least bothered the hundreds who gathered in the Square. Britain's stock was very low and people eagerly counted the distance between the pot holes, and the column, and felt disappointed that the ugly symbol of imperial impertinence had not been blown up. "They will still get it," remarked one of the young men, spouting a little of the betel juice on the base of the monument.

Subhash Bose had crossed over from Japan, and had made his initial headquarters in Saigon.<sup>3</sup> He called for recruits and funds. A donation of several lakhs was made by the Indian settlers. He collected still larger funds from rich Indians in Malaya, Singapore and Burma. Apart from funds, he was

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up the leaflets which had been dropped with the bombs. The leaflets contained an appeal to the people by Subhash to be prepared to join his army of liberation, as soon as it crossed into India. It appeared that two troop trains, with Dominion soldiers in transit, had passed earlier to Madras. I was the only one to remark how callous it would have been of the Japanese if the bombs had fallen on our train, or the earlier trains. Others felt excited, and remarked how well-informed the Japanese were, and how they had missed their targets only by a couple of hours.

<sup>3</sup> Years later, I visited Saigon. It was by coincidence that I occupied, in the Grand Hotel, where his command was originally located, the very suite which was personally occupied by "Netaji". The Indian community still remembered his first speech in the main square attended by nearly 75,000 people.

able to enlist, from the hundred thousand prisoners of war, mostly Indians, a large contingent of trained, well-armed, able-bodied soldiers, willing to lay down their lives for the liberation of India. Indian soldiers at the time were feeling disgusted with the manner in which they had been betrayed and left to fend for themselves. They rallied to the banner of Subhash. The officers and the men got together, collected arms, started training, till a formidable force could march into Burma. Here they found more Indian soldiers ready to avenge the wrong that had been done to them. Memories of the betrayal at Sittang were still fresh. Many of the able-bodied civilians also enlisted as recruits. Gradually, the "Indian National Army" had its "Generals", "Brigadiers" and "Colonels". Thousands of devoted, dedicated men, in and out of uniform, prepared for any sacrifice, joined it. The Japanese helped with arms, supplies and know-how. But the control of the INA was vested in the "Provisional Government of Azad Hind"

Subhash Bose had all the makings of a benevolent dictator—dedicated, fearless, flamboyant, and strict as a disciplinarian. He loved wearing a uniform. He was a born leader. He shared with his men their sufferings. He was with them wherever the risk and the need were greatest. He shared with them the rigours of camp life, partook of their simple rations and when necessary slept with them on the bare floor. The Japanese had installed a powerful radio station in Saigon. It was made available to Subhash and the Indian National Army for direct broadcasts to India. Thousands in India listened to the broadcasts from Saigon and reacted jubilantly to the exploits of the Indian National Army. Unreported defeats of the British, though highly exaggerated, were believed as facts. British claims were rejected as "propaganda".

Bhagat Singh and his followers had introduced the vibrant cry of "Inquilab Zindabad". The Indian National Army adopted the slogan "Jai Hind". Subhash chose one of the most stirring poems of Tagore—*Jai Gan Man Adhinayak*—as the National Anthem of the Indian National Army.<sup>4</sup> In all his

<sup>4</sup> Later "Jai Hind" became the slogan of free India, and poet Tagore's

speeches, Subhash called his army to fight their way to Delhi, and plant the flag of independence on the ramparts of the Red Fort.

Subhash and the "Indian National Army" had even solved the problem which continued to baffle Gandhi, Nehru and Jinnah. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs and Christians had shed their differences. They lived and ate together. Whatever their beliefs or manner of worship, they considered themselves Indians first and last. They had learnt to follow one leader, Subhash, live under one flag—the tricolour, raise one common war cry—"Jai Hind", sing one national anthem, and to fight and die for a common motherland "Hindustan".<sup>5</sup>

In the upper Congress echelons the reactions to this sudden emergence of Subhash to nationwide popularity were divergent. Vallabhbhai Patel and his close henchmen had still not outlived the personal prejudices against Subhash. They dared not say anything against him now, without risk to their own popularity. They were also afraid that if Subhash did succeed in marching to Delhi at the head of his army, he may also think of settling some old scores with them. They, therefore, cunningly but obliquely suggested that India should fight the "Japanese", and even resist any "Indians" who may invade India's frontiers with "their" help. The implication being that Subhash and the "Indian National Army" were part of an unholy alliance. Nehru's attitude towards the Japanese was influenced by their savage attack on China. While he still had the greatest regard for Subhash, and felt secretly proud of some of the achievements of the "Indian National Army", he was firmly convinced that the Japanese would only use Subhash

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memorable verses were adopted by free India as the National Anthem "Delhi Chalo" was a revival of the slogan of the Indian regiment that marched to Delhi from Meerut in 1857

<sup>5</sup> When Gandhi met these brave soldiers after independence in the Red Fort, they remarked that they had become strangers to such distinctions as "Hindu Tea" and "Muslim Coffee" and could not understand the talk of Hindus and Muslims being two separate nations. He wished he could do what Subhash had done and inject the same spirit which had inspired them into every Indian!

and the "Indian National Army" as a means to secure Indian goodwill. Once they entered India, the Japanese would betray him and would do exactly as they had done in China. India would thus be faced with a new and more menacing form of imperialism. His study of international developments convinced him that if Russia collapsed under Hitler's pressure—and Hitler's forces were already in Stalingrad and the Caucasus—then the Germans and the Japanese would, in a final attempt at world supermacy, make a rendezvous in Delhi, splitting the world between themselves. He made no bones about the fact that Subhash was on the wrong side of the fence.

It came as a complete surprise to his Congress detractors and a welcome news to his millions of admirers, when the Saigon Radio announced that the "Indian National Army" had liberated the first Indian territory—the island of Andamans. This had hitherto been used by the British as the "Albatross" to isolate dangerous political convicts. All political prisoners were released. Those in good health joined the INA. A "Provisional Government of Azad Hind" was established on Indian soil in the Islands. The President of the Government and Commander-in-Chief of the INA, Subhas Bose unfurled the Indian tricolour over its headquarters. There was no mention of the Japanese, or the Japanese flag. A wave of jubilation passed over India, and people even went round distributing sweets. But Vallabhbhai and his friends felt chagrined. Gandhiji, who was at least by connivance a party to the bulldozing of Subhash out of the Congress, suddenly began to express admiration for the courage of Subhash and the Indian National Army. Subhash in return declared on the Saigon Radio that "There were no differences between me and Gandhiji, as like me, Gandhiji is out to fight for freedom at any cost."

During Cripps' stay in Delhi, a foreign agency flashed the news that Subhash had been killed in an air crash. Shops in many cities closed. Students took out mammoth processions. The whole nation went into mourning. Congress leadership remained silent and indifferent. Gandhi, however, immediately wired to the mother of Subhash, condoling with her, and

expressing the highest praise for the heroism and bravery of "a great son of India". Later, speaking to Pressmen, he called him a "patriot among patriots, misguided in his methods may be, but dedicated, fearless and brave".

Subhash, however, had not died. The news was false. But he heard what Gandhi had said. He returned the compliment with a graciousness that further deeply touched Gandhi. The Indian National Army regularly celebrated Gandhi's birthday. But on his seventy-fifth, a formal ceremony was held in Rangoon. The INA men in uniform lined up around the national flag. A mammoth crowd witnessed the parade. Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, the Commander-in-Chief of the Provisional Government of Azad Hind, mounted the rostrum and unfurled the national flag to the playing of the National Anthem. He then moved forward and placed a large garland around the portrait of Gandhi. The Army gave a military salute. Netaji, saluting the Mahatma, and addressing the portrait, said in solemn dignity: "Father of our nation! In this holy war for India's liberation, we ask for your blessings and good wishes."

When Gandhi asked some Pressmen, after Cripps had left, what the popular feelings were about the war, one of them said: "Very anti-British, but deeply pro-Japanese. Subhash and the Indian National Army have made a world of difference in Japan's favour."

Such was then the situation in the middle of 1942, when the British in India, for the first time, began to take the war in the East seriously. On the psychological front an organization had been set up under the pompous name of "The National War Front," which spent millions to build up "moral" support for the war effort. To counteract the unsympathetic attitude of the nationalist press, expensive space was purchased to employ the advertising columns to undo the hostility of editorial writers. Writers, poets, Pandits, Maulvis, Granthis, singing girls, courtesans, astrologers, willing to lend their talent, were put on the pay-roll, to let loose a many-sided, multi-purpose, cacophonous propaganda for the war effort.

Nothing had been heard of a "Communist Party" ever since sixteen so called Communists were tried in the late twenties in the well-known Meerut Conspiracy Case. As war progressed, one suddenly heard more and more of the "Communist Party". It gradually emerged as a powerful wing of the National War Front, holding public meetings, organizing processions, and in many other ways trying to mobilise support for what the "party" now acclaimed as the "Peoples' War". Mysterious hands stretching from Moscow to Washington supplied ample funds. At a time when nationalist papers had no choice but to use junk machines, new modern printing presses became available to the party to publish, not one, but three newspapers. The Communists, the Hindu and Muslim communalists, and the loyalists now became the pillars of the War Front.

Into this motley galaxy of war supporters there soon entered the gilded order of the princes. The princes had contributed lavishly to the War Fund, and taxed heavily their own people. They, more than the Government of India, had used the Defence of India Rules to suppress every kind of internal opposition, personal or political, whether it emerged from *Praja Mandals* or blackmailers. To emphasise a war atmosphere in their States, the Indian rulers gave up their brocades, silks and diamond-studded *achkans*. Instead, they now disported the military uniforms of their honorary ranks. In proportion to the contributions in men and money, and the status of their States, they were offered, in the British army, ranks from Colonel to Major-General. In their own States, to make confusion worse confounded, they conferred on some of their Ministers, officers and courtiers honorary ranks from Captains to Colonels in their own private armies. When the Princes' Chamber met for its annual session, princely limousines went about packed with Generals, Brigadiers, Colonels, Captains and Majors. To the common people it seemed as if after the surrender of the Indian armies abroad, all the officers had been salvaged and had taken residence in New Delhi. What seemed, however, perplexing was that some officers from the front had

returned so inordinately bloated that even walking in some cases seemed to involve considerable effort.

Lord Wavell had been demoted. He was now the Commander-in-Chief of the Indian forces. Earlier, he had gone under the pompous title of Supreme Commander of the Imperial forces in India and the East. The command covered all the forces from Hong Kong to Rangoon and Bombay. With the fall of every country from Hong Kong to Burma under his command, Lord Wavell came to be named by the enemy radio the "Master of strategic retreats".

To lend cheer to depression in the life of the capital, there appeared a refreshing socio-military element called the WACCI. Petite, gay, disciplined, adventurous, these volunteers in the war effort came from England, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Malaya, Singapore, Saigon, Burma and, last but not least, the metropolitan cities of India. Their social status was undefined, their sphere of activity seemed unlimited. Their duties carried them from tending to the wounded and the disabled, to driving the Colonel to dinner and sharing it with him. Princes vied with Subalterns, and Brigadiers with Batmen, to win their favours. They brought smiles to the wounded, comfort to the disabled, added gaiety to dance parties and introduced the lustre of romance in periodic black-outs.

Apart from adopting expensive psychological morale-boosters, the government also took spectacular steps towards the country's defence. A state of black-out was declared in all major cities. On test black-out nights even the road lights were extinguished. In addition, favoured contractors were employed to dig trenches three feet wide and four feet deep in various parts of congested cities to serve as "shelters" during bomb attacks. Since in England bomb shelters, even the heavy masonry ones, had proved of no avail, these trenches seemed to common people a joke. A.R.P. officers were appointed to instruct people in taking shelter in case of a raid. One of the A.R.P. officers with his men had specially invited us to demonstrate A.R.P. precautions. It was the night of a half black-out.



I had earlier written that the trenches were of little use, as people could neither sit in them conveniently sheltering their heads from the blast, nor lie down in case of real danger. As a loyal servant of His Majesty, he ordered his three men to duck at the blowing of the whistle and lie flat with him, to demonstrate the effectiveness of the "shelters". When the four came out, they looked like college freshmen emerging out of a soak pit after a "Rag". In Calcutta, Bombay, Delhi and other places, children, beggars, dogs and stray vagrants found these trenches most convenient, in the absence of public toilets and lavatories. Favoured contractors were ordered to build "blast shelters" in different parts of big cities. These were just walls of brick and masonry closing in shop fronts or the verandahs of important buildings. Fortunately, their utility was never put to the test. After two rainy seasons they suffered from the natural processes of erosion, much to the satisfaction of the contractors and the relief of those who had been walled in.

The British felt that the time had also come for "personal sacrifices". Lord Wavell took the lead. The Saigon Radio had let it be known that Wavell had retreated so fast because he wanted to recoup in Simla. Wavell declared that he and the military commanders would not shift for the summer to Simla. Australian regiments had been seen in what later came to be known as the "bush shirt"—a sort of jacket, a cross between a shirt and a coat, worn without a tie. Much to the chagrin of his class, Wavell adopted the bush shirt as informal attire. It soon became the most popular garment next to a military tunic. Even princes began to wear it, and the peons and porters found it highly convenient.

As the Japanese advanced, Wavell, his army chiefs and top European officials busied themselves with a master plan of disciplined and orderly evacuation so that the blunders of Indonesia, Malaya, Singapore and Burma were not repeated. Right from Calcutta to Bombay secret arrangements were completed for evacuating European officers and civilians, and all white military personnel, in case the Japanese succeeded in entering India. Railway trains and transport were meticulously ear-

marked and appropriately allocated. Temporary accommodation was reserved family-wise and regiment-wise in Fort William, in other fortresses and cantonments, and in major cities. Every single prospective evacuee family or personnel were secretly informed where to go during the emergency. Secret orders were issued to demolish or destroy everything of military value to the enemy from the borders of Burma to Bombay, including factories, ammunition dumps and stores. Although greatest secrecy was being observed in making these preparations, the news of what was called "Operation Arrow" leaked out. People were alarmed. They felt that the preparations for resistance were only a cover for insuring a safe and orderly evacuation by the British.

The Congress leaders felt that the situation could brook no delay. Nehru felt desperate. He even suggested that a guerilla force be organized to fight the Japanese in case the British capitulated. Jayaprakash Narayan and the younger socialists wanted to organize an underground revolt against the British. It was in this state of confusion and despair that Gandhi once again took control of affairs. The recluse of Sevagram had been hitherto disregarded by the Working Committee as a spent force. Again he emerged from his self-imposed isolation to lead the nation in its hour of peril.

Gandhi called upon the people to organize large bands of volunteers to render service to the homeless, the wounded or the dying. "In case an invasion takes place," he said, "it should be resisted by offering complete nonviolent non-cooperation to the invading force." The Japanese were to be given no assistance. "We may not bend the knee to the aggressor, nor obey any of his orders." Regarding the scorched-earth policy the British had planned, he said, "I see neither bravery nor sacrifice in destroying life or property for offence or defence." But "nonviolent resistance," he said, will refuse the Japanese "any help, even water", and people should "on no account lean on the Japanese to get rid of the British power".

As to the British, Gandhi had reached the end of his patience. He did not want the honours of Malaya, Singapore

and Burma to be repeated. He did not want a collapsing power to destroy ammunition dumps, food stores, valuable buildings, installations, factories, railways and shipping, as had been done in Singapore and Rangoon.

"India is being ground down," he said, with vehemence, "even before the Japanese advent, not for India's defence, and no one knows for whose defence." He was afraid that if he and the Congress leaders did not take effective action to free India, people's "hidden discontent will burst forth into a welcome to the Japanese, should they effect a landing". Britain, he felt, "was on the brink of an abyss" and would do anything to save itself disregarding the interests of India or the Indian people. When someone reminded him that the British were fighting for democracy, he flared up and retorted, "If a band of robbers have among themselves a democratic constitution in order to enable them to carry on their robbing operations more effectively, they do not deserve to be called a democracy." Thus, said Gandhi, "British presence invited the Japanese, it promotes communal disunion and other disorders."

So, one day, Gandhi woke up, having seen, while half awake and half asleep, the words "Quit India" blazoned before his eyes. To him the inspiration had come! He felt again like a man possessed! The idea of asking the British to "quit India" burst upon him suddenly. As he told Press correspondents later, "I do not wish to humiliate the British, but the British must go" If the British go at once, asked a correspondent, "who will take over?" So desperate was Gandhi, so desperate was India, that Gandhi said, "Leave India to God or anarchy." When asked about the struggle, Gandhi said, "It will be a mass movement of a strictly nonviolent character," and added "my biggest movement."<sup>6</sup> The A.L.C.C. was called to meet in Bombay on August 7th to consider and if approved to adopt the Gandhi plan of "Quit India".

Jinnah, who had watched indifferently the threat of Japanese invasion, suddenly woke up to the "danger" to Muslims "if the British withdrew". He found in the Congress decision a

<sup>6</sup>Tendulkar, *Mahatma Gandhi*, Vol VI, p 156

conspiracy by the "majority" to dominate the "minority". His ingenuity in these matters was amazing. The British valued such oblique help, especially when it was so timely. But there were many, even among Muslims, who felt that Jinnah was betraying the nation to help not the Muslims but the British.

The All-India Muslim League was to meet in Bombay.<sup>7</sup> A few days before the meeting, one Rafiq Sabri walked up to Jinnah's well-guarded mansion on Malabar Hill, a little after 1 p.m. Jinnah had not yet risen for lunch. Rafiq greeted the watchman and explained that he wanted to see the "Quaid-e-Azam". He was taken to the secretary, and then unushered walked into the room where Jinnah was working. "My whole mind was on my correspondence," related Jinnah later, "and as I was about to leave the room, in the twinkling of an eye the accused sprang at me and gave me a blow with his clenched fist on my left jaw. I naturally reeled back a bit, when he pulled out a knife from his waist." A scuffle followed. Many people soon appeared on the scene. Rafiq Sabri was arrested. Jinnah suffered a cut on his chin and on his hand. After the wounds were dressed Jinnah returned to his desk. Rafiq Sabri admitted his guilt and volunteered the statement that "he believed it his duty to kill Jinnah because he was a tool in the hands of British imperialism".

At this very time I was able to obtain copies of a secret circular sent out by Sir Frederick Puckle, the Home Secretary, to all Governors, top officers and chief organizers of the National War Front.<sup>8</sup> Its contents created a national sensation. "We have three weeks until the meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay on August the 7th," wrote Puckle. "During this time the matter is mainly of propaganda to mobilise opinion against the concrete proposals contained in the Congress resolution, and against the threat with which the resolution concludes, described by Gandhi as 'open rebellion'. . . Please intensify your publicity through all available channels

<sup>7</sup> July 26 The League meeting was cleverly called ahead of the meeting of the AICC summoned for August 7

<sup>8</sup> It was dated 17th July, 1942

with the aim of securing openly expressed and reasoned opposition to the scheme of the resolution from individuals and important non-Congress organizations." The lines of publicity suggested by him were as unscrupulous as they were perverse. He wanted supporters, paid or otherwise, to preach that the resolution "was a direct invitation to Japan to over-run East India and that Congress leaders had become the heroes of the axis broadcasts". Although he "advised" that at the present stage Congress may not be called "a fifth column", he suggested as much. Supporters were also assured that if the Congress did decide to launch a mass movement after August 7, it would be suppressed by measures which would be in the nature of a "blitzkrieg".

For a time the Government and the Congress forgot the Japanese, the axis powers and the war. Suddenly the lackadaisical British bureaucrats became active. Armies were withdrawn from several fronts and stationed at strategic cantonments, and in and around big cities. The police force all over the country was armed and trebled. Special corps of "watch and ward officers" were mobilised from Anglo-Indian and Eurasian youths, and in some places from among the local hooligans and hoodlums, trained to bludgeon those who may rise in opposition, at a given signal.

The A.I.C.C. met on the 7th of August, 1942. From the 1st of August till the actual meeting, rumours were afloat that the top leaders would be arrested before the meeting. A state of acute tension prevailed all over the country. The assemblage on August 7 could hardly be called a meeting of the A.I.C.C. The pandal contained more than twenty-five thousand eager, anxious, admiring listeners. Abul Kalam Azad presided. Nehru moved and Vallabhbhai Patel seconded the main resolution. Nehru declared that the resolution was not a threat but an invitation and an offer of cooperation from a free India. "On any other terms our resolution," he said, "promises only conflict and struggle." Vallabhbhai said if the terms offered were not accepted the Congress was out to launch an all-out struggle to overthrow the British. Gandhi spoke to pin-drop silence

as a man inspired, as if through him was speaking some "divine voice". His speech did not stir the audience. But every word bored into their hearts. Every sentence seemed like a divine command. His speech lacked the rhetoric of a Cicero, but had the ring of a prophet! Never again was he heard to speak with such soul-stirring gravity or with so much depth of feeling. No commander could have sent out his command to the waiting millions all over the country, with so much authority and in a voice softened with the intensity of great spiritual confidence. "Occasions like the present," he said, "do not occur in everybody's life, and but rarely in anybody's life," he said. "If in the present crisis, when the earth is being scorched by the flames of huns and is crying for deliverance, I failed to make use of my God-given talent, God will not forgive me and I shall be judged unworthy of a great fight. I must act now." He said further: "I want freedom immediately, this very night, before dawn, if it can be had!"

Gandhi issued a brief, simple code of directives after the session, in case he was arrested. He suggested a national *hartal*, fast and prayers, the taking of a vow by the people that they will ceaselessly carry on the struggle and either they will be "free or die". There was to be no suspension of the movement on any account. "Do or die" should be the slogan. "Quit India is our demand." Sunday dawned and there was no freedom. Instead the Government launched a well-planned *blitzkrieg* against the Congress. Gandhi and the Working Committee were arrested at the break of dawn. Thousands of others all over the country were hauled up, some who had by then not even known of the final Congress instructions. Congress Committees were declared illegal and Congress offices were put under police custody. Men who had been idling at dinner parties and in dance halls while Japan was threatening the border, had suddenly become alert, aggressive and active on the "home front". Every possible repressive measure and repressive action was adopted to crush the Congress. The Government and the people both went mad, and a tornado of hate and violence raged over the country for several months.

## Black Terror and Dim Twilight

Armsdale, though more than a few furlongs removed from the graystone, castle-shaped Viceregal Lodge in Simla, was part of the Viceregal Estate. In structure it was reminiscent of the red gabled cottages of Grenoble and Nancy in France. Inside, it combined a colonial concept of comfort with a French sense of elegance. In the garden, lilies, nasturtiums, fusias, daffodils, bloomed in wild profusion. In the distance rose the majestic undulating peaks of the Himalayas, with their eternal snow-line blending with the horizon.

On a day in June, in the verandah, reclining on a Victorian easy chair sat a bearded old man peering into the distance. He sat seemingly oblivious of everything around him, smoking cigarette after cigarette, engrossed as it were in an unending dream. It was strange to find someone who till a few days ago had been, as a rebel, isolated in a remote fortress for three years, in a cottage reserved by Viceroy's for high-ranking guests. The irony was not lost on Maulana Abdul Kalam Azad, who genially smiled, as I disturbed him in his reverie, and said, "Ring that bell for someone to bring you a chair, and then we will order some tea. The service here is very much better than we had at Ahmednagar Fort.<sup>1</sup> In both places I have lived on a 'no charge' basis. About Ahmednagar, there was an element of hard reality. This feels like a passing illusion." He pointed to the costly furniture, the plush carpets

<sup>1</sup> Azad and other members of the Working Committee were locked up in Ahmednagar Fort from 1942 onwards

and the silk tapestry. As we settled down after tea, I asked the Maulana if I were not interfering with any of his programme. He explained that he was expecting Gandhiji, Nehru and others during the next two days. Till then he had all the time to relax. "We will go for a walk a little later," he suggested, "and if you are not otherwise engaged stay over for dinner. They expect me to have guests. They prepare enough for six".

"How was the food in Ahmednagar?" I asked. Having known the Maulana for years and having spent a few months with him in prison, I knew that the Maulana was an epicure, without being a gourmet, and, where Indian food was concerned, even a bit of a connoisseur. "It was awful in the beginning," he said. "In fact everything was awful during the first few weeks. The barracks were unclean, the watch and ward was strict, the behaviour of the staff rude, and the food worse than one would place before one's dog. But then we tamed 'Cheeta Khan'.<sup>2</sup> This was the nickname Congress leaders in Ahmednagar had given to the jail warden. The Maulana liked a pun now and then. "'Cheeta Khan' finally produced a good cook, gave us good food, and also changed his own behaviour."

The Maulana gave me some interesting details of the manner in which he, Nehru and other members of the Working Committee took to gardening in Ahmednagar Fort, held long discussions, read and wrote between intervals, and otherwise maintained a regular time-table from early morning to sunset. It reminded me of the prison days I had spent in the company of the Maulana. We wanted to read, but the books were few and the time was plenty. We used to import books like *The Life of Mazzini*, *Russian Revolution* by Trotsky, *The Indian War of Independence*, etc. covered in innocent-looking jackets of novels by Charles Dickens, Victor Hugo or P. G. Woodhouse. One had all the time for exercise, but going round and round in the small, walled compound made us feel like animals in a cage. One hungered for company. But, barring one's political colleagues, the only company we could get was of cut-throats, thieves, cat burglars, smugglers and pick-pockets. One

<sup>2</sup>Mr Tiger



developed an amazing appetite in prison. And yet sometimes the very look of jail food brought about nausea, which excess of appetite only accentuated.

"Life became quite tolerable after a year or so," said the Maulana, waking me out of my reverie. "But the little garden we grew in the jail compound, with our own hands, was something which brought us a sense of beauty, and a fine diversion. Looking at these flowers (here he pointed to the lawn colourfully bursting with fragrant blossoms), "I was reminded of our little garden, and how much every stalk that sprouted, every bud that showed up and every flower that bloomed was news! These years brought us closer to each other. Sometimes we fought like children. But all the time we shared each other's pains and sorrows like brothers." There were tears in the Maulana's eyes. I could see that he had suddenly remembered the great loss that he himself had suffered while in prison. His wife had died ailing. He had neither been informed of her illness, nor permitted to be by her bed-side when the fatal moment came. Gandhi who had been in Agha Khan Palace during the same period suffered two bereavements. His chief lieutenant, a stout young capable youth, Mahadev Desai, died suddenly before medical aid could come. Within a year Kasturba died. Such was the toll of prison! "If the authorities had given any thought to our sentiments, these would have been decencies one remembers. And yet their indecency is something one cannot forget." One other death had come as a shock to India at this time. The death of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose. He died in an air crash on his way from Saigon to Japan. For a long time, the report remained unconfirmed and for years the fiction of Netaji being still alive was periodically revived, by his supporters on the authority of his brother Sarat Bose. Later on it was revealed that Subhash had left a widow in Austria and a daughter. He was within an ace of his greatest triumph when he died!

"Tell me all that happened after our arrest," said the Maulana. "I have heard things in bits and pieces, but still do not have a living picture of the events of the last three years.

We were completely isolated from the outside world and time for us seemed to have come to a stop. We even started counting the wrinkles on each other's faces, and the number of gray hair across each one's temples."

After they were all arrested, I related, a storm burst all over the country. No one knew what the leaders wanted the people to do. Mr Amery, however, came out with the statement that it was part of the contemplated programme of the Congress to organize a nationwide boycott, to cut wires, obstruct communications, encourage strikes and do everything possible to paralyse the war effort. Bulabhai Desai was unwell and was not arrested. He said to me that according to what some of the leaders had told him, except eschewing violence to life, everything was contemplated in the programme. Mis Aruna Asaf Ali<sup>3</sup> had been the last to see off her husband and the Congress leaders. She confirmed this omnibus programme. Almost as if a common whisper had spread all over the country, mysterious hands started cutting off telegraph wires and telephone cables. Rails were removed from the tracks at many places. Bridges were sabotaged. Skilled hands tampered with the equipment of locomotives, so that the trains could not run. The seats in the trains were ripped, the windows smashed, and lights and fans put out of commission. A rash of incendiary activity started all over the country. In Delhi in a single day a multi-storied railway office was burnt to the ground. An exclusive club where "Indians and dogs" were not permitted was set on fire. A part of the district court was burnt. Incendiary bombs were thrown in two police stations. Side by side with these nationwide attempts at sabotage and incendiarism, started a spate of flag-hoisting ceremonies, public meetings, demonstrations, strikes and *haitals*. All over the country, on the walls, on the highways, on railway trains and anywhere and everywhere one could read stencilled in bold letters Gandhi's last brief slogans "Do or Die" and "Quit India".

This "do or die" business, I told the Maulana, led me into a dangerous trap one day. The secret hideouts of Congress leaders

<sup>3</sup>Wife of Asaf Ali, a member of the Working Committee

who had gone underground were many, varying from servants' quarters to unoccupied garages. For some time we had an empty bungalow on Curzon Road available to us. One day a large consignment arrived from Bombay containing "Alfonso mangoes". It contained a large number of "Do or Die" and "Quit India" wood blocks and stencils, half a dozen heavy telephone cable cutters, etc. The next morning I put the entire lot in the boot of my car, and drove to Curzon Road. As I turned in at the gate I saw to my shock a high ranking Indian police officer I knew him very well. Inside were half a dozen police men standing in the porch. I could not even pretend that I had come to see a friend. Feigning as if I had got the news of a police raid on the premises, I asked the Officer the reason for the raid and if anything incriminating had been found. He took me inside, saying, "Well, come and see for yourself." We went round the rooms and servants' quarters. They were all completely empty. We laughed. But my heart was losing several beats every minute because of the incriminating material in the boot of my car. At one stage the officer left me and was in conference with one of his subordinates. Later, when he escorted me to my car, and as I was driving out, he said, "Be careful in locking the boot of your car. Things can sometimes be stolen." I learnt later that a "mysterious" person had telephoned to the workers in the bungalow that the premises would be raided the next morning. That is how the workers could remove almost cartloads of equipment including cyclostyling machines and typewriters, leaving the premises empty.

After setting fire to the multi storied railway building Satyavati, the Joan of Arc of Delhi and two of her companions crossed the railway line and surprised me in my office, both with the news and with the request to escort them to some hideout. I put them in my car. As we were driving in the direction opposite to where the flames were rising to the skies, a patrolling police party stopped us. They were stopping everybody for a check. The officer looked at my companions. He evidently recognised me and Satyavati who had by then appeared more than a thousand times in Congress meetings.

and demonstrations. He allowed us to go. Next morning the officer came to my office with a child's autograph book. He said he had related the previous day's incident to his wife and his little daughter. He had promised the latter an autograph of the "renowned" lady. He called for it two days later and I got the autograph for him.

For the first time the Congress was able to instal its own secret radio station in Bombay. It proved more effective as a means of propaganda than our bulletins. I was informed of its location by "Akbar", the secret name under which Purshottam Trikumdas of the Socialist Party was then operating. I was searching for the particular house-number given to me when I found two people suspiciously standing on the road-side. I casually asked them for direction. They volunteered to direct me if I revealed my identity. I did. I was later surprised to learn that both of them were CID men, who for a week had been set on the job of locating the radio station. They had delayed their discovery to enable the radio station to move to new premises. This sort of thing had happened in most places. If British officers were watching, policemen would beat up Congress volunteers mercilessly, disperse mobs almost savagely and break up meetings with lathi blows. At the same time, in several different ways, they did a lot to help us, to give us useful information to send timely warnings to foil the designs of the bureaucracy.

The August 1942 movement was like a series of volcanic eruptions. It was nonviolent only to the extent that in this eruptive turmoil no violence was shown to any Britisher, man, woman or child, except maybe for a stray incident here or there. This despite the fact that by mobilising goondas, anglo-Indian cadets and all sorts of hooligans, savage violence was let loose by the bureaucracy, the like of which had never been witnessed before. Thousands were arrested, thousands flogged, whipped and baton-baited. In jails, no distinction was made between hardened criminals and political offenders. If at all, the former were treated leniently to heighten the contrast. Government replied sabotage with lawlessness, violence to

property with violence to persons, public demonstrations with ruthless repression, collective fines, confiscation of property and the imposition of punitive police rule. It was India's last great rebellion with violence directed towards everything touching the administration except human beings. It was also Britain's last ruthless, savage orgy of repression, in which neither life nor property was sacred. But after the fury was over, Britain realized that it could only depend on a lot of mercenaries in India. It could no longer count on the loyalty even of the police, or of the army, or of many sections of the Civil Service.

Gandhi went on a twenty-one day fast in the Agha Khan Palace. Linlithgow left after seven years of Viceroyalty. The twenty-one-day fast by Gandhi was his last conclusive act in the "Do or Die" movement. Gandhi had written to Linlithgow, severely criticising the brutalities that were being perpetrated in the name of law and order, and charging that all the statements made about him in the Government quarters in this connection "contain palpable departures from the truth." The only answer he got was from Churchill who said in Parliament that the British Government wanted no compromise with Gandhi. "Gandhism and all that it stands for will have to be grappled with and finally crushed."

The Viceroy offered to set Gandhi free for the duration of the fast. Gandhi refused. Gandhi was then seventy-four. He weighed less than 114 pounds. As the fast proceeded, the health bulletins were awaited with as much anxiety all over India, and in many parts of the world, as major news of war happenings. Dozens of Indian and foreign correspondents migrated to Poona. Hundreds of thousands of men and women observed partial or complete fasts, lasting several days. There was a deep silent stir in the air, more volcanic than the violent eruption of 1942. Leaders from all over the country, got together, took deputations, passed resolutions, and in various ways brought pressure on the Government to set Gandhi free unconditionally. Three members of the Viceroy's Executive Council resigned under public pressure: H. P. Mody,

N. R. Sarkar and M. S. Aney. Unlike his earlier fasts, nausea started on the fourth day. On the sixth day his heartbeats became feeble. By the twelfth day dangerous signs of uramia developed in the blood. His condition was deemed grave. Mr Phillips, then President Roosevelt's personal representative in India, requested to meet Gandhi. The permission was refused.<sup>4</sup> Phillips left India in a huff.

Meanwhile, the Government started preparing for the worse, with a callousness unknown even in medieval times. By the thirteenth day they felt certain that Gandhi would die. Officials reported that he was almost dead. Instructions were sent out as to what positions in different towns and in Poona the police and the army should take in the event of Gandhi's death. With ironic regard for "ritual", a few maunds of sandal wood was secretly imported to Poona to be available for the cremation. Even two pandits<sup>5</sup> were retained on tap for performing the cremation ceremony according to Hindu rites. A Government communique had been carefully drafted to serve as an obituary offering by the Viceroy. The route of the funeral procession was carefully demarcated. Some of the enterprising American correspondents, having secretly got to know the route, had selected appropriate spots from where they could take shots and close-ups of the funeral. Half a dozen of them held night-and-day vigils outside the Agha Khan Palace, lest they miss the greatest scoop of history. Some even bribed the guards to get the earliest "inside dope".

After he had lost fourteen pounds, Gandhi was too weak to be weighed. He fainted twice. The uramia increased. The pulse became almost imperceptible. According to Mrs Sarojini Naidu, who was the first to be released and was then with Gandhi in the Agha Khan Palace, doctors were now unanimous that if the fast was not ended Gandhi had only a few hours to live. The

<sup>4</sup>I knew Phillips well. He was a truly liberal-minded American. He most objectively and honestly apprised Roosevelt of the actual state of things in India. He soon became a *persona non grata* with the bureaucrats. But so long as he had Roosevelt's support, they could do nothing about it.

<sup>5</sup>Priests

British medical officer attending on Gandhi restlessly moved around Gandhi's bed. At one time he decided to give an injection of glucose. He found the patient completely unconscious, almost dead. Gandhi suddenly opened his eyes and begged of the doctor not to "interfere with the will of God". "But it is my medical duty," said the physician, "to save life even without the consent of the patient, and sometimes despite his opposition." Gandhi replied in his feeble voice: "I respect and appreciate your sense of duty. Give me and my Master twenty-four hours more: and if there is no improvement and there is still serious danger to my life, I will accept your help." The doctor, an Englishman, agreed with tears in his eyes. During the next twenty-four hours, he and other medical attendants did not sleep. The patient was under close and constant observation. Gandhi remained either unconscious or in the spell of a deep silent prayer. On the 14th day, according to the medical bulletin, "the crisis had passed. Gandhi's mind seemed clearer". The Uramia was slowly receding. The pulse remained feeble, but there was very little nausea. He was sleeping more restfully. He was even able to recognize visitors easily, and once smilingly asked his physician, "Is the Supreme Doctor helping?"

On the final day of the fast, even though still very weak, Gandhi looked cheerful and mentally alert. Dr B. C. Roy who had joined other attendants during the fast said: "Mahatmaj has again fooled us all!" When Sir Homi Mody, one of the Indian members of the Executive Council who had resigned in protest, met him later and congratulated him on his recovery, Gandhi said, "I still hope to live up to 125 years." Homi Mody retorted, "Why did you not tell me earlier. I would not have resigned."

Seemingly it had been just a fast, like many other fasts. But these three weeks of tension had done more to undermine what was left of British authority in India than the three cyclonic years of the August rebellion. Every Englishman began to feel that a deep silent stirring was spreading, and that nothing could save British authority any more except machine guns and bombs.

The tide of war however had by now turned in Britain's favour. The forces of the allies crossed the channel and knocked the Germans out of France. They entered Italy. Mussolini flew for life but was killed. German resistance broke down under the pressure of a most destructive blitz. Hitler committed suicide. Japan remained at war till a year later. But two atom bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima brought it to its knees.

Lord Wavell who had acted as Commander-in-Chief was now appointed Viceroy. Wavell unexpectedly proved a man of greater understanding than Linlithgow. Within a short period he saw that politically the time had come for the British to "retreat" from India. In May, 1945, he proceeded to London to tender this advice to the Cabinet. In early June he returned to implement that advice. As a first step he ordered the release of Congress leaders and invited them, the leaders of the Muslim League and the representatives of other important parties to a conference in Simla. The Congress Working Committee had met in Bombay and deputed Maulana Azad to proceed to Simla to open discussions with the Viceroy. I arrived almost within a few hours of Maulana Azad to find that every available accommodation in the hotels had been requisitioned by the Government for the leaders. Maulana Azad had a suite reserved for him at the Cecil. The Viceroy, after meeting Azad, felt that he was in a state of health when he needed better food and greater comfort than was possible in a hotel. He invited him to stay at Armsdale. Thus his vacant suite became available to me. The Maulana felt amused when I told him that if the Viceroy had not invited him to Armsdale, I would be staying in some ramshackle place in Lower Bazar. "Remember the hard uneven floor of the barrack in the Central Jail of Delhi and the iron grill through which the loo<sup>6</sup> came with particles of roasted dust and sand? Nothing could be worse than that." And then he looked at the garden, and the heavenly landscape beyond, and said, "Nothing could be better than this."

<sup>6</sup> Hot winds



After locking up the Congress in prison, Linlithgow and the reactionaries had done a lot of dirty work to strengthen Jinnah's position. They had brought within his reach rich resources of power and patronage, enabling him to distribute offices and benefits to his supporters. A political orphan of 1938, he became the favoured child of the bureaucracy in 1942. In the Frontier Province, with several of the Congress members of the legislature in prison, the Governor had convened the Assembly and put a Muslim League government in power. In Sind, Allah Bux was assassinated. His followers were sent to prison. Here again a Muslim League government with a precarious majority was installed. In Bengal, Fazlul Haq, the leader of the Krishak Praja Party, who had been head of a coalition, was forced to resign. Some of his Congress supporters being in prison, a Muslim League government with a minority to support it was put in office by the Governor. In Assam, the same game was repeated. Thus, by trickery and fraud, Jinnah and his followers were given power in five provinces. This in return brought to Jinnah lots of funds and influence. The League for the first time had members all over India. It had a private arsenal everywhere. Since officials took little notice of communal lawlessness engineered by the League, riots became a profitable source of booty to its goonda elements. Behind the League in many cities stood contingents of hooligans and hoodlums, wearing different uniforms.

Soon after his release, before the Simla Conference, Gandhi hoped that he could still win over Jinnah by appealing to his dormant sense of patriotism. He asked to meet him. Jinnah had lost all respect for Gandhi and openly said so. But he did want "recognition" of his leadership by the man who represented the soul and the spirit of Indian nationalism. Jinnah agreed to meet Gandhi at his Mount Pleasant residence. The interviews lasted several days. Jinnah gained by these interviews in publicity Gandhi lost in prestige. They had met during the month of Ramzan—a month of fasting for the believers. Jinnah one day suddenly woke up to his forgotten religious obligations. He publicly declared that he and Gandhi were not meeting

on the 9th of September, which, being the last day of Ramzan, "good musalmans have to observe". From the tenth to the twenty-seventh, except for a break to celebrate Id, or for Mondays which were Gandhi's days of silence, Gandhi trudged day after day to Jinnah's mansion, sometimes once, sometimes twice. I asked Gandhiji what they were discussing all these days. He replied he wanted to win back Jinnah to the concept of united India with a place of security, dignity and honour for the Muslims and other minorities. I asked Jinnah the same question. "Frankly", he said, "Gandhi wants me to accept the make-believe Pakistan of Rajagopalachari. I have tried to convince him that if he accepts the principle of Pakistan, then he should leave it to me to define Pakistan at the proper time." "But this could not have taken all this time," I said. "When two lawyers begin to hedge and argue they can never get to the point of decision," he said, "and we are both lawyers" Gandhi and he never reached the reality of things!

I never saw Gandhi more depressed or more completely checkmated than after the failure of the talks with Jinnah. In re-opening the thread of negotiations, he decided now to rely on Bulabhai Desai and Rajagopalachari since other leaders were in jail. Bulabhai Desai and Rajagopalachari were two of the most astute and outstanding brains in the Congress. But the two were completely different. Rajagopalachari was the victim of his own cleverness. He thought in circles and argued in spirals. In argument Rajagopalachari was a master quibbler. But as a negotiator he evoked more suspicion than confidence. Above all he lacked that generosity to friend or foe which made one likable even to those from whom one differed. He was a master in the use of language which could not only hurt but leave his victim mentally lacerated. Bulabhai, next to Motilal Nehru and C. R. Das, was a man of outstanding ability, and consummate in the art of diplomacy. He was a man who could inspire confidence even among his opponents. Government representatives disliked his arguments, but they esteemed him personally. He had tact, a resourceful mind and a rare sense of realism. Where Gandhi and Rajagopalachari had failed, Bula-

bhai succeeded. He succeeded in breaking the deadlock, between the League and the Congress and the Congress and the Government, without involving either party in irreconcilable issues. His was at the time one of the greatest achievements of statesmanship. If things had gone the way Bulabhai had planned, Pakistan may have become a dead issue in due course and the Congress would have had an opportunity to prove to Muslims how their rights and interests could be protected in action, rather than merely on paper, in a united India.

At Bulabhai's advice Gandhi made to Linlithgow a last offer. The offer surprised most of us. What he had denounced in 1942 as morally wrong and politically unacceptable, he suddenly offered in 1944. He declared that "he would be satisfied with a national government in full control of the civil administration, composed of persons chosen by the elected members of the Assembly". Linlithgow left without attaching much importance to Gandhi's offer. Wavell, his successor, was more realistic. He genuinely wanted to explore some effective method of breaking the deadlock.

It was at this time that Bulabhai Desai took the further initiative of negotiating with the League behind the scenes. Bulabhai saw that Gandhi's offer had cleared two boulders from the way. Gandhi had agreed to defer independence till the end of the war, and would be satisfied with the formation of a representative national executive "from among the elected members of the Central Assembly". Furthermore, he had assured that this government and the Congress representatives in it would "support the war effort". Hitherto negotiations had gone on between Gandhi and Jinnah. He by-passed both. He opened negotiations with Liaquat Ali Khan, the secretary of the Muslim League, its deputy leader in the Assembly, and the most powerful man behind Jinnah.

Liaquat Ali was a product of Oxford and the Inner Temple. He was, like Jinnah, a liberal-minded Muslim, a landlord by birth and politician by profession. He had been for nearly eight years the driving force behind Jinnah and the League, and had built up the status of both to raise his own stature in politics.

He was an eloquent speaker, tactful, amiable and convincing. While he had made Pakistan an issue even before Jinnah had thought of it, he considered it till then a means of bargaining for Muslim rights and privileges rather than an inevitable basis of any final settlement. Liaquat Ali was one of the few who knew that Jinnah was suffering from a fatal malady and did not have long to live. While, therefore, he shouted the loudest for Pakistan, he was prepared for some reasonable compromise which could bring power to the Muslim League and a key position for himself while Jinnah was still alive.

Bulabhai Desai and Liaquat were good friends. They met frequently in the Assembly. They evolved a formula for a National Executive Council from out of the existing members of the Assembly. For this evidently Liaquat had as much the blessings of Jinnah as Bulabhai Desai had of Gandhi. The Viceroy reacted favourably. According to the formula the Congress was to have four representatives, the League four, one depressed class's representative and one Sikh in the Executive Council. The formula by-passed by implication the demand for Pakistan, the Muslim League claim to sole representation of Muslims, and Britain's reluctance to hand over complete power before Hindu-Muslim differences could be settled. On the basis of this formula Wavell went to London for consultations. London reacted favourably also. On his return, Wavell issued an appeal inviting leaders of important parties to consider the idea of an Indian Executive Council in a more definite and concrete form. To make this possible, he ordered the release of all prominent Congressmen and called the conference at Simla.

## “The Murder” of Bulabhai

Simla's formal life was suddenly disturbed. The Conference was like a political mela. In addition to those invited, Simla attracted thousands of fun-seekers, hangers-on and mere observers. After Abul Kalam, the President, arrived Jinnah, followed by few hundred Muslim Leaguers from all parts of the country. Then followed the Congress cavalcade. Jinnah had been to Simla a hundred times. According to routine, he arrived by rail motor, and then reached the Cecil by rickshaw. Gandhi arrived by car on an unannounced schedule because of weak health, with his usual retinue of thirty odd khadi-clad disciples. He drove straight to the mansion of Raja Harnam Singh, negotiable directly from the Cart Road. Nehru, however, stole the show. His fifty-two mile car route to Simla was lined by thousands of people who cheered Nehru's car as it passed, loading it with flowers. Thousands crowded the roads at Simla when he arrived. As Jinnah watched the scene from his Cecil Hotel window, he felt nauseated. He felt even worse when Nehru's car, contrary to the official ban, drove past the Cecil. It upset him further to know that a Muslim, Abul Kalam Azad, an erstwhile rebel, had been lodged as the Viceroy's guest, while he, the "Qaid-e-Azam", had to find a hotel room for himself and ride a very plebeian rickshaw. Small things sometimes influence great decisions. It became obvious to some of us who then watched Jinnah that he would not hit off well with Wavell. Protocol had spiked the Simla Conference. Jinnah's pride had been hurt. He was on the war path.

The pampered child of the British bureaucracy had also political reasons for feeling upset. In his broadcast inviting the Conference Wavell had said nothing about the League demand for Pakistan. Wavell had assured that the Hindus and Muslims will have parity in the Central Executive, as suggested in the Bulabhai-Liaquat Pact, and that his idea was to select the "best and most homogenous team" from a panel of names to be supplied to him. He had not even specified the role of the Muslim League in determining the Muslim personnel. As a final homethrust he had concluded by expressing his belief "in the future of India" and of "doing his best to further 'her' greatness". Jinnah noticed that of the twenty-one leaders invited besides himself and Gandhi, one as "head" of the Congress and the other as "head" of the League, the Viceroy had under one head or another included other Muslims who did not belong to the League, such as Khizr Hyat Tiwana, leader of the Unionist Party of the Punjab, Dr Khan Sahib, Chief Minister of the Frontier Province, Fazlul Haq, head of the Praja Krishak Party of Bengal, etc. Jinnah had been also feeling that unlike Linlithgow who had helped to build up Jinnah's house of cards, Wavell had done nothing to save it from crumbling down.

In the North Western Frontier Province, after the release of Congress leaders, the Muslim League Ministry was voted out of office. The Congress Ministry with a solid majority had been installed. Sir Francis Wylie, the Governor, was reported to be actively flirting with the Khan brothers and the Red Shirts. In Bengal, the Muslim League Ministry which had a tenuous majority had been defeated. Governor's rule had been imposed. In Assam, Sir Saidullah, though owing allegiance to the League, took orders from the Congress Party whose support alone was keeping him in office. In Sind, Sir Hidayat Ullah, though nominally loyal to the League, had been playing musical chairs, changing parties and loyalties every few months. He now depended on Congress support to remain in office. Khizr Hayat (Unionist) ruled Punjab but refused to join the Muslim League.

Jinnah's first act of sabotage, therefore, was to repudiate the

Bulabhai-Liaquat Pact. He blatantly declared that he knew nothing about it, and was no party to it. It was unbelievable! The negotiations between Liaquat Ali and Bulabhai had been going on for days in the lobby of the Assembly, where Jinnah was always present. The negotiations had been "secret" but public enough to be mentioned in newspapers, discussed by journalists and politicians alike. They could not have proceeded for a day if Gandhi and Jinnah had not been consulted. In the "secret" consultations a stage had been reached when the Viceroy wanted to know whether Jinnah would like to serve on the new Executive with Bulabhai Desai, or he would prefer to nominate Liaquat Ali Khan. Jinnah had kept the option. Being an astute politician, Jinnah now felt that by pleading ignorance of the pact he was neither repudiating nor accepting it. Wavell was shocked! Wavell, above everything, was a man of integrity. Like a true soldier he believed in straightforward dealings.

My relations with Liaquat Ali were very close. During the Simla Conference we were thrown even closer together. Bulabhai said that if Jinnah had not been consulted by Liaquat during the negotiations, Liaquat had not spoken to him the truth. He also added that if he had to choose between the two, he would rather believe Liaquat. I quizzed Liaquat several times in different ways to find out the truth. I can only say that Liaquat felt as much shocked by the denial of his leader as any one else. "In politics everything goes," he would say, and leave it at that. A month later he published a very equivocal explanation. It was widely believed that it had been done "to save the face of his leader".

A further disappointment was in store for Jinnah. Gandhi, even though invited, excused himself from attending the Conference, but assured Wavell that he would be available for consultations. Thus not Gandhi but Abul Kalam Azad, "the Congress President", and a "Muslim" at that, became the Congress counterpart of Jinnah. Jinnah considered this a cunning device on the part of Gandhi. Before the Conference started, all the invitees were made to assemble on the terrace of the Vice-

regal Lodge. Jinnah caustically remarked: "Have we come here for a horse show or have we come for serious business?" He specially disliked a chair being offered to Azad, who had pleaded ill-health. "If he is unwell," Jinnah remarked, "he should be in hospital". To Jinnah's surprise, at a moment's notice, all assembled were requested to form into a row to be introduced to the Viceroy. While the suggestion had no obvious reference to protocol, it did happen that Azad was the first to be introduced. Jinnah, who had accidentally taken third place, petulantly moved down the row to place himself near the end of the line. This did not go unnoticed. As he shook hands with the Viceroy, a shorter man, he continued to look beyond him, towards the skies. This also did not go unnoticed. Jinnah was a born actor, and even in small gestures he could be terribly rude!

If the Congress leaders on their part had shown prudence, patience, tact and a little generosity between themselves, the Simla Conference offered them a great opportunity to checkmate Jinnah. The Bulabhai-Liaquat pact signalled a wonderful breakthrough so far as the communal deadlock was concerned. If the Congress leaders had adhered to it, with Wavell's support and Liaquat's help there was every chance of its being fully implemented. But selfish reasons weighed as much with Jinnah as with top Congress leaders.

The Congress Working Committee met in Bombay in early June to consider the Viceroy's invitation and the Pact. The Bombay discussions revealed however that the Congress attitude towards these well-considered and cleverly formulated proposals began to be seriously influenced by personal and selfish considerations. The Bulabhai-Liaquat plan, for good reasons, envisaged an interim arrangement whereby the Executive Council was to be representative of different sections and parties "in the Indian Legislature", as it was then constituted. It also specifically stated that "there would be no general election either at the Centre or in the provinces". The first condition by-passed the demand for Pakistan, without in any way prejudicing it, and the second the issue of "independence", without



prejudicing the same. It was felt by Bulabhai Desai, Liaquat Ali Khan and the Viceroy that if the proposed arrangement worked successfully, and some of the fears of the Muslims and other minorities were allayed, the way may be paved sooner than later for a further bold step towards fuller freedom for an "united" rather than a "divided" India. Both parties saw things from different angles and agreed for reasons of self-interest. Liaquat realized that unlike Linlithgow, Wavell was not inclined to support the separatist demands of the League. Besides, even Linlithgow had encouraged these demands only to suit the exigencies of war, which no longer existed. If there was a general election, the League might lose even the little hold it now exercised in Sind, Assam and Bengal, and reduce its strength in the country and the Central Legislature. Bulabhai read the situation differently. With the League having considerably gained in following since 1942, whether through Government help or appeal to communal passions, there was little chance of reducing the League's strength in the Central Legislature in any general election. It was a gamble not worth the stakes.

If the proposals were accepted, it followed that Desai and Jinnah (the then leaders of the Congress party and the League in the Assembly) would be invited to form an interim government at the Centre. The proposals further ran: "They would then consult the groups in the Indian Legislature and submit names to the Governor-General for inclusion in the Executive Council." In expressing his public approval of the proposals Gandhi had carefully seen through all the subtle considerations that had gone into their formulation and which had contributed to their acceptance by Liaquat. Bulabhai hoped that Gandhiji would be their staunchest champion in the Working Committee. He suddenly found Gandhi concerned more with the flaws than with the advantages. In the Working Committee the proposals were not considered on merit but in the light of personal ambitions. Key men in the High Command suddenly realized that, if the proposals were adopted, then, in the Centre and in the Provinces, important ministerial positions would

have to be filled only from amongst existing members. The provincial pattern of 1937 needed vital changes since several provincial leaders had gained and several had lost the High Command's favour. A 18 shuffle would be difficult if the existing composition of the legislatures remained unaltered. In the Centre, a new Executive Council would in effect mean setting the pattern of a new Central Government. Those joining it would have considerable power. They might remain in power till a final step towards independence was taken. This may be a year or ten years.

Abul Kalam Azad, as the Congress President, and a Muslim at that, naturally entertained the vague feeling that if the choice of leadership was not confined to the existing members of the Assembly, he may be the logical number one on behalf of the Congress. Sardar Patel, the head of the Congress Parliamentary Board, felt that in the changed conditions he would be the appropriate person to lead the Congress at the Centre. Nehru, as the chosen successor to Gandhi, and by all considerations the fittest and most popular choice to head the Central Government, also felt that the choice of leader should not be confined to the existing members of the Assembly. Thus by common consent, though for diverse "private" reasons, Bulabhai from a hero became the *bête noire* of his Congress colleagues. The valid and vital reasons that required the initial choice to be confined to Bulabhai Desai and Jinnah, were neither taken into account nor appreciated. In an effort to give calculated meanness a cloak of righteousness, Bulabhai was accused of negotiating the pact, not for resolving a serious deadlock, but to ensure for himself the position of leader of the Executive by the back door. It was a foul libel. As in the case of Narayan and Subhash Bose, a man to whom posterity would have attributed one of the greatest achievements of constructive statemanship was maliciously accused of personal motives. He was made the victim of a most uncalled-for mean and malevolent campaign of character assassination.

Bulabhai, the architect of the proposals, suddenly found that he had neither friends nor admirers and all around him were

only accusers I found him, as I had earlier found Subhas after the Calcutta meeting of the All India Congress Committee a most unhappy man. During the Simla Conference, he was not even consulted when his advice was most needed. The tragedy was heightened when the Congress submitted its list of nominees to the Executive Council to the Viceroy. Bulabhai's name, which stood first in the list, was omitted. When I approached Gandhi for an explanation, he was blandly told that there had been reports that he was "accustomed to drinking." To many of us it came as a surprise that Gandhi, who had knowingly tolerated drinking in many of the top leaders of the Congress for years, should have suddenly invoked the charge to justify a gross injustice to Bulabhai. If indulgence in alcohol was an offence, argued Bulabhai, Motilal had been thrice elected President of the Congress while openly admitting that he was not a tee-totaller. It was well known that some members of the Working Committee, quite a few provincial Ministers, Congress members of the Legislature and many members of the AICC freely indulged in drinking. Gandhi was certainly not unaware of it. Bulabhai said he had played host to the Congress President who was as much of a tee-total as he was. When Gandhi asked Maulana Azad if the allegation was true, he said nothing. The question was unnecessary, said Gandhi, was well aware of the Maulana's addiction to alcohol and of several others. Shocked by these tactics and utterly disillusioned as to the political ethics of his accusers, Bulabhai felt terribly depressed. One day when the negotiations had reached a deadlock, he said to me, with tears in his eyes, that he had been condemned by the highest without a hearing, and that his proposals had been stupidly sabotaged by the very people in whose interests they had been framed!

Despite his detractors, Bulabhai, whose strength lay in ability and not in intrigue, later again became a national hero. He volunteered to defend the officers of the Indian National Army charged with waging war and high treason before a martial law tribunal. The brilliant manner in which he conducted the defence before the martial law tribunal remains

a score of eminent lawyers and ex-judges associated with him of Birkenhead and Simon. For hours, extending to nearly four days, he argued, almost without notes, keeping the members of the Tribunal and the visitors spell-bound. For the first time since he relinquished practice, even Nehru borrowed a barrister's gown to join the legal luminaries assisting Bulabhai in the defence. It was one of the greatest trials of history, and Bulabhai's was voted by one and all a grand and historic performance. Even after this, instead of honouring the greatest advocate of his time, a fine patriot and a most capable statesman, the High Command added meanness to calumny. To insure that Bulabhai was kept out as a potential rival, when lists were prepared for a later election he was not even named a Congress candidate. No explanation was offered. No excuse given. This gross injustice, and grosser ingratitude on the part of his colleagues, proved unbearable. Bulabhai died soon afterwards of a heart attack.

The Conference which had been called to create an interim representative Executive Council as an initial step to full freedom met only twice for sessions lasting more than an hour. First, on the day of its birth, the 26th of June, 1944. Last, on July 14 to proclaim its death and for the performance of formal obsequies. Since the Congress and the League were now meeting as national parties and not as parties in the legislatures, Jinnah insisted that no Muslim should be nominated to the executive by the Congress even though its President happened to be an eminent Muslim, and none substituted by the Viceroy. The Viceroy wanted to nominate Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana, head of the Unionist Party, for very obvious reasons. Jinnah refused. Many things were however happening behind the scenes, of which at the time no public notice could be taken. Actually Jinnah's attitude was now dictated, not from strength, but from weakness. He made several private attempts to cajole, persuade and finally browbeat Khizr Hayat into joining the League. Khizr refused to be drawn into any argument and pleaded that he was essentially a "simple rustic", and he could not wear two masks at one time. He

could not be in the League and yet head the Unionist Party. Jinnah's difficulty was not only Khuzi. His executive was so full of job-seekers, knights and Nawabs, that once he made up his list he was likely to offend those he did not include. The Executive of the League in secret session left it to Jinnah to prepare a list and hand over the same to the Viceroy. He made it known that he had done so. He bluffed both the Viceroy and the Executive ! He never made out a list and presented none to the Viceroy. The Viceroy made out his own list from among the League leaders, which included Jinnah.

As time passed, with the Bulabhai Pact out of the way, enthusiasm in the Congress Camp for the success of the Conference suddenly increased. Three years of imprisonment had wrecked many constitutions. Age was catching on fast so far as some of the prominent leaders were concerned. In the beginning they wanted nothing less than the full loaf. They were now prepared for half the loaf, in the hope that full independence would not be long in coming. In the beginning they had apprehensions and doubts about Wavell. But after he had met some of them in Simla they began to trust him. Even Gandhi considered him a real friend. Azad swore by him ! The Congress sent him its panel of names and was liberal enough to make the list comprehensive and "all-embracing". In private negotiations they made some generous offers even to Jinnah and the League.

Govind Ballabh Pant was delegated to open the negotiations. He was a very wrong choice. Worse than Azad. He was selected because he had humility, which some top leaders lacked. But Govind Ballabh Pant had been the Chief Minister of the United Provinces in 1937. Azad and the Congress were accused of breach of faith by Jinnah and the Muslim League, in not keeping to an alleged promise to include two representatives of the League to form a Coalition Cabinet in UP. Thus the Jinnah-Pant negotiations opened in a spirit of distrust and ended in frustration. At this stage I suggested to Nehru to step into the negotiations himself as Jinnah and other Muslim League leaders still trusted him. He reluctantly agreed.

I took the preliminary step of inviting several guests to dinner, including among them Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan. By their mutual consent I shifted guests and chairs in such a manner that the two finally sat close to each other. I was surprised, and so were the guests, to notice how much they needed to talk. This tête-à-tête convinced Nehru that Jinnah would welcome a meeting if such a meeting were tactfully arranged without loss of pride on either side.

A meeting between two snobs when many eyes are always turned on their movements became a difficult task. It was customary for Jinnah to come out of his room after breakfast and sit in a raised corner of the foyer of the Cecil, greeting everyone he knew, or just silently watching people coming in or going out. Nehru had never stepped into the Cecil, except only once for my dinner. It happened that his sister was arriving the next day. No accommodation was available in the hotel. The proprietor<sup>1</sup> offered the use of one of his office-rooms for the period of her stay. Before accepting the offer, I suggested to Nehru that it may be desirable for him to "inspect the accommodation". Nehru agreed. "Could you arrive punctually between 10 and 10.30?" I requested Nehru flared up. "Nonsense," he said. "Why can't I drop in at any time? After all the office will still be there." "It is not always good to ask many questions," I interposed smilingly Nehru understood. Jinnah came out as usual. But in order not to take any chances, Liaquat who was in the secret moved up to him and engaged him in live conversation. Nehru was dead punctual. To heighten the casualness of the coincidence we first went to the proprietor's office, and then slowly proceeded towards my room. As the two got nearer, both, as good actors, gave a grin of recognition, as if awakened to each other's unexpected presence with surprise. A cordial shaking of the hands followed. Nehru explained his mission. Jinnah equally casually asked if Nehru would like to have a cup of coffee in Jinnah's room. Nehru agreed. The "casual" meeting ended at 1.30 p.m.

<sup>1</sup> Mr M S Oberoi

I asked Nehru afterwards if he had made any dent in Jinnah's armour. "I am afraid it is too late," he said. "He is more opposed to Wavell nominating Khizi than the Congress nominating Azad. I doubt if even Jinnah fully understands what Mr Jinnah wants." "Perhaps Sir Francis Mudie does," I remarked in an under-breath. While Nehru was disappointed, he was now willing to make the most generous concessions to win Muslim opinion both inside and outside the League. Vallabhbhai Patel and his supporters in the Congress had by now got reconciled to Jinnah's demand for Pakistan. "If Jinnah wants Pakistan," Vallabhbhai, according to Dr Khan Sahib, was believed to have said at this time, "let him have it. Let him take with him those Muslims who want to join him in his new heaven, and also all the Muslim goondas, pimps and prostitutes."<sup>2</sup> When I met Dr Khan Sahib in the hotel, he was terribly upset. How could any Congress leader, he said, think, least of all talk, of Pakistan when a Congress government still ruled in the Frontier

Patel explained later that, even if Pakistan was accepted in principle, only those areas in which Muslims were in a majority, and which decided to form a separate State, would go to Pakistan. If the Frontier decided to remain with India, it was already connected with India through Kashmir, so it would remain part of the main subcontinent. Nobody, including Jinnah, however had any clear idea as to what would constitute Pakistan, and how independent and sovereign India and Pakistan would be of each other, if and when a division was decided upon, and how Hindu or Muslim rulers and their States and people would fit into the new picture. It was anybody's guess!

<sup>2</sup> I may state here that the dancing women in Northern India were generally Muslims, although in other parts of the country the communities were equally represented in the profession

## The Puppets Rebel

"The puppets have walked out of the show," said my reporter as I was rushing through the corridors to attend the annual session of the Princes' Chamber. "Sir," he said, "believe it or not, the worms have turned. This spells the end of the British in India." It was unbelievable, but true. The annual meeting of the Chamber had been called for the 4th of December. On September 15, 1944, the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes had passed a resolution expressing "grave misgivings and apprehensions" about the future relationship with the Crown, and wanting an assurance that their "treaty rights shall remain unimpaired" and that this relationship "cannot and should not be transferred to any third party" without the consent of the States concerned. While negotiations were going on between the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, the Congress and the League, the Princes felt that without being consulted, or without their consent, their existing relationship with the "Paramount Power" should not be transferred to the new government of a free India, or of Pakistan. When the Chamber met, the Viceroy disallowed the resolution. The Princes walked out. So did the Viceroy. The Standing Committee of the Princes sent in their resignation. Eighty princes then met non-officially under the Presidentship of the Maharaja of Gwalior and unanimously endorsed the resolution passed by the Standing Committee. I never saw the princes, who were hitherto known as a set of profligate poltroons, so excited and so determined to assert their "rights".



Two decades had changed the Princely Order considerably. In the old days they arrived in expensive cars with a colourful retinue of attendants and aides, and a loadful of concubines. They hired palatial bungalows at exorbitant rents. Pimps, prostitutes and dancing women did a roaring business. So did jewellers, drapers and suppliers of expensive saris. Majestic Bhupinder Singh of Patiala, with his hundred-odd wives, Alwar, known for his colourful Rolls Royces and notorious for whipping favourite women and horses alike, Ganga Singh of Bikaner with his aristocratic whiskers, his camel battery and his carpet of wild grouse, Ranji, the champion cricketer and the collector of rare carpets, had all disappeared, leaving behind myths and fables of their imperious ways and princely extravagance. Most of the princes of the new generation still lived expensively by common standards, but instances of wasteful extravagance were rare. Although some of the rulers had built palatial houses in the capital, most of them had been requisitioned during the war. By and large the new generation preferred to stay in hotels. They found greater entertainment at less expenditure in the company of pleasure-seeking WACCs than in a harem of concubines, in dancing to the Rumba and the Fox Trot than in watching Kathak and Oddissi by traditional professionals. Many had married modern, educated, cultured girls who introduced mixed parties and gave a new orientation to the social life of the Order.

Jayaji Rao Scindia assumed rulership of Gwalior in his early twenties. He found the hundred-room palace with its mammoth halls and marble corridors too large, the fifty-odd elephants an extravagance, and the mini-train his father rode in for pleasure an expensive toy. He moved his personal secretariat into the palace, and shifted himself into a "modest" three-storied, twenty-roomed mansion in the neighbourhood. He reduced the number of elephants, but increased the number of horses. According to some, his winnings on the race course almost paid for the stables and fresh replacements. The mini-train was commercialized and in a decade paid not only the original outlay, but also a recurring profit. He married a

Deputy Collector's daughter, a girl of sound education and refinement, with whom he fell in love at first sight, instead of seeking a bride from the princely order. Sadul Singh of Bikaner was neither brilliant nor an exhibitionist like his father. At the same time he was not as lavish or as extravagant in personal expenditure. He started building up the State from where his father left off, and cutting down expenditure where his father had begun.

Yadavender Singh of Patiala seemed an unsophisticated plebeian in the presence of the imperious Bhupender Singh, his father. He had inherited from his father a love for sports, especially cricket, but not his weakness for mobilising a harem. When Bhupender Singh died, the first concern of the new Maharaja was to dispose off the harem, along with elephants, horses, dogs and an army of hangers-on. His father ran five guest-houses, and they were always full. Guests remembered to come and forgot to leave. Yadavender Singh maintained only one guest-house, and so quickly disposed off the guests that they had difficulty finding an excuse for a second meal.

As "elders" to this younger generation emerged two outstanding personalities, who in turn served as Chancellors of the Chamber of Princes after the disappearance of the old guard. They were the Jam Sahib of Nawanagar and the Nawab of Bhopal. Both had been reared in the hard school of life, and not in the soft pampering atmosphere of palaces. Until his uncle Ranji died and willed him as his successor, Jam Sahib never imagined that he would become a ruler. He was then a Colonel in the Indian Army, living a rugged life in the North-West Frontier, where for political reasons wars were arranged overnight and peace was purchased within the hour. In his spare time he bought Teheran and Bokhara carpets at low prices from tribal peddlers, and sold them at high prices to his princely friends and "patrons", keeping the best for himself. Six feet tall, almost elephantine in build, Jam Sahib loved good food with the gusto of a gourmet and an atmosphere of elegance. He had spent his student days at Cambridge. He was well informed, versatile and tactful. He had all the makings of

a politician, the constructive approach of a statesman, and the finesse of a born diplomat. He was a gifted speaker. He preserved a dignity, which attracted respect, coupled with a frankness which induced confidence. He had a great sense of humour and had a rich fund of stories drawn both from army life and the princely order.

The Nawab of Bhopal was a Pathan by birth and a prince by adoption. He succeeded his aunt who ruled over Bhopal for nearly three decades and died without naming a successor. Educated at Aligarh and by private tutors in England, he was neither conservative in enforcing sex segregation too strictly in the palace, nor liberal enough to allow the same freedom to women as some of the other princes like Gwalior, Patiala, Jaipur or the Jam Sahib. Life in the harem was fairly gay, but was the exclusive privilege of the ruler and some of his intimate relations and attendants. Outside the harem he lived the life of a British country gentleman. He was of medium build, sturdy and athletic. He was a man of rare commonsense and remarkable tact—the type whose right hand need never know what the left hand did. It was this remarkable quality that enabled him, the first Muslim prince, to be elected more than once to be Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, of which ninety per cent were Hindus. He had the confidence of Gandhi and Nehru and at the same time was hand in glove with Jinnah. A stage had been reached when no one knew whether he was acting on behalf of Gandhi and Nehru to influence Jinnah to return to nationalism, or was working with Jinnah to strengthen the Muslim League and sabotage the plans of the Congress.

It was during this transitional period in 1944 that I spent a few days with him. During the fifteen-odd years since he assumed rulership, Bhopal had not materially improved the economic condition of his people, but as a show-piece he had built up a picturesque modern township overlooking the lake. The township offered a telling contrast to the sprawling old city with its rickety homes, narrow streets, and still narrower lanes stinking with the smell of open drains and mounds of

accumulated garbage. This was the story not only of Bhopal but of many other Indian States, where rulers had moved into new modern colonies built for themselves, leaving the general populace in congested, dilapidated old cities with primitive sanitary conditions and low economic standards.

With Bhopal the hukka was a bit of a ritual. He smoked the hukka with a gusto that few lovers of Lady Nicotine could match. The hukka was not only brought before and after dinner, but almost followed him wherever he went. Even on the race course I saw Bhopal and the hukka moving together, the attendant keeping pace with the guingling sounds. It was only when we were on a shoot that the hukka was not in evidence. I was told that even the guingling sound of a hukka was enough to scare away a tiger. We were staying at his picturesque hunting lodge<sup>1</sup>, and had gone deep into the jungle, myself shooting the scene with my camera, and my companions shooting birds and big game with their rifles. As we were returning, the car broke an axle on a bump in the road. The follow-up car was expected to leave the lodge after an hour. Meanwhile, a bullock-cart passed by. "Would you like to ride a bullock-cart or walk till the car is repaired or the follow-up car arrives?" asked Bhopal. I expressed no preferences, but His Highness suggested we enjoy a ride in the bullock-cart, an experience rare in the life of both of us. The Nawab was dressed in a shikari's breeches and an open shirt, while I was wearing conventional khadi. His Highness warned me not to reveal his identity to the cartman, which I would not have done in any case. As we were getting into the cart, the cartman suggested that we take a gun along since the jungle road was not altogether safe. As the Nawab went to get a gun from the car, the cartman asked me who my companion was. I told him that he was one of the Nawab's shikaris.<sup>2</sup> When we had settled down to the heavy joltings of the slow cart, I asked the cartman how he managed to negotiate the jungle without a gun. "There is always a risk," he said, "but the beasts do not molest us. They just pass by."

<sup>1</sup>In Chiklot

<sup>2</sup>Game Hunters

But, sir," he added, "they can smell a shikari. And when they see one, they are likely to attack in self-defence." At this naive remark we both gave a good laugh. The cartman could not understand whether we approved or disapproved of what he had said. In his churlish frankness, he continued: "Sir, it might be rude to say so, but I assure you we would rather have the beasts than the shikaris. For maintaining a few shikaris in employment and for the vicarious pleasure of enjoying a shoot once in a while, His Highness is losing millions, and the people are getting poorer and poorer."

I almost wanted to change the topic, when the Nawab asked him how he came to such a conclusion, and why he was so much against shikaris. "You shikaris," he said, "come for a day or two with His Highness, but leave the beasts scared and angry. They just go mad afterwards for weeks" But that, he said, was comparatively a small matter. "This is not just a jungle," he said, pointing to rows and rows of broad-leaved trees "Here is miles and miles of the finest timber. It is a gold mine, if only His Highness preferred to sell the timber, rather than preserve the jungle." For the first time I looked closely at the trees. I saw some of the finest teak growing for miles around. Before the cartman could impart more of his rustic wisdom, our car had overtaken us. His Highness handed the cartman a hundred-rupee note and thanked him for offering us the ride and his advice. "But you are the Nawab Sahib, sir, Alyah. I have been a fool talking nonsense like this," and he fell flat on the ground in obeisance. "How do you know," asked the Nawab. "No shikari would give me even a rupee for riding in my bullock-cart!"

Bhopal at this time was working on a plan of Confederation. The confederate areas were to consist of groups of small and big States pooled together with provinces with Muslim majorities and Hindu minorities, all sovereign in their internal affairs, except foreign affairs, defence and communications. This was, however, for the consumption of the Congress and the Princes. To Jinnah, privately, he had sold the idea of not one but two confederations. One of groups of States whose

rulers could be offered better terms than the Congress could offer, and who could either by sea or land create a common border to confederate with Pakistan, the rest to confederate with India or remain independent, as they liked

According to this scheme, Hyderabad, a Hindu State with a Muslim ruler could be brought into the Pakistan confederation, either by getting an opening to the sea to the harbour of Masulipatnam, or, if India remained obdurate, by negotiating with the Portuguese for an opening through Goa. Kashmir had a Hindu ruler with a majority of Muslims. He could be coerced through local agitation to join Pakistan rather than India. Bhopal was insular, with a dominant Hindu population. The whole plan of the Nawab impinged on his ability to win over a whole group of big and small States, lying between Bhopal and Junagadh, which offered an opening to the sea.

Bhopal approached the Jam Sahib and others with his secret plan of grouping together western States with a possible connection with Bhopal. The shrewd Jam Sahib at once saw through the plan. When I divulged the plan to Nehru, he just dismissed it as a day dream. So I arranged a meeting between Sardar Patel, Jam Sahib, Patiala, Gwalior and Baldev Singh.<sup>3</sup> Patel, the realist, quickly saw through the sinister plan and asked the Jam Sahib and others to help destroy it. "You manage your friends in the big States, and leave the smaller States to me," said the Sardar. He was a man of few words but firm decisions.

India had a total of five hundred States. Of these only eighty or ninety were substantial and of these less than three dozens could be called major. When I published a few days later the outlines of the Bhopal-Jinnah plan, there was a great commotion among the princes—especially the rulers of the smaller States. One saw the hand of the Sardar, when the States met separately, to consider their special problems, thereby repudiating indirectly the leadership of Bhopal. They expressed the fear that they were likely either to be ignored, or absorbed by the bigger States. The bigger States realized that a stage had been reached when they should negotiate directly with leaders of

<sup>3</sup> They met secretly at my house.

Indian opinion, instead of leaving it to the Viceroy or to Bhopal. Bhopal had hitherto reserved to himself the right of conducting all negotiations, but actually he had been running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. Despite Bhopal's opposition this decision was carried. Bhopal resigned as Chancellor in protest. He expected the princes to express regret and to persuade him in the usual princely manner to withdraw his resignation. To his surprise, the resignation was accepted. Yadavender Singh of Patiala, the pro-Chancellor, was elected Chancellor instead.

This came as a shock to Jinnah who had banked so much on the consummation of a plan which had enlarged the concept of Pakistan to cover more than one-third of the area of India. The princes, the ministers, the leaders of the States' Peoples' Conference, all in their own way, had now entered the field of political negotiations with Indian leaders.

## Wedding Bells Chime Farewell!

My visits to the race course were rare. My interest in horses and races casual. The race course in Delhi was no more than a track with improvised brick enclosures for the stewards and the elite. The Viceroy visited it only on festive occasions. The patron saint here was the Commander-in-Chief. The horses plied during week days pulling guns, army trucks or tongas. On Saturdays they competed in races. Tote windows faced both sides of the enclosure, thereby permitting chauffeurs, butlers, and batman to bet without paying an entrance fee.

A bearded butler in a golden sash was telling the two juniors around him to buy "win" for No. 6 and "place" for No. 3, the latter being the horse ridden by a smart army officer. No. 6 was a tall, heavy gelding which seemed to have pulled at guns in the Remount Depot and been borrowed for the race. The rider was also a tall, heavy girl who was having a hard time keeping control of the horse. The bearded butler was challenged by the doubters. "Look at that camel and that lady who looks as if she will fall off, if the horse gets into a canter." "This is Delhi!" he said. "A few years ago, the Nizam Bahadur was here on one of his rare visits. He came to the race course as the guest of the Viceroy. He had been sitting listlessly through every race, till his ADC drew his attention to the race in which the Viceroy's own horse was listed. The Nizam loudly gave the name of the Viceroy's horse to the ADC, but in a whisper asked him to buy a dozen tickets for "place".



"As it happened the Viceroy's horse got 'place', but did not win. The Nizam explained to the perplexed ADC as he received his winnings. 'The horse was in no shape to win. But it belonged to the Viceroy. So I felt certain it would get 'place'. If I had betted on 'win' I would have risked my money and my reputation as a good judge of horses. But now we have pleased the Viceroy, we get our money back, and no one can say I am a bad judge of horses.'" I liked the story and the way the bearded veteran told it. In between sentences he sprouted mouthfuls of betel juice on the tote window. "Thus now is the amateur's race," he continued. "They have not given her name," he said confidentially. "But she is Lord Wavell's daughter. Believe me, horse or no horse, rider or no rider, the smart major is only there to ensure she wins. You will see, she will." The heavy girl on the big heavy horse did win, and I got more than my money's worth, enhancing my reputation as a good judge of "horses".

Miss Wavell suddenly assumed importance in Lord Wavell's unpredictable career when he became Viceroy. Her romance became unexpectedly entangled in the web of Indian politics. She fell in love with one of the aides of the Viceroy. Whether he was the same army officer who insured her win a few years earlier or someone else, I wouldn't know. This was August, 1946. Wavell's Viceroyalty of five years had another three years to go. The Cabinet Mission, after prolonged negotiations and juggling with words and formulae to appease Jinnah on the one hand and satisfy the Congress on the other, had ended with a declaration<sup>1</sup> which neither party could easily reject nor wholly accept. Every sentence in it had a double meaning, every paragraph was couched in confusion, and the declaration as a whole had a vagueness which only the skill and the cleverness of the British could devise. The declaration was meant to cover more than it revealed. It was so framed that Jinnah could see in it his unfolding picture of "Pakistan". Abul Kalam Azad felt as if he himself was its "author". Only, it better expressed in English what he had advocated in the

<sup>1</sup> On May 16th

vernacular Nehru and Patel thought it was not the whole bread they had ordered, but a substantial part of it to official satisfaction

The declaration had two parts. The first called for the setting up of an interim government. The second laid down the procedure for the election of representatives to the Constituent Assembly. It divided the existing provinces into three groups. Group A to consist of provinces with a Hindu majority, Group B to include provinces like North Western Frontier, Sind, Baluchistan and the Punjab, Group C to consist of Bengal and Assam. After the preliminary meeting of the constitution-framing body, the representatives of the provinces were to meet in their respective sections. The sections were to draw up the respective constitutions for each. As a middle-tier the plan provided that such sections as so decided could form, with other sections so willing, groups to formulate group constitutions. A province could if it so desired opt out of the group to which it belonged. No province, however, or section could secede from the union for the first ten years. The Indian States were to join the Union at the top in the same manner, and retain residuary powers like the other provinces, with option to form groups between themselves.

Nehru did not like the three tier arrangement, nor the undue emphasis on communal majority and minority areas. But the fact that the British had finally accepted the idea of a sovereign Constituent Assembly appealed to him.

Gandhi alone saw that the seemingly good apple was rotten at the core. Left to himself, Gandhi would have rejected the Cabinet Mission's offer, if the British could only just quit. But he found his colleagues eager to snatch power and prepared for compromises.

Nehru presided over the AICC meeting in Bombay. The AICC decided to accept both the short-term and the long range plan contained in the May 16 declaration. Jinnah and the Council of the Muslim League had already done so. Both parties interpreted the "grouping" part of the declaration in their own way, without challenging the interpretation of the

other Lord Wavell invited Nehru as head of the Congress Party to form an interim government with the League if possible. Unlike the Congress leaders, Jinnah had read the declaration correctly, and its very clear meaning that the initial grouping was to be "compulsory". Withdrawal from it could only be by a majority vote of the section and not a province. He therefore felt sure that the Congress would reject the declaration. In that case the Viceroy would have no option but to invite the League to form an interim government. Jinnah pleaded that the Congress had not endorsed in all its implications the May 16 offer. The League only had and therefore should have been invited to form the interim government. Wavell seemed unobliging. Hence the League decided to reject the offer to join the interim government. It went further and fixed August 16 as "Direct Action" day. Wavell never expected Jinnah to take such a desperate step. Having invited Nehru, he rushed a messenger to recall the invitation. It was too late. Nehru had received the communication and written back accepting the offer.

Miss Wavell's marriage was duly fixed for some time in March, 1947. The event was in a way to be historic. It was the first marriage of a Viceroy's daughter to be celebrated during his Viceroyalty and in India. No time was lost in sending out invitations to guests who included top politicians, rich princes, big landlords, talukdars, businessmen and industrialists. To the select even a suggestive list of presents Miss Wavell "would appreciate", with prices and where they could be procured, was discreetly sent by one of the aides, seemingly trying to be helpful "on his own". As the date of the wedding drew near, Wavell found politics taking twists and turns too complicated for his age and his army background.

It was the morning of September 2, 1946. Gandhi had risen very early. This day the Congress Cabinet had to be sworn in. Gandhi was staying in what had then come to be euphemistically known the "Bhangi Colony". Firstly, it was hardly a colony. Secondly, it was very unlike Gandhi to call a spade a spade where the sweepers and the scavengers were concerned.

To him they were "Hanjans", the children of God. In planning the new capital, Lutyens<sup>2</sup> had never thought of them! Driving down Punchkuin Road, if you turned left behind the Talkatora police station, you entered a small lane. In this, these men with their dark, dirty, foul-smelling carts, their bony oxen, their shrivelled, half-naked wives and children, crowded together in improvised shelters—the lowliest among the homeless, in the garden city of New Delhi.

Gandhi had often surprised friends and shocked his critics, by changing abodes, alternating between palaces of plutocrats and the mud huts of the peasants. Birla House, a spacious two-storeyed mansion, where he had been staying off and on, since the death of Dī Ansari, had during these months become a hostel for "approved" Congress politicians. It was a bit overcrowded. Gandhi had a large entourage which placed a strain on the richest of hosts, not because of what they ate and how much, but because of their flexible number, and even more because of the variety of the dietary fads they practised. They represented a gastronomic laboratory. He foresaw that his stay in Delhi this time may be of an indefinite duration. He therefore thought of camping somewhere cheaply, rather than accept the hospitality of any of his rich admirers. Yet, in whatever he did there was a touch of the spectacular. "Friends" searched for a locality, which could be politically challenging and privately cheap. The choice finally fell on this obscure, dusty, dirty lane inhabited by the families of *bhangies*, beyond which stretched the undulating "ridge".

For the first few days, life was simple and unexciting. A couple of reed and bamboo huts went up. Prayer meetings were held in the open. The *bhangies* were proud and thrilled! They felt as if God had come to sanctify their dusty street. Soon the number of huts increased. The existing ones assumed more agreeable shapes and comfortable forms. Telephones began ringing. The limousines of princes, cars of businessmen and high officials, even Rolls Royces and Daimlers from the Viceroy's House streamed through the little lane.

<sup>2</sup>The architect and designer of New Delhi.

On this second day of September, when the *bhangies* had gone collecting garbage and nightsoil. Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Rajendra Prasad, Asaf Ali, Sarat Bose, Baldev Singh and others reached the Bhangi Colony in luxury limousines. Gandhi had drafted a code of instructions which he expected his visitors to follow when they embarked on their new career. Gandhi offered a broad smile to each. With his own hands he placed a little vermilion on each one's forehead and then wished them success. After receiving Gandhi's blessings, Nehru and his colleagues motored to the Viceroy's House, where in the traditional Durbar Hall they were sworn in. They had formed the first "National Cabinet", announced Nehru on the radio. "This is no Cabinet" growled Jinnah. "You just cannot turn a donkey into an elephant by calling it an elephant." Jinnah was sore.

The interim government truly was not a "Cabinet". It was not even as effective as the old "Executive Council". The Viceroy was still supreme. European officials exercised a great deal of power—especially for mischief.

Patel was a realist. A typical party boss, generous to friends and ruthless to opponents, using his power as much to keep party control in his own hands as to use the machinery of the party for the good of the country. He suffered Nehru because the country and the party needed him and because he himself could not do without him. If he had better health and less devotion to Gandhi, he may have perhaps made an open bid for dictatorship. But he preferred to rule without wearing the crown. He became Nehru's Deputy.

Nehru took charge of Foreign Affairs and acted as Vice President of the Council. Since the Executive Council did not meet often enough, he did not have much to do. There were no foreign embassies except perhaps a personal representative of the American President, George Merrell, and Gen. Ian Mackay, the Australian High Commissioner.

Rajen Babu took charge of Food, only to learn that there was a terrible shortage of food and no means to meet the shortage. He learnt also that the food shortage could equally

be a food surplus. The production, supply and consumption figures had been so handled by imaginative officers in the Secretariat that they could swell into a surplus, or shrink into a famine, to suit the needs of the Food Ministry. Vallabhbhai Patel took the Home portfolio. Control of the Home Ministry meant complete control of the administrative machinery and control of the ICS. Vallabhbhai, however, could not assume more than a semblance of control. Due to the machinations and malevolent intentions of some of the European officials and Muslim underlings, the machinery began working openly to promote "lawlessness and disorder" in the country.

By October, Jinnah had afterthoughts. He finally agreed to send representatives of the Muslim League to join the interim government. Jinnah's list was both a surprise and a shock to his supporters. For one thing, he did not include himself. When I asked him later why he had not nominated himself, he said, "It was not an act of modesty, I assure you. But I seriously feel that no good is going to come out of this interim government. It can, however, do harm to the Muslims. I only wanted some people who could prevent such harm." To another correspondent, he said, "Frankly, only second-rate men were needed, but I have sent in some first-class men also." His reference was probably to his chief lieutenant, Liaquat Ali Khan. Another surprise in his list was an obscure leader of the depressed classes, one Jogendra Nath Mandal. Mandal was neither a Muslim nor a member of the Muslim League. Jinnah had earlier insisted that the League alone should nominate Muslims, and the Congress, non-Muslims. But when it came actually to nominating five representatives of the League, he included a Hindu from the depressed classes. It shocked his supporters and his critics. Jinnah explained with a chuckle: "It may seem inconsistent, but why should the care of backward classes be the monopoly of the Congress and Gandhi?" "But they are Hindus," I protested. "So are the so-called 'nationalist' Muslims, Muslims," he said. "Believe me. Mandal is more independent than most of them."

Nehru and his colleagues soon realized that the Interim

Government was a fraud—a snare to torpedo the Constituent Assembly and to make Congress leaders look like fools. The League representatives openly sided with Wavell and served as the henchmen of European reactionaries in the services and outside.

Meanwhile, serious communal disturbances started in Bengal. Reports poured in of a massacre in Calcutta, and savage brutal carnage in Noakhali. Gandhi left his camp in the Bhangi Colony, and proceeded to Bengal. His was a brave venture undertaken in the face of terrible odds, at a time when even sober men had become insane. He had no deterrent except his capacity to absorb the violence and the insanity of the bigots and the bullies in himself. The day he left the Bhangi Colony for this great adventure, he said to us with intense pain, but in a soft assured voice: "And if it comes to it you will witness what it is to joyfully die, inch by inch, limb by limb, part by part, in slow degrees, in the service of nonviolence and in obedience to the inner voice."

Gandhi had hardly reached the first of the major centres of disturbances in Noakhali, when news came of the Bihar holocaust, where Hindus had repeated in measure of violence, though not in rape, conversion and pillage, what had happened in Bengal. The interim government grew more and more into a house divided. In Cabinet meetings, men like Nishtar and Ghazanfar Ali employed, sotto voce, crude epithets within Nehru's hearing to provoke and annoy him. Nehru and his colleagues continued to protest to Wavell, but they hung on to their posts almost to the point of losing face.

Meanwhile, the Home Government began to feel concerned. Apart from what had happened in Calcutta, Noakhali and Bihar, reports of some of the officials saying to the victims of communal violence to go to Gandhi, Nehru and Patel, of some of them openly planning League strategy to paralyse the administration, also reached London. Wavell was suddenly invited to visit England, with Nehru and Jinnah, accompanied by Baldev Singh and Liaquat Ali Khan. This was all too unexpected!

The Wavell-Nehru-Jinnah contingent made the flight to London on an American Army plane, with improvised seats for the passengers. The journey was slow, rough and unexciting.<sup>3</sup> Wavell spoke to Nehru twice and twice to Jinnah. Nehru offered Jinnah his greetings as they touched the first stop. Jinnah grinningly asked what Nehru had been reading. Nehru had been scanning the reports of the planning body he had earlier set up within the Congress. "Still planning!" Jinnah remarked blandly.

On arrival in London, Nehru realized for the first time that the Congress had been cheated. In a fresh declaration (December 6) the Cabinet made it clear that the provinces belonging to groups A and B, i.e. Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier, Baluchistan and Bengal and Assam, had been given no initial choice but to sit with their groups to frame their respective constitutions. They could only get out of the designated group after the constitution had been framed and that too by a majority vote of the "group". This meant that the fate of the frontier was linked up with Sind, Punjab and Baluchistan, and the fate of Assam rested on the combined Muslim numerical strength of Bengal and Assam. The Cabinet was not willing to refer the matter to the Federal Court, as the Congress suggested. Jinnah pompously declared that the matter was not justiciable. By this interpretation, the minority community in these groups could decide the fate of the majority in other provinces, and also of the country in which the Muslims were less than one-fourth of the population.

<sup>3</sup> The manner in which our special reporter, P D Sharma, made the trip tells something of the hazards and the reporting difficulties of those days. All requests to the Viceroy by the new Vice-President of the Executive Council, Nehru, had been turned down. But when a sportive American Air Force pilot heard that an Indian correspondent could not be taken in the Viceregal plane, he offered to carry him as "cargo" in the plane taking the luggage of the Viceroy and party. Sharma did the trip labelled "cargo". Nehru and Jinnah were surprised when they found Sharma waiting to greet them at the London airport. It happened that the Wavell plane was delayed at Malta on account of mechanical trouble and the cargo plane arrived a couple of hours ahead of the party.



Vallabhbhai wrote plaintively to Cripps <sup>4</sup> "All of us here feel that there has been a betrayal" Nehru just swallowed the gross injustice His only justification for not tearing up the fraud, and walking out of the interim government, was that they did not wish to "add to our enemies"

Nehru and others met Gandhi at a Noakhali village for advice His advice was logical and unassailable While the Congress, or the interim government at the Centre, may be committed to a particular course of action, he said, there was nothing to prevent Assam, the North West Frontier, even parts of the Punjab and Bengal from refusing to join their assigned groups, if the majority of their representatives elected to the Constituent Assembly so decided Even the Congress could "not compel" a unit against the will of the people In that event, the Congress may have to allow Assam and the North-West Frontier Province to "secede from the Congress for the purpose of the Constituent Assembly" All this "would be in accordance with the Cabinet Mission's declaration". But Gandhi's bold advice fell on deaf ears

Wavell did not expect to be cashiered at this time Worse—to be openly censured for his ineptitude Attlee felt Wavell had bungled. He was ordered to quit. It was the traditional method of the British to make a scapegoat of someone for political failures The old war horse got a bad kick at a wrong time His daughter's marriage was on hand

It now turned into a tame affair It reflected the difference between a Viceroy in power and a Viceroy under dismissal. There were plenty of notable guests There were a large number of presents on display, some very costly, some unusually attractive But there were whispers about princes who had ordered emerald and ruby necklaces and decided at the last moment in favour of clockery and cutlery Some who had chosen "Windsor" furniture with French tapestry and changed over to indigenous styles with less expensive coverings Never before had a Viceroy wed his daughter in India Never before had a Viceroy been "dismissed" before his term! I was at a lost

property auction a few months later. A mounted tiger-head attracted my attention. Mine was a small bid. Even then the hammer fell in my favour. The head carried a card tied to the collar: "To Lord Wavell—New Delhi". Below was the official notation: "Unclaimed property—addressee untraceable".

## Operation Scuttle

Her tapering, pink, high-heeled shoes lay beside the white rush easy chair on which she was reclining. Her bare feet rested on a stool. She belonged to the smart set which had been bitten by the prevalent craze for sunbathing. The "set" believed in exposing to the sun as much of the body as conditions would permit, and anywhere the sun was agreeably available. The shorts were terribly short. An open newspaper shielded a greater part of the body. Coming from the Far East, the lady had just landed at the Dum Dum Airport.<sup>1</sup> It was the early part of the war. Dum Dum had big runways, but a small airport building. The restaurant was located a few hundred yards away in the Flying Club. I was wearing a white *khiadi achkan* and white pyjamas. I was crossing over from the airport to the restaurant. The lady, mistaking me for a "bearer", beckoned imperiously. She summoned all her resources of "Anglo-Hindustani" and with genial gestures explained that she was waiting for her breakfast, which she wanted to be served very urgently and "in the sun". She also wanted a cable to be sent "at once", the text of which she handed over to me. I bowed gently. But as soon as I replied in "non-butler" English, that I would see that her breakfast was sent, and someone would take charge of the cable, she became suddenly self-conscious. In split seconds she was standing in her shoes, with garments mysteriously unrolling all over her body. She realized her error. Politely she suggested I direct her to the

<sup>1</sup> The airport in Calcutta

restaurant, and the telegraph office I found her extraordinarily charming, and very well informed about India. She soon noticed I was a Congressman and inquired why I was not wearing a white cap. It was under very different circumstances that I met Lady Mountbatten a few years later.

In 1946, Nehru found the time to pay a visit to Singapore and Malaya. At Singapore, Rear Admiral Mountbatten was in command. Nehru was to unveil a memorial to the Indian National Army. Some of its officers and men were still being held as prisoners of war. Nehru was then President of the Congress, and was shortly to be invited to head the Interim Government. Wavell had sent advance word secretly to Mountbatten accordingly.

Mountbatten had been on tour till the actual day of Nehru's arrival. The British authorities disliked Nehru's idea of unveiling a memorial to men who had "deserted the King's forces". They were reluctant to receive him. Mountbatten on arrival overruled the boycotters and threatened to send his own car to receive Nehru, if an official transport was not arranged. He also ordered that Indians should be freely invited to the airport to receive him. He even placed army trucks at the disposal of Indians residing in outlying areas to join in the reception to their great leader.

The British in Rangoon had also been pigheaded. They refused permission to Nehru's plane to land on its way to Singapore. Nehru baffled them by making what seemed a "forced landing" in a field near the airport, thanks to the daring of an adventurous pilot.<sup>2</sup> While the landing was "forced" to all appearances, more than a few thousand Indians had "mysteriously" assembled near the field to receive him. This delayed Nehru's arrival in Singapore by a few hours. Nehru did not know that Mountbatten had arranged for him to meet some high-ranking officials and civilians. He drove straight from the airport to Government House where Mountbatten and other dignitaries were waiting. It was a quiet, informal stag affair, a sort of late lunch and early tea.

<sup>2</sup> Mr Biju Patnaik

Next on schedule was a drive through the streets where Indians, Malaysians and Chinese were all lined up to cheer Nehru. Nehru was agreeably surprised when Mountbatten directed him to an open carriage and, sitting side by side, drove him through the cheering, festive crowd to an Indian soldiers' canteen. Here he was to meet some of the Indian officers and soldiers. Lady Mountbatten had been taking keen interest in the welfare of soldiers and their families. There was a big rush as Nehru and Mountbatten entered the main reception room. They found Edwina missing. They both got on chairs, anxiously trying to scan the milling crowd. As Nehru started pushing some people in the front row, he saw a petite woman crawling out of the crowd. The lady re-arranged her dress as if nothing had happened, and greeted him with a cheerful, terribly winsome smile. Nehru later learnt that while Edwina Mountbatten had been there waiting for him and her husband to arrive, the crowd had made a mad rush, knocking her down, till she just managed to crawl out of the *mêlée*. It was a most unusual introduction for both—unforgettable and touching! The visit would have remained among Nehru's fond remembrances if events had not occurred later to revive this friendship and bring all three of them together in the centre of the Indian stage, in the final drama of India's struggle for freedom.

Having dismissed Wavell, Atlee summoned Mountbatten to take over the Viceroyalty, with a clear mandate that power was to be transferred to one or more than one successor government or governments, as the case may be, before June, 1948. The Cabinet Mission plan still held the field. Churchill almost prophetically but appropriately described his new command "Operation Scuttle". So it was Mountbatten was sent "ostensibly" to preserve and save the unity of India if he could. Failing which, though this was not stated in his mandate, to scuttle the ship, divide the country, leave the salvage operations to others and come home. He carried out "Operation Scuttle", in the shortest possible period, with utmost tact, of which only a naval commander of great resourcefulness

could be capable. It was a master job of political surgery, never yet attempted in terms of such large populations and so vast a geographical area. It was an operation carried out with reckless disregard for past history or future complications, through a process of consent which had an element of the hypnotic.

The Mountbattens were great extroverts. The arrival of the Mountbattens was heralded with a lot of pre-arranged fanfare. The departure of the Wavells was an unusually tame affair. In fact, it had been conventional for the coming Viceroy and the parting Viceroy to say farewell without meeting Wavell was made to stay on. He stayed over till the Mountbattens arrived. He received the Mountbattens and then had them to a dinner to bid farewell to himself. Next morning, on the 23rd of March, the Wavells quietly left. A gun salute welcomed the Mountbattens. On the 24th of March, the Mountbattens were sworn in. There was something theatrical about the ceremony. The pomp and splendour with which they surrounded themselves seemed like a Hollywood presentation of royalty. They both played the part with consummate perfection. The Durbar Hall which earlier used to be modestly lit, even though the chandeliers were expensive and plenty, was in a blaze of lights. The "throne" seats had been raised by a couple of feet. The blue and the gold in the tapestry were emphasized by hidden lights playing on the Viceroy and the Vicerene. A mammoth red velvet screen hung in the background with the Mountbatten crest. Aides in uniform lined up on both sides of the "throne". On the right sat Nehru and the Congress members of the Interim Government. On the left sat Liaquat Ali Khan and his League colleagues. The Mountbattens wore spotless naval white, with sashes in royal blue, and rows of medals of great distinction. Everything was colourful! They both looked, under the false light, so terribly young, so magnificently dolled-up that one would have mistaken it as a minor royal coronation or a delayed royal wedding. Incidentally, as the two sat on the throne chairs, surrounded by all that aura of splendour, one heard whispers, how it was in India that the Mountbattens had first met, and how it was now again in

India after prolonged periods of separation they had come together in a fresh adventure of "service"<sup>3</sup>

Whether the Mountbattens still loved each other intensely or as some suggested their affection was now a part of politics, it must be said to their credit that during the short Vicerealty, followed by a short Governor-Generalship, the Mountbattens acted and moved with perfect understanding. The speed with which both of them worked left very little time either for emotions or for misunderstandings. They were like two actors constantly engaged in playing a chosen part. They played their parts with such consummate perfection that, in the background of history, it began to seem all the more convincing. I cannot say who was more skilful, or more convincing, Louis or Edwina. I can only say that very few escaped the Mountbatten spell among those they had decided to work upon.

"Six feet two inches tall, tough as a whip cord, fond of the limelight, colour parades, uniforms and gadgets,"<sup>4</sup> Mountbatten was a keen sportsman, which to his chagrin earned him the nickname of "playboy". After describing his staff companions Pyarelal writes. "Last but not least, a 'secret weapon' of no small strategic value in Lord Mountbatten's arsenal of personal diplomacy, was Lady Mountbatten, a heroine in her own right. . . who by her unfailing tact, warm womanly sympathy and fine discrimination provided just what her impetuous husband needed most." Abul Kalam Azad was even more suggestive of the role of Lady Mountbatten.<sup>5</sup> "Jawaharlal was also greatly impressed by Lord Mountbatten," he wrote, "but perhaps even greater was the influence of Lady Mountbatten. She is not only extremely intelligent, but has a most attractive and friendly temperament." It should be said to the credit of Nehru that while on occasions he was deeply influenced by

<sup>3</sup> Mountbatten took an early opportunity, after assuming Vicerealty, to drive down to the University enclave to see the old Viceroy's House where he had met Edwina and the actual room in which he had stayed as a companion to Edward, Prince of Wales, in the early twenties.

<sup>4</sup> Writes Pyarelal of Mountbatten in his *Mahatma Gandhi: The Last Phase* Vol II p 73

<sup>5</sup> Azad *India Wins Freedom*, p 184

the Mountbattens, the Mountbattens in return, also began to be influenced and guided by him in many matters

Unlike Nehru, the Mountbattens found Jinnah frigid, arrogant, suspicious and utterly noncommittal in everything he said or did. Mountbatten, while speaking of his first interview with Jinnah, said that it took him more than an hour to "defreeze" him. On another occasion, two hours with Jinnah gave him one of "the rare headaches" of his life. After Jinnah lost his wife, his sister had been his only feminine companion. He still liked the company of pretty women, but his inepresible arrogance rarely induced intimacy. Begum Liaquat during this period was perhaps the only one with whom Jinnah shared his confidences or in whose company he felt relaxed. Begum Liaquat was a remarkable lady. She was a versatile hostess, a good conversationalist and a real sport. She contributed considerably to the success of Liaquat as a politician. She helped to build up his intimacy with Jinnah, which made Liaquat almost indispensable to him. She established social contacts for Liaquat and converted him from a mere "playboy" to a serious-minded and ambitious politician.

When Jinnah first met Lady Mountbatten, she saw how utterly self-centered he was. As Jinnah and her husband were posing for photographers, Jinnah invited Lady Mountbatten to join them. When she did, he gallantly remarked, "It is like a rose between two thorns." The humour was lost on the Mountbattens, since the published picture showed Jinnah grinning sardonically, standing between the husband and the wife. While Mountbatten skilfully concentrated on Liaquat during all difficult negotiations, preserving Jinnah as the final authority, Lady Mountbatten realized that she could reach both Liaquat and Jinnah more easily through Begum Liaquat. It was interesting at this period to watch how much Rene Liaquat had changed from a ball-room waltzing socialite of her maiden years, when I knew her first, to a modest, devout-looking Begum, wearing bell-jar pyjamas, trailing veils and flowing shirts of the days of Wajid Ali Shah. She, like many other wives of leading League politicians of the time, had discarded the sari to emphasise



Islam sartorially. Some like Miss Jinnah wore the salwar of the North, a long, constricted shirt and a veil. At public functions, Jinnah and his sister now both appeared in salwars. Mrs Sarojini Naidu jokingly suggested that they were both perhaps sharing then "Islamic" wardrobe. Lady Mountbatten and Rene Liaquat soon became good friends.

During one of my early interviews with her, Lady Mountbatten discussed a variety of subjects, and posed a most intriguing question. She asked me who I thought was at the time, among prominent Congress women, the most attractive, the most well-informed, and the most eligible for high office. I naturally thought of Mrs Sarojini Naidu who had been Congress President, was one of the best speakers, was most well-informed and in her own way and for her age very attractive. "Give me another guess," she said. I mentioned Vijayalakshmi Pandit, sister of Jawaharlal Nehru, who was then Minister of Education in the U.P. Government. "No," she said, "give me still another guess." I reluctantly upgraded Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, believing that maybe on account of her devotion to Gandhi she had encouraged the illusion of many virtues. I was still wrong. Finally, I gave up. "None of you," she said, "seems to have come into intimate contact with Maniben Patel. You all seem to ignore her because she is her father's daughter. I find her most attractive and charming." I took a few gulps as she continued. "She is not learned, but very well-informed. She is not brilliant but she is full of ideas. She would, like her father, make a very good administrator. She is best suited for high office." Lady Mountbatten was so serious that I could not even suggest that this discovery of hers was certainly the grand slam of public relations! I realized she had found the right key to Vallabhbhai Patel, but the hard way. I knew how difficult and odious it was to establish cordial relations with Maniben. She was a rare mixture of adolescence and conceit. Yet the fact remained that Edwina Mountbatten had done it!

Mountbatten, on his part, enlisted in his entourage the only Indian official who had free access to the Sardar and whose

plans and policies appealed to Patel. It was V. P. Menon. To the surprise of many, Mountbatten not only brought V. P. into some of his most intimate consultations, but made him feel that he had his full confidence. He was the only Indian officer he took with him to London when he went to discuss his new plan with the Cabinet. Azad in his book quotes Mountbatten as saying that Sardar Patel was like a walnut, terribly hard outside, but very soft inside. But if the simile of the walnut had any meaning, the Mountbattens, between Maniben and V. P. Menon, had the two handles of the nutcracker firmly in hand. Thus, on many vital matters, Mountbatten or Edwina would have known the views of Vallabhbhai, through these two, before talking to Nehru or Liaquat.

Devdas Gandhi, the fourth son of Mahatma Gandhi, had succeeded me as Editor of *The Hindustan Times*.<sup>6</sup> Unlike his father, Devdas liked good food, and rarely refused it at any time of the day. I also shared with Devdas a healthy appetite. We were sitting opposite each other at a lunch with Mountbatten. The guests were few and the conversation was mostly directed at us. Devdas was a vegetarian. I was not. Devdas was shocked when, of the three courses, I passed off two took very little of the third, ending with a small helping of dessert. I soon lit up a cigar and over coffee kept up the conversation, carefully watching every gesture and every move of Mountbatten. He was a great and wonderful actor with the agility and the movements of a robot. Devdas was too engrossed, managing rice, rasam, dal and a variety of vegetables and snacks. He thus missed a lot of the conversation and some suggestive mannerisms. When Devdas later inquired whether I was observing some kind of fast, I told him "no, I was observing Mountbatten." On an earlier occasion, I had seen that the Viceroy just fiddled with his food. He ate almost nothing, only pretending to do so. He used every minute watching his guests closely, taking note of what they said and

<sup>6</sup>The National Call had by this time been sold to the interests which controlled *The Times of India* Bombay. Its name had been changed to *Indian News Chronicle*. I was its Chief Editor at the time.

how they said it, and observing almost everything in an uncanny fashion. He generally had eaten before moving formally to the table.

Devdas and I were together again. Among a few distinguished ladies, we were the only two male guests whom Lady Mountbatten had invited. As a precaution we had both eaten before reaching the Viceroy's House. We, however, looked like fools when we saw Lady Mountbatten and her lady guests having a full meal before our very eyes. We never felt so cheated! Lady Mountbatten, unlike her husband, ate her normal meal with the guests, because as a hostess she could know what they liked most and how it was cooked. She had been the first to introduce the Indian cuisine in the Viceroy's House. The vegetarians were even served on a platter (*thali*). When I mentioned that during one of the meals a distinguished Congress guest had informally washed his hands from the tumbler, and was even in the process of gargling, she did not join in the rollicking laughter that followed. She looked glum and serious. Soon after we left she called in the Superintendent of the Household and said, "Something should be done about this." In due course the hamals with wash basins, jugs and towels stood by to help the guests. Except for the *ugaldans*,<sup>7</sup> everything was available in Indian style.

All this may now seem trivial with the passage of time. But in those days these carefully planned gestures, these concessions to Indian sentiment and behaviour, had a tremendous effect. The generation that was then stepping into high office represented men who were first sent to prison by Lord Reading. None of them had ever entered the Viceroy's House. Lord Irwin made history by allowing Gandhi to eat his own food on two occasions in the Moghul Gardens. Irwin met Motilal Nehru, Vithalbhai Patel and other important Congress members of the Assembly, only at carefully arranged tea parties. The Willingdons had their own ballroom set. They ignored the Congress, just as the Congress ignored them. Linlithgow opened the Viceroy's House to Congress rebels during the visit of

Cripps and during the less agreeable visit of Chiang Kai-shek. But no social communion was encouraged. Wavell invited Nehru and Azad to stay in the Viceroy's Estate at Simla. He even entertained Congress and League members of the interim government quite a few times. But the routine remained traditional—formal and hide-bound. The Mountbattens therefore had set a revolution in hospitality. On one occasion after a meal I was talking to Gadgil and Neogy, who had been among the oldest legislators in the capital. They later became ministers in the Central Cabinet. Both had eaten a square meal. "That rice and fish must have been prepared by a Bengali cook," said Neogy. "Even the vegetarian dishes were delicious," said Gadgil enthusiastically. "And to think that one need not leave his seat for washing or gagging! How considerate!"

Once when some of the Editors had been invited, two aides from the Viceroy's House came to me just to find out what would be the most suitable and acceptable food in the case of different Editors. Lady Mountbatten was amazingly unconventional and yet no less regal than any of the Maharajas and Maharanis. Once I got a message from the Viceroy's House that Lady Mountbatten was paying me a "surprise" visit and would I be at home between so and so hour in the evening. No Vicerene had ventured to visit private Indian homes in the past, leave aside of an Editor. I found that Devdas had received a similar message. I did not know how many more Editors she was visiting. Later we received another message asking us to expect a visit another day, since Lady Mountbatten's programme had been suddenly altered. Actually, as will be mentioned later, the same morning something very critical of the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Claude Auchinleck, and some other high-ranking military officials had appeared in the papers and it was felt by her advisers that such a visit, even though the motive was just good public relations, might be misunderstood.

While the Mountbattens were thus engaged in establishing a new relationship with top Indians, high European officers holding key positions in the Government were trying hard to

scuttle national unity. This was being done secretly through encouraging acts of communal lawlessness. A wave of arson, murder, loot and rape was spreading throughout the country. The idea was to compel Congress leaders on the one hand to feel that division of India was inevitable and unavoidable, and force Jinnah on the other to a point of no return, so that even a tattered, moth eaten, shrunken Pakistan could seem to him and the League acceptable. The man behind the plan was the Home Secretary, Sir Francis Mudie.

Mudie was not so intelligent as he was subtle. He was among those Civil Servants who in 1937 had held key posts under Congress Ministries in the provinces. He had known Congress politicians in office, out of office, in prison, out of prison, their social weaknesses and political virtues intimately. He claimed to be the mysterious author of the formula which enabled Congress Ministers to bypass the Gandhi dictat that Congress Ministers should not accept more than five hundred rupees a month. The salaries remained at five hundred. But a whole lot of perquisites under the "Mudie Plan" reduced the five hundred to pocket money. As Home Secretary, he now extended the same generosity to the interim government. Not one Congress or League leader declined the extra perquisites. There was no reduction in salaries. They were the same as were being paid to earlier Members of the Executive Council. All five houses originally built for the Members of the Executive Council along the Grand Vista which were once referred to as "palaces" were now condemned by everybody as small and most unsuitable. Nehru and Patel were given a free choice. Nehru selected a large, double storeyed private house belonging to a lawyer. Patel, extraordinarily enough, expressed his preference for a neighbouring house, also belonging to a private party, which his brother Vithalbhai Patel had once occupied after he had resigned as Speaker. His wish was duly respected. I remember the brother of Rajen Babu complaining, when No. 1 Rajendra Prasad Road was allotted to him, "The place is too small for the family." "But Manohar Babu," I protested, "families are supposed to live in their family homes in their native place."

This is not practical, he said "You have been listening to Gandhi too much. He expects Congress Ministers to live in small huts and travel by bus. Just think of Nehru, Sardar Patel and Rajen Babu waiting to catch a bus, while Liaquat, Nishtar and Ghazanfar Ali pass them in large official cars, throwing dust in their faces!"

It was true! The Viceroy and the Civil Servants had been deliberately generous in meeting even the most extravagant wishes of Congress and League Ministers. Gandhi was severely critical of "this misuse of the tax-payer's money". Mudie and others wanted to publicise this discord between advertised austerity and camouflaged extravagance. Mudie did not even spare Jinnah. He knew who were loyal to Jinnah in the League and who were not. He became the friend and adviser of both and pulled the strings in favour of, or against Jinnah, as he liked.<sup>8</sup> Unlike his predecessors, Mudie was utterly unconventional. He had free access to the homes of quite a few loyalists and members of the League. He even knew the names of their mistresses.

Sir Claud Auchenleck was highly respected as a soldier and as Commander in Chief, by all sections, till he came under the influence of the League. In his spacious home, which later became the permanent official residence of Nehru,<sup>9</sup> one came across some very interesting people. Auchenleck played host to princes, went shooting with them and joined in their entertainment. The son of a Muslim ruler from a neighbouring State was one of his influential aides. He helped to develop his taste for Indian music and good Indian food, since his father was known to have a special cook for every major dish. A Muslim army officer who later became an important General in Pakistan and led the first raid on Kashmir, was his chief military aide. He had a capable, versatile and charming wife. According to some top officers, they came to know of postings

<sup>8</sup> Khaliquzzaman often refers to him as his close friend and adviser. There were times when Khaliquzzaman was staunchly opposing Jinnah.

<sup>9</sup> As the first Prime Minister.

transfers, promotions, demotions, etc. even earlier than the Defence Minister. She was both a poet and a singer, possessing a deep husky voice one could not easily forget. She and her husband practically ran the Auchenleck establishment.

Sir Archibald Rowlands served as Jinnah's economic adviser. It was he who advised Liaquat to frame his first budget as Finance Minister in the Interim Government. This budget forced the dismemberment of India, more than the lawlessness engineered by the League. The budget was so framed as to drive a wedge between Nehru and Patel, on the one hand, and to deal a serious financial blow to the rich commercial and industrial concerns, which were mostly run by non-Muslims, on the other. Liaquat put forward proposals to wipe off war profits which it was believed had Nehru's approval. He recommended a ninety per cent levy on Capital Gains. This hit the Hindus, the Parsis, etc. more than it injured the Muslims. The latter were economically still pretty backward. These proposals were cunningly camouflaged in "socialistic" language. Several Congress socialists felt agitated when rightists like Patel and Rajen Babu solemnly condemned them. Liaquat's budget so completely astounded and shocked rich patrons of the Congress that they brought all their pressure to bear on the leaders to break from the Interim Government, divide India if need be, but have nothing to do with men like Liaquat and Jinnah, who were taking advantage of the socialist bias of the Congress to exploit it for a communal advantage to the Muslims.

Sir Olaf Caroe was now Governor of the North-West Frontier Province. He had spent many years among Pathans. He knew the tribal chiefs and khans. He was familiar with the methods British agents had employed for nearly a century to organize and regulate war or peace on the Frontier. The Red Shirts, led by the Khan Brothers, had been growing from strength to strength during the last twenty-five years. They represented the Congress. Dr Khan Sahib had been head of the provincial government in 1937. He was again in power with a majority supporting him. The younger brother, Khan

Abdul Ghaffar Khan, was almost worshipped for his humility, integrity and austerity

Reactionary officials who supported Jinnah, and wanted his fiction of a two nation theory to be accepted as a fact, realized that so long as the Frontier remained a Red Shirt stronghold the League could not justify its predominantly representative status. To start with, a subtle propaganda was initiated among Hindus that the Red Shirts and more so the Khan Brothers, were interested in having an independent Pathan State, to join up later with Afghanistan. They were only using the Congress to build up their own position. The Frontier consisted of Pathans in the north and of convert Muslims in the southern enclaves. The latter were looked upon by the "blue-blooded" as racially inferior. Their jealousy and resentment were exploited to damn the Red Shirts who were still predominantly Pathan. Among the most trusted lieutenants of the Khan Brothers was a shrewd lawyer, Abdul Qayum Khan. Abdul Qayum was not a Pathan, even though he spoke Pushtu, dressed in a Pathan furi cap and behaved with Pathan brusqueness. He was actually from a neo-convert family of Kashmir. A Kashmiri Muslim in the eyes of a tribal was as much of a Pathan as a Kerala Christian a European. Abdul Qayum, however, was a fluent and capable speaker, a shrewd politician and ambitious. He had represented the Red Shirts in the Central Assembly. Finding prospects in the Frontier growing bright for the League, he crossed the floor and joined the League. While the Khan Brothers were in prison in 1942, he spearheaded the Opposition with the help of several disgruntled elements and succeeded in building up the influence of the League. In these efforts he found two powerful allies. A young, ambitious religious divine, the Pir of Manki, and the Governor of the Frontier, Sir Olaf Caroe. The Pir of Manki was a religious firebrand who brought to the League the veneer of Islamic sanction. Before leaving the Congress and the Red Shirts, Qayum had also poisoned some Congressmen against the Khan Brothers. He told Abul Kalam Azad that the Khan Brothers were not as popular as they claimed, and that they disliked Azad for supporting the



May 16 declaration. Partly because of Qayum's secret reports and partly because of personal reasons, Azad felt prejudiced against the Khan Brothers. Azad in his turn tried to influence Nehru and Patel against them.

The Bihari riots helped League leaders like Manki, Qayum, Nishtar and others, supported by whispering officials, to fan the flames of communal hatred in the Frontier. The entire propaganda machinery was geared to the service of the League, to accuse Hindus of diabolical crimes, to spread the fiction that the Khan Brothers were Congress stooges, and to create among the Pathans the fear that they may not get a square deal from the Hindus in a united India. "Why not have a free 'Pathanistan' for yourselves" was the suggestion of some of the officials. [Sir Conrad Corfield was head of the Political Department, claiming to be the "conscience keeper" of the princes. The princes in this transitional period were in a terrible state of confusion. It was easy to create in them a deep sense of fear and to misguide their judgment. While the relationship between the Crown and the Indian States had been originally based on a whole set of treaties, the British Government vis à vis the rulers had been designated as the 'Paramount Power'. Legal advisers of the Congress held the view that Paramountcy should automatically descend to the successor government. Corfield and his reactionary Junta posed themselves as "saviours" in the eyes of the princes by telling them that they were pleading that Paramountcy should end with the end of the Crown relationship and that the States should be made completely independent sovereign units through the same Act which made India free. "You should be free to decide your future," they said. "God help you if you were to be handed over to the Gandhi caps".

I happened to be in Bombay staying at the Taj Mahal Hotel where the Standing Committee of the Princes was in conference. The princes met to decide their attitude towards the Constituent Assembly which had already met. The Political Department was represented in full force headed by Conrad Corfield. Patel was represented, to the rulers, as a ruthless dictator, only waiting to break up the princely order. Nehru's speeches as President

of the States' Peoples' Conference and President of the Congress were freely quoted. By his own admission, Nehru, it was suggested, was a socialist. The princes had no place in a "socialist pattern of society". Give the Congress a free hand and "your heads will roll" and "your estates will be liquidated". Even the rich *jagirdars* and *talukdars* would "suffer the same fate". In social conversation over drinks it was said, "You'd better look out, Your Highness. Under Congress raj, you will have to drink 'Ganges' water. Whisky, of course, will be banned, but I don't know what will happen to your own 'Asha' and 'Jaman'."<sup>10</sup> Another would say: "No more tiger shoots, Your Highness. Even shooting snipe and grouse will be prohibited. You will have to be nonviolent!"

<sup>10</sup> Patent indigenous liquors brewed in Indian States.

## Mountbatten Checkmates Gandhi

Once again after nearly sixteen years the "Naked Faqn" of India sat outside in the Moghul Gardens of Viceroy's House to have his midday meal. The menu: hot lemon soup, dates and goat's milk. His grand daughter, Manu, laid the meal in two iron plates, a discarded can and a tumbler. The spoon showed the wear and tear of long usage. The ladle had lost the handle and was tied to a small bamboo piece with a string. As Gandhi ate, Mountbatten sipped tepid tea from oyster-white china carrying the Viceregal crest. The three hundred-roomed, red sandstone-buffed, three-storyed Viceroy's House stood in the background.

Gandhi had heard a lot about Mountbatten's "charm" and his "innate sincerity" from Nehru and Patel. He was now to experience it first hand. Mountbatten, on his part, had come to the conclusion that Gandhi was still the greatest among Congress leaders and that if he could win over Gandhi, it would be his greatest triumph. Failing that, if he could isolate Gandhi, it would be triumph nonetheless. He had invited Gandhi to see him almost as soon as he arrived.

Mountbatten gave the impression that the Viceroy was in an impatient haste to fulfil his mission and go home. The way Gandhi replied to the Viceroy's invitation showed that Gandhi neither shared his impatience nor his ostensible eagerness for an early meeting. Gandhi at that time had moved from

Noakhali to Bihar, where with the help of Abdul Ghaffa Khan and a few others he was trying to rehabilitate the Muslim victims of Hindu ruffianism, in the same manner as he had tried to help Hindu victims of Muslim goondaism in Noakhali. It was in Bihar and Noakhali, Gandhi felt, that the future of India was to be decided and not in New Delhi.

He wrote to Mountbatten in reply to his invitation of the 22nd March: "I am just now leaving for one of the disturbed areas of Bihar. . . . I return from this third Bihar tour on the 28th instant. My departure will therefore be as quickly as I can arrange it after the 28th." Only Gandhi could keep a Viceroy waiting! In the present case, it was worse. Gandhi was to keep the Viceroy guessing! Mountbatten had come with several plans, but he wanted to keep all the trumps up his sleeve, till he had sounded the leaders of different parties. Soundings Gandhi was essential before he decided to deal with the rest. With him every day mattered. Every minute counted. But the very indefiniteness with which Gandhi responded indicated his indifference. Mountbatten offered to send his own York plane to save time. Gandhi was grateful, but preferred to travel by train. A special train was offered. The ordinary train for him was fast enough. So eight days after the urgent Viceregal summons, Gandhi took his seat in a third-class compartment at Patna to reach Delhi the next day, spending almost twenty-four hours on the journey.

After Gandhi arrived, it was Mountbatten's turn to show that he had all the time in the world at his disposal. Instead of rushing into vital discussions on the first day, he said he would prefer to know from Gandhi a little of his eventful life-story from his own lips to know and understand him better. Gandhi liked this approach. Except General Smuts, none of the British satraps had wanted to know him through himself. As Gandhi related the highlights of his life, Mountbatten was trying to measure the stature of this spiritual giant, whom no temptation could corrupt, no fear terrify, and no provocation urge to violence. Listening to him, he also felt convinced that unlike other Congress and League leaders, Gandhi was

deeply wedded to the concept of a united India. No amount of reasoning or logic would persuade him to agree to partition.

On the second day he placed before Gandhi the difficulties in implementing the May 16 Cabinet Declaration, the need for quick action in view of the deteriorating law and order situation, and the uncompromising attitude of Jinnah and his colleagues. He asked for Gandhi's advice. What Gandhi suggested was not new. But on this occasion he was firm, solemn and unequivocal. On earlier occasions he had made similar offers through third parties. On this occasion he made it himself directly to the Viceroy, so that there was no going back and no one could doubt its genuineness and his sincerity. It was an offer which reminded one of the two mothers who claimed the same child. Having failed to determine who was the real mother, Solomon the Just decided to cut the child in two. At this one of the claimants overwhelmed with tears and emotion prayed that the child be given to the other lady who, she swore, was the real mother. Solomon thus discovered the real mother and handed over the child to the one who asked that the life of the child be spared.

He told Mountbatten that under no circumstances should India be partitioned. While hitherto, Gandhi said, he preferred the British to quit first, he was prepared to make an offer if Mountbatten, the man, would agree to serve as a "political umpire". He would ask him "to invite Jinnah to form a government of his choice at the Centre and to present his Pakistan plan for acceptance to his people before the transfer of power. The Congress would give wholehearted support to the Jinnah Government". Mountbatten considered the proposal "extremely generous and constructive".

Mountbatten urged Gandhi to give his proposal a definite formal shape, "so that it could be seriously considered". "It seems attractive," he said. This view was allowed to be widely publicised. Mountbatten knew that in the atmosphere of hate, created by League violence in different parts of the country, such an offer when published was just the one to isolate Gandhi from his own people, provoke the wrath and

antagonism of fire-brand Hindus against him, and paralyse his influence as a force in favour of a united India. Mountbatten as a master of strategist also realized that the more seriously he took Gandhi's proposal, the more he publicly encouraged him, the more Gandhi would feel impressed. At the same time the more apprehensive and antagonistic would his followers feel, at least those who distrusted or hated Jinnah.

Gandhi had his first shock when Lord Ismay, one of the advisers of Mountbatten, sent him a "revised draft" of the points he had outlined to the Viceroy. The Viceroy had said, so Gandhi understood, that Gandhi should give the points of his plan to Lord Ismay to enable him and his draftsmen to elaborate the points and to "prepare a draft agreement". Lord Ismay actually sent back, through Nehru, Gandhi's points, after doing no more than dotting the i's and crossing the t's. This was as usual marked "Top secret and very confidential".

Gandhi was looking forward to making a bold approach to Jinnah and the League after he had obtained Mountbatten's approval and the consent of his colleagues in the Congress. His speeches at prayer meetings had become cryptic. They lent to the hope that another Gandhian miracle was in the offing. Gandhi called for faith in Mountbatten. He was certainly not prepared for what Lord Ismay sent back through Nehru. Profoundly upset, Gandhi wrote to Ismay: "Pandit Nehru gave me what you have described as an outline of a scheme. What I read is merely a copy of the points I hurriedly dictated, whereas I understood from His Excellency the Viceroy that you were to prepare a draft agreement after the lines of the points I had dictated."<sup>1</sup>

"There has been some misunderstanding," wrote back Ismay. He explained that he was supposed to prepare not an agreement based on Gandhi's plan, "but a short note summarising its salient features in general terms". Mountbatten confirmed that what Ismay had said accorded with his wishes and understanding.

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, who had accompanied Gandhi,

<sup>1</sup> Pyarelal, *Mahatma: The Last Phase*, Vol II, p. 81.

solemnly vouched that what Gandhi had stated had been the Viceroy's clear desire. Gandhi felt cheated and disillusioned. In a long letter recalling exactly what had happened, Gandhi wrote to Lord Ismay: "I can only say that there must be some defect in my understanding or my attentiveness if I misunderstood very simple things." An American yankee might have shouted: "What a bunch of crooks . . ." but not so Gandhi. The blame lay with his capacity to understand or hear "simple things". Mountbatten was all politeness and declared solemnly that he was "most upset to think that any act or omission on our part should increase the great burden you are carrying". But this was not the unkindest cut.

While the Viceroy was asking Gandhi to elaborate his plan to Ismay, his advisers were saying jokingly that it was the "old kite flown without disguise". On the 5th of April, the day he told Gandhi that he had been attracted by the plan, Mountbatten was describing Gandhi's scheme to his colleagues as similar to the plans of "the phenomenal Mr Pyke, once a scientist at Combined Operations and author of *Habakuku*, the floating self propelled airfield made of ice, far fetched but potentially feasible".<sup>2</sup>

Before creating the "misunderstanding" Mountbatten had fortified himself with the views of Jinnah, who during his very first dinner with Mountbatten exploded that "Gandhi's position was mischievous", and said that the "Congress wants to inherit everything. They would even accept Dominion Status to deprive me of Pakistan".<sup>3</sup>

V. P. Menon had privately assured Mountbatten that Vallabhbhai Patel did not at all like the Gandhi scheme and would oppose it if he was consulted by Gandhi. Mountbatten only wanted to be sure about Nehru. Everyone said that Gandhi and Nehru, between themselves, could upset any plan, and that Gandhi still exercised a spell on Nehru. It was argued if that were not the case Gandhi would not have confidently

<sup>2</sup> Allan Campbell Johnson, *Mission with Mountbatten*, p. 57

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid*

guaranteed the support of the Congress if his plan was accepted.

"It was agreed today (April 5)," writes Campbell-Johnson, "that it was essential to make it clear to Nehru, before Gandhi got to work too hard on the Congress, that Mountbatten was far from committed to the Gandhi Plan."<sup>4</sup> In this help was sought of another Menon, an old-time friend and associate of Nehru, V. K. Krishna Menon. He had recently returned to India to "be close to Nehru" at this critical juncture. V. K. Krishna Menon had left India in the twenties as a student. VKK had occasionally visited India, but had otherwise remained a stranger to Indian public life and politics. He had known Gandhi, but had never come close to him. He was therefore more inclined to be critical of Gandhi, and his outmoded ideas. Equally, there was nothing that Gandhi found was common between his concept of socialism and that of Menon. While Krishna Menon had been an inveterate opponent of British rule, because of his close association with the Labour Party, and because of his essentially British outlook, Mountbatten found in him a useful ally in the Nehru camp. Thus to VKK was entrusted the task of preparing Nehru against being taken in by the Gandhi Plan, since this would only delay matters, and achieve nothing substantial.

Gandhi soon found that he had no supporters. Jinnah thought his plan mischievous. Mountbatten deemed it attractive but "far-fetched". The rightist Hindus believed it to be treacherous. No influential Congressman was prepared to support it. In the Working Committee which met at his request, he found the men who for years had often said yes, even to his wrong suggestions, were not only critical, but harsh and intemperate in their language. Patel left the talking to others, because he had initially told Gandhi that his proposal was more dangerous than anything that had hitherto been suggested.

Abul Kalam, while still talking of the Cabinet Mission plan, could not easily swallow the suggestion that Jinnah and not

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid*, p 56



he should be asked to form the Government. If Jinnah and the League came in, he and his small band of "nationalist Muslims" would be out. With Nehru, Gandhi had separate talks. He struggled with him in the Working Committee but failed to enlist support. Finally, he found Abdul Ghaffar Khan was the only one who supported his plan. He wrote to Mountbatten on April 11

"I had several short talks with Pandit Nehru and an hour's talk with him alone, and then with several members of the Working Committee last night. I am sorry to say that I failed to carry any of them with me except Badshah Khan . . . I felt sorry that I could not convince them of the correctness of my plan. Thus I have to ask you to omit me from your consideration."

Gandhi felt that he had now no hold on any one except himself. He was completely and thoroughly disillusioned. He was disappointed in Mountbatten, but not angry with him. It was the attitude of his close associates to his proposal, men who had sacrificed and struggled for Indian freedom at his bidding, comrades who were prepared to lay down their lives for the Khilafat, for Hindu-Muslim unity and for a free united India, that came to him as a shock. He had suffered many shocks and many betrayals during his hectic career. But this betrayal was the worst. It involved the betrayal of the ideals he had purported to serve, the destruction of all that he had endeavoured to create. It seemed a calculated, wilful murder of the spirit he had tried to foster during half a century, and lately at the risk of his life in Noakhali, Calcutta and Bihar.

I went to the prayer meeting after he had written to Mountbatten withdrawing his proposal. Gandhi ordinarily never betrayed his emotions easily. Even though profoundly depressed, he could smile like a child. He did not now smile like a child. He ginned many times even tried to laugh away his disappointment. But that child-like cheer and boyancy was gone! Mrs Sarojini Naidu, among his top colleagues, was still

one who attended his prayer meetings regularly. When I remarked that Bapu was no longer the same, she said with tears in her eyes—and she was rarely the one to invoke tears—“He is politically dead. He sees in front of him the debris of his life-work. He could make heroes out of clay. But the nation has no need for heroes any more. Still perhaps a greater Gandhi will emerge from the debris—Gandhi the immortal!”

What seemed to hurt Gandhi, besides this open defiance and betrayal, was his complete isolation. A lot of people continued to visit his prayer meetings. But the man who at one time virtually dictated the trend of political activity, who decided every great next step in the struggle, who chose the part each one of the principal actors should play, was hurt when thence onwards he did not even know, except casually from press correspondents or others, what was being planned to give final shape to India's future. He received second-hand reports of discussions at Viceregal lunches, breakfasts and dinners, of talks at newly acquired ministerial mansions or at parties and dinners arranged by the growing family of foreign diplomats. He heard of the “cultural” gaiety that was now overtaking the capital, thanks to the continuous presence of a large number of princes and their Ministers. Whenever he complained that he seemed to be the only person with time hanging on his hands, he was told by his colleagues that the “affairs of State” placed a heavy burden and were too demanding in time and energy.

During this period he was drawn more and more to Abdul Ghaffar Khan. Ghaffar Khan had been travelling in Bihar and other areas with Gandhiji and had returned profoundly perturbed by what he saw. “Hindus and Muslims have behaved like beasts,” he said while talking to me. “I am afraid the infection is spreading to the Frontier as well. They will not leave us in peace for long.” He was particularly angry with Abul Kalam Azad and his diminishing band of “nationalist Muslims”. “There are thousands of Muslims today who are nationalists,” he said, “but Maulana will not call them ‘nationalist Muslims’.”

At this juncture, the small band which was referred to as "nationalist Muslims" were more concerned with seeking or retaining office rather than working among Muslims in the country. In fact they were not enough to fill the offices that had suddenly become available. Speaking about his own worries in the Frontier, he said, "We find ourselves between the 'Jinnah' of the Congress and the Jinnah of the League." Abdul Ghaffar was not the only one to refer to Abul Kalam as the "Jinnah" of the Congress. Vallabhbhai Patel in private conversation often said he would be happy if Abul Kalam opted for Pakistan. Vallabhbhai had finally reached the conclusion that it was better to concede a truncated Pakistan than to agree to the grouping plan of the Cabinet Declaration. Abul Kalam Azad felt deeply committed to the Cabinet Declaration. His only regret was that Nehru and others, under the influence of Gandhi, had qualified their approval, upsetting Jinnah, and offering him an excuse to keep out of the Constituent Assembly. Abdul Ghaffar felt that in the grouping plan the Frontier was left with no choice but to join the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan in drafting a constitution, from which it could not opt out without the majority vote of the entire group. If Jinnah's Pakistan was conceded, then in a sovereign State consisting of Sind, Baluchistan and West Punjab, the Frontier could either demand the establishment of a Pakhtoonistan with the help of Afghan tribals, or preserve its Pathan identity in the truncated territory. "I can see that sooner or later we of the Frontier will be thrown to the wolves, and it will be the British who will still dominate us, whether we are part of Abul Kalam's group or Jinnah's Pakistan." What annoyed him also was the approach of Abul Kalam at this juncture to the political crisis. "Why doesn't Abul Kalam leave Jawahar and Patel to take care of the Hindus, and work among the Muslims. I find Abul Kalam and his associates today are afraid of the Muslims. It is wrong to assume that the Muslim masses are for Pakistan and partition. They are not. But nobody is there to tell them. Even intelligent Muslims now feel that partition would not solve the communal problem." It was true

that at this time Abul Kalam Azad, who had been one of the greatest orators in Urdu, was more concerned with fighting for concessions from the Congress than for mobilising Muslims who stood for an undivided India. The difference between Abul Kalam and Jinnah at this stage was only this. Abul Kalam wanted the grouping plan as interpreted by the Cabinet. This Jinnah had welcomed and the Congress had rejected. Jinnah, as an alternative, seemed satisfied with a truncated but sovereign Pakistan immediately, which the Congress was inclined to accept.

Mountbatten, having now cleared Gandhi out of the way, decided to play the cards he had been holding up his sleeve. Gandhi, disillusioned, disowned and politically discarded, once again took to becoming a tramp. He left for the ruined fields and charred huts of Hindus and Muslims in Noakhali and Bihar. I had often seen Bapu off. But never before were his smiles so wan and his eyes so moist. The crowd that came to see him off was also the smallest, although for the first time special police arrangements and the presence of a few Ministers and their chaplains gave it the colour of a VIP departure. A meek voice raised the familiar slogan "Mahatma Gandhi ki jai". The chorus that followed was like a sob!

## Bitter-Sweet

"Mr Jinnah! I do not intend to let you wreck all the work that has gone into this settlement. Since you will not accept for the Muslim League, I will speak for them myself. I will take the risk of saying that I am satisfied with the assurances you have given me.... When I say at the meeting in the morning 'Mr Jinnah has given me assurances which I have accepted and which satisfy me', you will under no circumstances contradict. When I look towards you, you will nod your head in acquiescence." Thus spoke Mountbatten to Jinnah on the midnight of June 2, 1947. Jinnah was too obstinate to say "yes". He was also too shrewed to say "no". His reply to this request itself was "to nod his head without any verbal undertaking".<sup>1</sup> All the while his feline eyes gleamed with truculence. His lips opened into a wan smile. He had been the spoilt child of three Viceroys and the pampered political protégé of top European officials and influential European reactionaries in India and England for many years. He did not like being ordered about and commanded to nod "yes". He had started distrusting Mountbatten, despite a letter he had brought from Churchill. He found Mountbatten a greater actor than himself and this in itself made him dislike the man. When Mountbatten said, "They say you always want the Congress to commit itself first, so that you can raise the bid if it suited you," he could have shouted, "This would be libellous in law." Actually, if he was not willing to say "yes"

<sup>1</sup> Alan Campbell Johnson, *Mission with Mountbatten*, p. 103

at Mountbatten's behest, it was because he had also no desire to say "no". He could play with Viceroy, but he could no longer play with Time.

If Gandhi's nonviolence had succeeded in winning freedom for India, Jinnah's strategy of naked violence had now succeeded in making Pakistan a reality. The "pistol" he had forged had worked. As his followers had threatened, the inhuman villainies committed on innocent, unarmed, helpless men, women and children had excelled the dark memories of Hala and Chengiz Khan, and the massacres of Nadir Shah and Timur the Lame.

The entire top-executive of the bureaucracy, Europeans and Muslims, were holding the ring for League hooligans, and were actively helping in promoting disorder. Hand grenades, sten guns and rationed kerosene were secretly being passed on to the League supporters to help organize gangsterism in the country.

Although violence had succeeded to an extent, Jinnah was shrewd enough to realize the dangers of counter-violence. Once the Hindus and the Sikhs started retaliating in force, many Bihars could be repeated. In that case Muslims could get cold feet. Gandhi may or may not live for long. His presence was a great help to Muslims where they were in minority. He gave them a sense of security. If Hindus indulged in massive retaliation, with Gandhi gone, the Muslims in minority areas may begin to actually oppose Pakistan since nearly eight crores of them would still have to make India their permanent home. They would not like to live as hostages even if Jinnah wanted them to. He therefore could not keep the advantage for long.

Above all, Jinnah was becoming more and more anxious about his own health. He was losing strength and power of speech. Doctors would not tell him his ailment, but he knew he was suffering from some serious pulmonary disease. He had chronic spasms of cough and sometimes even spat blood along with his sputum. He had chest pains and had breathing difficulty. He was losing appetite. One day, after tea, I

remarked to me: "I eat no more than the Mahatma. But I am not like him a humbug. I still like the good things of life." Rumour had it that Jinnah's symptoms indicated cancer. Before his followers came to know of his illness, and intimates started hustling for succession, he wanted to see the establishment of Pakistan. That is why he agreed to "nod" assent while making no verbal affirmation. He was the only stumbling-block left for a final move towards division. By this subtle manoeuvre Mountbatten had removed it.

The Congress attitude had been unexpectedly realistic. Mountbatten's plan stood on one pivotal base, namely the Congress, the Muslim League and the princes all agreeing, even if there was to be division, to live under the common umbrella of the Commonwealth. The Cabinet mission plan was based on "independence"—any part or the whole, however, having the option of remaining as a dominion in the Commonwealth. Mountbatten had been warned by Sir Stafford Cripps and Pethwick Lawrence that Nehru and his colleagues would accept nothing short of full, complete and unqualified independence. Since Dominion Status was pivotal to Mountbatten's new plan, he could not go further till he had won over Nehru.

To overcome this hurdle, he invited Nehru to Simla to stay as his personal guest. The Viceregal Lodge, built on the design of a rugged castle, lay on a peak overlooking, on all sides, the eternal snowline. In its extensive flowerbeds grew some of the finest and rarest flowers in the world. It offered dark, shady bridle paths and extensive footpaths for seclusion and recreation. Nehru loved vigorous walks and was still passionately devoted to riding. He liked the company of intelligent and attractive ladies. All this afforded just the atmosphere to enable Nehru to relax, "to take his mind off the complicated problems that vexed him and to react to broader matters of policy."

Nehru arrived on May 8. Mountbatten at the same time received surprising support to his plans from an unexpected quarter. Krishna Menon, who had now become Nehru's

closest adviser, accompanied him to Simla. Krishna Menon, when approached at a "tea and more tea" breakfast to which Mountbatten invited him, not only felt attracted to the idea of maintaining some kind of unity under the Commonwealth umbrella and accelerating the process of transfer of power, but actually agreed to sell it to Nehru as "his own." It had struck him a few months earlier as a preferable solution, he said. Krishna Menon kept his word.

The second helpful source was the other Menon. V. P. Menon through the years, in one post or another, had come to know more about constitutional matters than any other Indian in the Government. To Mountbatten his advice was invaluable, since he had the ear of Vallabhbhai Patel. For Patel he was a good guide. He had the inner knowledge of all the thinking in the Reforms Office under four Viceroy's since the twenties. He not only prepared Vallabhbhai for the new plan, but also got a private assurance that if Nehru agreed, Vallabhai would accept.

Late after dinner one night, Mountbatten revealed to Nehru the plan he had sent to the British Cabinet for consideration. It was like flying a test kite. Nehru reacted fiercely.<sup>2</sup> But this would mean Balkanization, he said. He would have nothing to do with it. This did not bother Mountbatten. What surprised him was that Nehru raised little objection about India preserving the Commonwealth link. After Krishna Menon had discussed the merits of early freedom and V. P. Menon had placed before Nehru the details of the amended plan, Nehru changed completely and began to look on the bright side of things. The brightest to him was, early achievement of independence by India minus Pakistan, the exercise by the Congress and by him as the Prime Minister, of full control over India, an end to the political stalemate, to insults and bickerings in the Interim Government, goodbye to Jinnah and his tantrums, freedom to build up at least a major part of the country along the lines of socialism and democracy. He offered little objection to the Commonwealth tie, but insisted that

<sup>2</sup> According to Mountbatten's biographer Campbell Johnson



the Constituent Assembly should continue. Mountbatten agreed.

The consent of Congress leaders had come more easily than Mountbatten expected. He was apprehensive that Nehru who had fought for the "goal of independence" twenty years ago would not accept Dominion Status. Even if this hurdle was overcome, Mountbatten and his advisers felt that Congress would not consent to an election or a plebiscite in the Frontier,<sup>3</sup> as this would be letting down the Red Shirts, who among Muslims, perhaps represented the largest and truest body of devout patriots in the country. It was extremely doubtful if the Frontier Red Shirts and the Khan Brothers would be cast to the wolves! And yet, in essence this was implicit in the new plan, which asked for a referendum in the Frontier. "Why the Frontier?" asked the Khan Brothers. No one had the answer. Nehru had scarcely protested! The letting-down of the Red Shirts in this manner was not an act of carelessness on the part of Congress leaders, nor even a blunder, but an act of gross and unpardonable betrayal!

Soon after "bagging" Nehru, Mountbatten left for England to get the approval of his new plan from His Majesty's Government. He got its consent, and in the bargain, through a clever appeal to Commonwealth loyalty, also bagged Churchill. This was almost a political "hat-trick". He returned on the 1st of June to meet next day three leaders of the Congress, Nehru, Patel and Kripalani, and three of the League, Jinnah, Liaquat and Abdul Rah Nishtar, with Baldev Singh to represent the Sikhs. Originally he wanted to confine the number to five. Congress, however, insisted that Kripalani who had then become Congress President must be invited. Jinnah wanted to balance the representation and threw in Nishtar into the scales. There was always some suggestive meaning in these seemingly off-hand political manoeuvres of Jinnah. In asking for a third representative, he proved a stickler for the principle of parity between the League and the Congress. In putting Nishtar, a

<sup>3</sup> An election had been held only a few months earlier, returning the Red Shirts in a solid majority.

frontier Pathan who had lost in the last election and who was never thought of much in the League as a leader, he was only giving his assessment of the status of Kripalani in the Congress. Kripalani had been an ardent Congressman since the early twenties but he did not have the calibre of earlier Congress Presidents. But since Nehru and Patel then wanted someone who would toe the line, and act as a figure-head till a new policy had emerged, Kripalani was elected over the heads of many very senior candidates. By seating Nishtar as the opposite number of Kripalani, Jinnah cleverly brought down the prestige of the Congress on the one hand and raised his own status, as League President, on the other. He sat as the opposite number of Nehru. He was even asked to stay over after the others had left, this was a special favour shown to him to make up for a separate interview granted to Gandhi.

These were small matters but they counted a lot in those days. They counted even more since in the case of Mountbatten every gesture, every move, every step, had a meaning and a purpose, and was carefully pre-rehearsed, or atleast was pre-meditated. Even in the distribution of cars, great care had been taken to combine patronage with protocol. Large American cars for the "big guns" and small English cars for the lesser fry. There were many large conference rooms in Viceroy's House. Mountbatten chose the smallest. He also chose a round table. This was to lend a sense of continuity to earlier efforts at settling the Indian problem around "round table" conferences. As the seven leaders sat waiting for the Viceroy, they scarcely exchanged either smiles or greetings. Any talk, if at all, was addressed more to the journalists and the cameramen than to each other. Even Mountbatten failed to enliven the atmosphere. In a 45-minute business like speech he placed his new proposals as accepted by His Majesty's Government before the meeting. By the midnight of the 2nd he wanted the leaders to send in their formal acceptance. This ruled out any rejection. The acceptance on behalf of the Congress was sent by Kripalani. Jinnah met Mountbatten personally before midnight. It was then that in the absence of a

formal acceptance by his Working Committee he agreed to "nod". Thus by a nod the fate of India was sealed!

Curiously enough, though the League had ostensibly not sent a formal acceptance, the League leaders and their younger lieutenants were the only ones to go on a binge, in celebration of the creation of Pakistan. Prayers were offered, sweets were distributed and many of the younger enthusiasts arranged dinners and banquets to which those European and Muslim officials who had specially helped in "Operation Pakistan" were invited.

The Hindus responded by a sort of cold numbness, seeing nothing to be jubilant about and finding suddenly that those who till recently had deemed partition fatal for India had become its most ardent apologists.

Nehru had mixed feelings. But he had to be the first official apologist on behalf of the Congress. Mountbatten arranged that on the 3rd, after the formal acceptance of the plan, he, Nehru and Jinnah should make brief broadcasts. Nehru had hitherto many broadcasts to his credit. But this broadcast, made on the most momentous occasion in national history, was the poorest. One could feel that Nehru was as confused in his words as he was about his feelings. The plan announced that day, he said, "envisages on the one hand the possibility of these areas (defined as Pakistan) seceding from India" (a polite way of referring to "Operation scuttle"—and the use of "possibility" for "certainty" seemed significant) "and on the other it promises a big advance towards complete independence." Having said this, his heart must have missed a beat for he said: "It is with no joy in my heart that I commend these proposals to you."

An unusually large audience had turned up at Gandhi's prayer meeting. The news of the Congress leaders having agreed to partition had already spread like wild fire. People noted that Gandhi had been invited to meet Mountbatten separately. In him perhaps lay their only hope; India's unity hung by a thread! June 2 happened to be a Monday. The interview which Mountbatten had dreaded most that day was

the one with Gandhi. Even Nehru did not know what Gandhi's "inner voice" may finally decide for him. Gandhi had often stated that India would not be partitioned so long as he was alive. Even if he was alive, he had said, he would fight to the last. India was now being partitioned. What would the Mahatma do? "Imagine his amazement and relief," writes Alan Campbell-Johnson, the biographer of Mountbatten, "when the Mahatma blandly indicated on the back of various used envelopes and other scraps of paper that he was observing his day of silence." The sting lay in his explanation of the vow of "Monday silence" Wrote Gandhi: "When I took the decision about the Monday silence, I did make two exceptions, i.e. about speaking to high functionaries on urgent matters, or attending upon sick people." Mountbatten was not a sick person, but he was certainly at the time a "high functionary". The obvious suggestion was that the subject of their interview, according to Gandhi, was not of "urgent importance" to necessitate an "exception".

On the 2nd of June, Gandhi wrote his first article of a series for *The Harijan*. Every signed article by Gandhi for *The Harijan* was news and was telegraphed to the newspapers in extenso. This was more so, since it had been written on the historic 2nd of June, and was to run in series. The series was headed: "Things of eternal value!" Its main thesis was *Brahmacharya*: "full control over the process of reproduction".

In the prayer meeting Gandhi for the first time directly referred to the vivisection of India that had been decided upon. Instead of showing opposition, he appealed to the people to accept it. "It was the willing act of the Congress and the Muslim League," he said. He admitted that he differed from the Working Committee, but having stated the fact, he "would commend their decision for acceptance". When someone reminded him that he had once said, "the vivisection of India would mean a vivisection of myself," Gandhi replied, "when I made the statement, I was voicing public opinion." He added: "But when public opinion was against me, was I to coerce it?" The fact was that public opinion was still against

vivisection. It had been coerced by the terrorist tactics of the League, supported by reactionary officials, and the impatience of the top leaders within the Congress.

While this is what Gandhiji said publicly, in private conversation to us, he was as wrathful as only Gandhi could ever be. "The work of half a century has been undone," he said. "I see nothing but raging fires and rivers of blood before me. This means complete ruination (*sarv naash*)!" His cheeks glowed for the first time like burning coals. His eyes revealed a raging tempest he was trying to control. His hands shook nervously. "I cannot blame the Viceroy. He stood for a united India till the last. I cannot blame Jinnah. Perhaps we did not do enough to allay his fears. I cannot blame my own people. Obviously they had no choice."

In a later speech he said, "If only the non-Muslims had been with me I would have shown the way to undo partition." But when in the meeting of the AICC on June 12 a storm of dissent arose against the leaders, Gandhi asked the dissidents if "they had the strength to take over the reins of the Congress and Government?" When someone suggested they would follow, if he would lead, Gandhi averred, "Well, I have no strength to do it." The voice of opposition was thus silenced. Gandhi went back to Bengal and Bihar to put down the blazing fires of communal violence.

Mountbatten with the precision of a great commander had a calendar prepared, indicating date-wise every step that was to precede the handing-over of the charge of the administration to the national governments of India and Pakistan. He moved with the ruthlessness of a road-roller and the efficiency of a robot to implement the programme of transfer.

## Freedom! Blood, Tears and Revelry

"Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny.... At the stroke of midnight hour, when the world sleeps, India will awake to life and freedom. A moment comes, which comes but rarely in history, when we step out from the old to the new, when an age ends, and when the soul of a nation, long suppressed, finds utterance." Nehru spoke thus just before the hour of midnight had struck. Thirty-one guns boomed to herald the birth of a free India. All members of the Constituent Assembly, specially called for a midnight session, rose in their seats to take a solemn pledge of dedicated service to the motherland. India was legally, politically and constitutionally free!

Outside, there was thunder and lightning—a cloudburst was followed by a sharp drizzle. Thousands had collected in and around the precincts of Council House. As the clock struck the midnight hour, they rent the sky with deafening cheers—"Inquilab Zindabad!" "Gandhi ki jai, Nehru ki jai, Jai Hind!" Some even shouted "Mountbatten Zindabad!" The crowd went almost mad with joy and excitement.

It was past eleven when I along with a party of local officers reached the Council Chamber. Reports had come from a Hindu locality near the Nizamuddin railway station that a concentration of Muslims was planning to blow up the station and the railway track that night. According to another secret

message, Muslim families living in a pocket in Karol Bagh surrounded by Hindu refugees from the Punjab had been told that they and their houses would be turned into a bonfire, "to celebrate the coming of independence" There had been serious tension in the Capital for days before the fifteenth of August League volunteers, paid hooligans and gangsters and other anti-social elements had created pockets, both in and outside the old city, and cells where fire arms, hand grenades, bombs, spears, spikes, daggers and all kinds of weapons of violence had been collected The latest League cry had become "Hans ke Liye hai Pakistan, Lar ke lenge Hindustan"<sup>1</sup> Fanatical mullas preached the doctrine of hate during Friday prayers and told their audiences that for centuries Muslims had ruled Delhi, and, "Inshah Allah", they will do so again

Only one who knows old Delhi well can realize how easy it was to build up and preserve these cells, especially when there were a lot of high officials willing to help with supplies Even in such an outlandish area as Nizamuddin, where lived for three hundred years or more a settlement of Muslims owing allegiance to the tradition of religious tolerance and amity of great Muslim saints like Nizamuddin Aulia and Amir Khusro, more than one such cell existed The existence of these cells, and the provocative preachings of fanatical mullas, created among the Hindus genuine anxiety and concern, and increased suspicion and distrust between the communities

From the Punjab, Sind and the North West Frontier, thousands of helpless, homeless penniless families had been pouring into the Capital Among these thousands were men who were millionaires till yesterday, and were now paupers, searching for food and shelter They brought stories of burnt homes, of murder, savage assaults of plunder and incendiarism They had witnessed their own kith and kin butchered in cold blood, their babies cast into burning flames like footballs, their women publicly raped and then torn to pieces They had seen their daughters and wives committing suicide to prevent molestation

Kahuta was a little nature's paradise, thirty-odd miles from

<sup>1</sup> We have got Pakistan by right We will take Hindustan by force

Rawalpindi. I had often visited it. A hill stream girdled the little town. At one place the main street suddenly ended in a buff rock where the placid waters of the torrent gurgled over marble white boulders. Here the women of the village, Muslim, Hindu, Sikh, among them some of the prettiest with the most shapely and graceful bodies, came with their pitchers to collect water for their homes. In the main street, Muslim farmers from the neighbouring hills brought wool sheared from their sheep, cheese, vegetables, fruits, grain on camels, mules and donkeys, and made barter deals for cloth, shoes, home utensils, provisions, ploughs and harrows with Sikh, Hindu and Muslim traders. Near the bazar was a Sikh gurdwara. Almost adjoining it, a mosque. The elders often sat together under a grove of banyan trees, discussing common problems, sharing each other's joys and sorrows and dispensing justice where social offenders were concerned. Molestation of women had been practically unknown.

While Jinnah had publicly endorsed a joint statement with Gandhi, appealing for communal amity, privately the League leaders had circulated a master plan, which encouraged, by implication, wherever and in whatever manner possible, violence, coercion, conversion, loot, incendiarism or terror of any kind, the expulsion of Hindus and the Sikhs out of Pakistan. "Pak" meant pure Pakistan could not be pure unless the "infidels" were driven out. An infidel's wife, daughter, property, etc. were all permissive, said the Mullahs, if the object was to "punish or expel him". These sermons of hate had become a regular feature of mosque prayers. A wave of terror had spread to all the towns and villages of the Punjab.

The tidal bore reached Kahuta. One bright day when the fields were green with vegetation, and the most extraordinary flowers bloomed wild from between the cliffs, the Muslims held a conference and decided to "purify" the village. The local executive officer,<sup>2</sup> the head of the small police force, even the post master, all Muslims, joined the conference. The Hindus and Sikhs got alarmed. They called for outside help. The post

<sup>2</sup> Tehsildar.



master suppressed all their SOS messages. At a fixed hour, Muslim gunmen went up the towers of the mosque, occupied several places of vantage on the surrounding rocks, and held the town practically at gun point. A few volleys were fired to create terror. Hidden gangs then ran into the town sprinkling petrol and kerosene, setting houses and shops on fire. Then followed a whole cavalcade of trucks, camels, mules, horses, donkeys and bullock carts in which the Muslims, some of them the most respectable in the neighbourhood, began filling the booty from Hindu homes. Most of the Hindu and Sikh residents were killed. Some who accepted conversion were allowed to go, but only after all they had was seized. Those with any influence selected their "pick" of pretty girls. The rest were left to the goondas to rape, abduct or marry, or to treat as "booty". Many girls and women committed suicide. They threw themselves in the neighbouring stream where it was a hundred feet deep. Some burnt themselves by collecting their beddings, coats and other belongings, and setting fire to them. Some drowned themselves in a well. Within a few days the more influential had occupied the houses of the better class Hindus and Sikhs and taken control of their fields. The less influential became shopkeepers and tradesmen, and the village had become "Pak" (pure).

Pakistan celebrated her independence a day earlier, i.e. on the 14th. Actually, August 14 was fixed by Parliament for India, Pakistan and the princely states to assume their sovereign status within the Commonwealth. At some stage the date was referred to the astrologers. The top Pandits of Banaras and the South were unanimous that August 14th was highly inauspicious. There was a menacing confluence of three planets inimical to India. They felt that it might be better to tolerate the British for one more day than risk eternal damnation. It was in one of these lighter perplexities that Mountbatten seriously discussed the desirability of adding an expert astrologer to his retinue of advisers, since in many matters he had to face difficulties created by the stars. Palkhvala, who had been appointed Governor of C.P., for example, refused

to take charge on the 15th as the stars did not encourage travelling on the 14th.

To satisfy the astrologers, and at the same time to avoid legal and constitutional difficulties, the legal wizards decided to hold a midnight session and announce India's freedom one minute after the 14th, expecting that the stars in the mean time would have moved to propitious locations.

The decision by Pakistan to be free on the 14th without the aid of astrologers suited Mountbatten. It enabled him to fly to Karachi on the 14th and return to Delhi for the midnight celebrations. There was one thing, however, about the celebrations in Pakistan which Mountbatten did not like. When he had propounded the plan of a divided India and Pakistan under the Commonwealth, he almost assumed that Pakistan would invite him to become the first Governor-General. At the same time he fervently hoped that Nehru and his Government might also see the wisdom of having a joint Governor-General. Nehru and his Government surprised him by taking the initiative in recommending his name to His Majesty's Government. Jinnah shocked him by putting forward his own name, disregarding any need for advice or consultation. His "followers", he pleaded, insisted that he should be their first Governor-General. A few days later his "followers" also insisted that his official title should be what he had hitherto appropriated for himself—*Qaid-e-Azam*. He became one by statute.

Jinnah left on August 7 for Karachi, ostensibly leaving his palatial house on Awanzeb Road with all its modern and costly furniture behind "at the mercy of the future Indian Government". Actually, he took no chances. He sold the property to a rich Marwari with vast business interests in Pakistan at a fabulous price. He had already engaged his personal staff and, soon after entering the residence of the future Governor-General in Karachi, began preparations to make it worthy of his "regal" taste, status and position. The garden had to be looked after more carefully, he directed, and the approaches widened. "This wing will be occupied only by me and Miss

Jinnah," he pointed out to his ADC. He gave detailed instructions as to the alterations that had to be made. When the security officials wanted the wing to be protected by a wall, Jinnah firmly rejected the idea. "No walls please, I am one of the People!"<sup>3</sup>

After the assassination of Gandhi, a few months later, he allowed a "double" wall to be erected. There was another wing. This "only for very important people," he said "I don't wish to have Governors of Provinces or Ministers in these rooms." They can be accommodated on the ground floor. "Only very important people," he emphasised, "like the Shah of Persia or the King of England"

At the very time, on the 15th of August, when Nehru and his Cabinet were being sworn in by Mountbatten in the marbled rotunda of the Viceroy's House in New Delhi, Jinnah, the first Governor-General of Pakistan, was administering the oath to Liaquat Ali and his Cabinet, with full ceremonial dignity and studied formality. He was the first Asiatic to be appointed Governor-General and he wanted to show that he and Pakistan were worthy of the choice. He appeared on this occasion, as on arrival at the airport, in a white-silk achkan, gracefully buttoned up to the neck, fitting immaculately at the waist. He wore a pair of loose white trousers, whose folds had been carefully pressed. On his head he wore a gray fud cap. It became the official head-dress of West Pakistan. The inevitable monocle hung conveniently to be used when reading his address. His hands had been carefully manicured. He was proud of his hands and his shapely tapering fingers. After the Cabinet members had assembled and guests had taken their seats, the Governor-General, led by his ADCs in uniform and his secretary, followed by his bodyguards, moved step by step down the stairs. He went up to the balcony and paused for a while, looking at the audience assembled in the compound and the crowds beyond. "I never expected to see Pakistan in my lifetime," he remarked. "We have to be grateful to God." And then the procession moved on into the open.

<sup>3</sup> Boethia, Jinnah

The ceremony was brief, formal and impressive. Jinnah returned solemnly to his room. He looked in the full mirror on the opposite wall and smiled to himself the smile of satisfaction. The Qaid-e-Azam was "King"! Pakistan may have got moth-eaten and truncated in the process, but it was still the largest Muslim country in the world! And this was just the beginning! If his plans succeeded, he reflected, it may within a decade perhaps become still larger, bringing many satellite rulers around his throne. The names "Hyderabad, Kashmir, Junagadh, Bhopal, Jodhpur, Jaisalmer, Tonk, Pataudi, Bhawalpur, Chitral" sounded suggestive. It was not his new Prime Minister who called next on that day, but this doctor. He did feel tired and exhausted! Would he be given the ten years he wanted? The doctor felt worried.

While these official ceremonies were going on in both countries and large crowds in the two capitals were milling about in wild ecstasy to wear off the first exuberance of independence, a two way traffic had been established across the Punjab and Sind border. Caravans of refugees had started moving between India and Pakistan. They moved in their thousands and tens of thousands, till the total reached hundreds of thousands. They moved with whatever belongings they could carry on hired trucks, bullock carts, horses, mules and donkeys. Young men carried old women in relays. They carried children in gunny sacks. Among them were the rich and the very poor, the healthy and the maimed. In many cases, they trekked three to five hundred miles, with hardly any food, with no arrangements for clean water, searching from city to city, camp to camp, for a place to shelter from rain and the sun. New babies were born on the roadside. Infants died of thirst and hunger. Appalled by the distress of their children, mothers were known even to offer urine to appease their thirst. Men chewed grass leaves just to keep off thirst and hunger.

On August 15, the Lahore railway station "became a scene of wholesale carnage". According to one eye-witness, there was a continuous rain of bullets. In this the army, the police and a whole lot of hooligans freely joined. "All that was visible of

the city was a huge tower of smoke." On the night of the 15th a train arrived in Amritsar with dead and charred bodies. Outside on the carriages were inscribed the words: "Independence gift to Nehru and Patel."

Before reaching Council House, I went with a couple of fellow Congress leaders and senior executive officials on a general round of the city, because of disturbing reports. Quiet prevailed all over the walled city. Except for official cars, there was practically no traffic. Muslim pockets had been mostly vacated and several thousand Muslim refugees were concentrated in the Old Fort. In the Jama Masjid area, which was exclusively Muslim, life and business were normal, except that many had retired rather unusually early for "Independence Day". The deserted streets conveyed the sign "not interested"

In Karol Bagh, where a large concentration of refugees lived near a disturbed Muslim pocket, we met Hindu and Sikh volunteers armed with lathis, daggers and swords, holding watch. They expected an armed attack by the Muslims. Dozens had stationed themselves on house-tops with rifles and shot-guns. The Muslims did attack. But before the "gang" could do any damage to property, the vigilant volunteers had rounded them up, exposed them to severe beating, and handed them over to the police. As our party reached the police station where the gang was being questioned, we found that they were actually eight or nine Sikhs who had lost their way searching for the gurdwara.<sup>4</sup> They were the vanguard of a large contingent of refugees which was following and were to take shelter for the night in the gurdwara. They belonged to the thousands of Sikhs and Hindus who had escaped from Pakistan by camouflaging themselves as Muslims. They had cut their hair short, trimmed their beards Muslim-style, had adopted Muslim dress, Muslim ways and Muslim rituals. The Hindus had grown whiskers and beards Muslim-style, could read the Kalma like any Muslim, and could plead, even if identified, that they were neo-converts. Some had even undergone circumcision.

<sup>4</sup> A Sikh temple

Looking back, I have often wondered whether this orgy of murder, rape and loot could not have been avoided. Even if division was inevitable, was an orderly exchange of populations and properties not possible? Those in charge of the Union Government at the dawn of independence were overtaken by a storm they had not anticipated. They blundered into one wrong step after another till the deluge of violence lost its force through a sense of suifcit, or abated by a mounting threat of retaliation.

When Mountbatten put forward his plan to advance the date of independence from December, 1948 to August, 1947, his strongest argument was that this would preserve the germs of future unity and insure peaceful and orderly transfer of power to the two Governments without serious dislocation of populations. When warned that already "there had been riots in Calcutta, Noakhali, Bihar, Bombay and the Punjab" and that if the country was divided in such an atmosphere "there would be rivers of blood flowing in different parts of the country", Mountbatten had confidently replied: "At least on one question I shall give you complete assurance. I shall see to it that there is no bloodshed and riot. I am a soldier, not a civilian. . . If there should be the slightest agitation. . . I will order the Army and the Air Force to act, and I will use tanks and aeroplanes to suppress anybody who wants to create trouble."<sup>5</sup>

Much has been said in praise of Mountbatten's skill, tact and administrative ability. But so far as this phase of events is concerned, he showed poor judgment, utter lack of capacity to do the right thing at the right time, and complete unawareness of the ugly, dangerous and deceitful part many of his own responsible European colleagues in the Government were playing to add fuel to the fire, and to create conditions fatal to the implementation of his declared intentions and policies. The most unfortunate factor in the whole situation was that Nehru and Patel, bewildered by what had happened, left too much at the time in the hands of Mountbatten.

Mountbatten, by the consent of both Governments, had set

<sup>5</sup> Azad, *India Wins Freedom*.

up a boundary force to preserve peace and order on the two sides of the frontier. Sir Claude Auchinleck was appointed Joint Commander. The two forces on each side of the border were under separate British Commanders. I had known Sir Claude as a very fine officer, an amiable gentleman, and a good host. But I was also aware that the Commander-in-Chief's personal and private affairs were being run by his Muslim aides, whose intense loyalty to Pakistan had become notorious. Top European Army officers were known to be Pakistan oriented. Reports reached us that the boundary force was not acting impartially. Some of the officers were openly favouring Pakistan. Apart from the boundary force, there was the regular army. This had been broken up into Muslim and Non Muslim. A large part of the Hindu and Sikh contingents were locked up in the northern Cantonments. But "someone" managed to permit free operation to the Baluchi regiment which, along with the Muslim police, was indulging in diabolical crimes. We journalists tried to bring all these reports to the notice of Nehru and Patel. We could not shake them out of their faith in the sound judgment of Mountbatten and the integrity of the Army. Nehru even resented "any attempt at panic". Sardar Patel warned against any suggestion that the services were not doing their duty faithfully. We, however, could not distrust the sources of our reports.

One day I received a call from the Viceroy's House that Lord Mountbatten would like to meet me. On arrival, I found Devdas Gandhi, then Managing Editor of *The Hindustan Times*, also there. Campbell Johnson ushered us in. The Viceroy put on an air of grave resentment as we entered. After exchange of formal greetings, he referred to the reports appearing in my paper and *The Hindustan Times* about the questionable role of the boundary force, the crimes of the Baluchi Regiment, the failure of Auchinleck as Joint Commander, and the sinister atmosphere in the Commander's House. "I will not tolerate," said Mountbatten, "any such attacks on responsible officers of His Majesty's forces. In this I have the fullest support of my Cabinet." A great actor as he was, Mountbatten

could almost look ferocious, if he so wanted. Before we could say anything, Mountbatten concluded his brief, well-prepared speech by saying, "And now may I inform you that I have the Prime Minister's and the Deputy Prime Minister's permission to get you placed under arrest, unless I receive satisfactory assurances that this sinister propaganda will stop." Then with a dramatic pause, he said, "Gentlemen, have I your assurances?"

Devdas and I had a natural conflict of interests as Editors of rival papers. But where national interests were concerned, we always acted in complete accord. By a silent gesture we decided to catch the bull by the horns. We told Mountbatten that even when the Army was an "imperialist" force, we had observed the convention of avoiding any attacks on His Majesty's officers or forces. We had both known Claude Aucklenleck during the war, and had great personal regard for him and many of his colleagues. What therefore we had written was not out of malice, but because we were prompted by a sense of public duty. Both of us put before Mountbatten a volume of authentic evidence to prove to him how much graver and more serious was the truth, and how little of it had been published in the papers. He was shocked. He was a changed man. He asked us to send him all further information we may get and to trust him to take corrective action, but to avoid publication of these reports. Soon after, we learnt that Sir Claude Auchenleck had ceased to be in joint command, and the boundary force had been disbanded.

During this interview, which Campbell-Johnson has briefly reported, we made certain positive suggestions to Mountbatten, which he carefully noted. Most of these he considered eminently practicable. He promised to place them before the joint committee of Ministers. We found later that the suggestions were accepted, but in each case the Government had caught the wrong end of the stick. We had suggested that the armed forces and the civil services should be the last to be separated or transferred. Instead of making empty appeals to people to stay on in their homes, arrangements should be



made for orderly evacuation and safe exchange.

As a first step we suggested that islands of safety should be created on both sides, from the village up to the district and even at divisional and provincial level, where Indian and Pakistani troops, police and officials should exercise "joint control", to insure safe evacuation, the freezing of the property of emigrants pending their return, if they so desired, or listing their property and the assessed price for safe custody till appropriate disposal. We discovered later that islands were created, but they were placed under the charge of Muslim Army men, police and officers in Pakistan who took away more than they left with the emigrants. They refused to register or assess properties properly. In fact they compelled the emigrants to make forced sales on threat of losing everything. These islands became places of concentrated loot and coercion. As regards emigration we were informed that "ten lakhs" had already been sanctioned to look after those who might be "dislocated from their homes". But "ten lakhs" would be nothing, we pleaded. You will need crores. "Let us not be alarmists, and let us not create a scare. I feel that both sides will act fairly, and the exodus will stop," Mountbatten optimistically told us. Despite this assurance, the deluge continued unchecked, the Government proceeded from one blunder to another. While within a few weeks a great deal was done to stop the exodus of Muslims, the Hindus continued to be driven out.

The day of independence dawned differently on a deserted, old fashioned, derelict building called Hydan Manzil in Balia-ghata, a filthy, congested district of Calcutta where Hindus and Muslims lived in overlapping pockets.

The Manzil belonged to a Muslim family. It was built, like so many other old style middle class homes, with a large entrance, leading to a spacious courtyard, surrounded by a large verandah and small rooms. It had the distinction of having a lavatory since this was unusual in that locality. It had glass panes on doors and windows. The Manzil showed signs of recent repairs, although part of it, like some other

houses in the neighbourhood, was in shambles. Here some strangers had come, seeking temporary residence—one of them was Gandhi. The other, a large, corpulent, hulk of a man, his face bloated and pock-marked, his eyes alert like that of a cat was Shahid Suhrawardy. He was Bengal's Chief Minister during the great Calcutta killing. The two became "strange bed-fellows" under this roof.

Gandhi had been to Kashmir in early August. He then visited strife-torn Rawalpindi and Lahore on return. Here he heard many harrowing stories of terrible happenings. He wanted to help the Khan Brothers who had been thrown to the vultures after the Congress agreed to a referendum. When leaving Lahore on August 6, Gandhi had said: "The rest of my life is going to be spent in East Bengal or West Punjab, perhaps the Frontier Province." He did not even mention Delhi. He reached Calcutta on August 7. He found Hindu-Muslim relations again under a terrible strain. This time he said, "Hindus seem to have gone mad, not that the Muslims had become wiser." Since Calcutta had been declared by the Boundary Commission as part of India, the Muslim police and Muslim officials had been withdrawn. Muslims were scared about what may happen on the 15th and had even decided to observe it as a day of mourning. Muslim leaders urged Gandhi to stop a few days in Calcutta, use his influence to restore confidence among Muslims, before proceeding to Noakhali. Gandhi agreed. He hit upon a novel but daring plan. If he and a Muslim leader, Hindus hated most, could get together under one roof, unprotected by the police or the army, and open to violent attacks by the Hindus or the Muslims, the whole outlook might change.

Shahid Suhrawardy was in Karachi in the beginning of August. He had gone to negotiate his political future in Pakistan. He expected either to be chosen Deputy Prime Minister next to Liaquat or Chief Minister of East Pakistan. He found Jinnah, the Governor-General, very different to Jinnah, the League leader. Jinnah now wanted men who could create confidence and not men with a dark record of organized

butchery. He therefore preferred Nazimuddin, a quieter, cleaner and less violent man, Shahid's former rival in Bengal, as Deputy Prime Minister. In East Bengal he wanted a henchman and not a rival. He selected a local team of moderate Muslims to constitute his hand-picked Cabinet in East Pakistan. Shahid felt betrayed. At this very time the news reached him that Gandhi had left for Calcutta, *en-route* to Noakhali. He remembered the old adage, "Hitch your wagon to a star", and made a dash to Calcutta. Here he found that a role had already been prepared for him by destiny. Gandhi felt that there was no one with a record as bad as that of Suhrawardy, and that he was the best person to provoke the wrath of the Hindus, if his experiment was to succeed. Suhrawardy had come just in time and in the correct mood for venturing whole-heartedly on the experiment—grave risks notwithstanding!

When the Mayor of Calcutta, Mohammed Usman, and other Muslim leaders came to him on August 10 to make a final request to delay his departure to Noakhali, he agreed, provided two conditions were fulfilled. If he did not go to Noakhali, the Muslim leaders should guarantee peace in that area. If something serious happened to the Hindus, he said, "my life would be forfeit and you will have to face a fast unto death on my part". The assurance was given. He then suggested that he and Suhrawardy should live under one roof, like friends, "without any secrets and without police or army protection". The derelict Hydari Manzil was chosen.

When Gandhi arrived, an excited crowd of young men greeted him with shouts of "Go back!" "Why have you come here?" "Where were you during the Calcutta killings?" and so forth. Gandhi greeted them with folded hands and asked them to be patient with him. Then Suhrawardy arrived. The young men surrounded his car. They raised angry shouts, called him "murderer", "butcher", etc. Gandhi intervened and Suhrawardy entered safely. Meanwhile, the crowd became larger and more excited. Some young men started climbing the windows, stones were hurled at them by the crowd. The glass of the window panes was flying all around the room. Soon

there was no glass pane left in the windows. Fortunately, no one was hurt. While all this commotion was going on, Gandhi was reading and chuckling over a message received from Sardar Patel.<sup>6</sup> "So you have got detained in Calcutta and that too in a quarter which is a veritable shambles and a notorious den of gangsters and hooligans?" He looked at Suhrawardy who had spread himself on the mattress with his legs thrown in front of him, his back resting on a large pillow, his necktie unloosened, his shirt collar open, his sleeves rolled up, like a jerk, looking bewildered. He read on. "And in what choice company too. It is a terrible risk!"

Gandhi had once asked Suhrawardy. "Why do they call you a goonda?" Just then he believed Suhrawardy was feeling a political orphan. Gandhi invited some of the representatives of the demonstrators and explained to them how by staying with Suhrawardy under the same roof he hoped to preserve peace in Noakhali and "serve not only Muslims, but Hindus, Muslims and all alike." Gradually the excitement outside died down, and the crowd began to melt. Those who had come to smite returned to ponder and reflect.

On the 14th evening Gandhi held his prayer meeting in the open in the compound of Hydari Manzil. "India will be free after midnight," he said, "but also will emerge partitioned. While tomorrow will be a day of rejoicing, it will be a day of sorrow as well. . . If millions of Hindus and Muslims are at daggers drawn with one another in Calcutta, with what face can I go to Noakhali? And if the flames of communal strife envelop the whole country, how can a new born freedom survive?" Many in the crowd were deeply moved and some said. "What a spell-binder this old man is!"<sup>8</sup>

Soon afterwards a whole gang of excited young men surrounded Hydari Manzil wanting to murder Suhrawardy. Seeing that he had earlier not come to the prayer meeting, they made a dash to the room in which Suhrawardy with Pyarelal, Gandhi's Secretary, was sitting. Stones started falling on the

<sup>6</sup> August 13

<sup>7</sup> A reckless hooligan.

<sup>8</sup> Pyarelal, *Mahatma Gandhi: The Last Phase* Vol II p 368

windows Suhrawardy lay on the ground quite impassive, muttering sarcastic remarks about the young men outside. "Dehvei us Suhrawardy!" the crowd shouted. Gandhi got up, went to the window and threw it open, standing in full view of the crowd. He admonished them and then invited Suhrawardy to stand by him. "The two of us are one" in this task, he said. Someone called from the crowd. "Are you not responsible for the great Calcutta Killings?" "Yes, it was my responsibility," Suhrawardy said with manifest humility. It was a sort of confession, which the crowd never expected from the arrogant Suhrawardy. The crowd sobered down.

Meanwhile a miracle was at work. News came that a mixed procession of Hindus and Muslims, nearly five thousand of them, was parading the streets in the neighbourhood. In one street Hindus were trying to put up the National Flag for the Independence Day. A large number of Muslims asked if they could also come and help. Gandhi and Suhrawardy went out in the streets. When Gandhi returned that night at eleven, he said to his companion, who was known to be a patron of night life in Calcutta: "For you the day has just commenced. But half my night is gone. I get up at half past three."

The echoes of "Gandhi Ki Jai" continued to reverberate in the streets throughout the night. Thousands of national flags flew next morning on Hindu and Muslim homes. Eager crowds went milling around the Hydari Manzil the whole day. Hundreds of Muslim women in their *burgas*<sup>9</sup> came to pay their homage shouting "Hindu, Muslim bhai bhai", "Jai Hind!". Vast crowds of Hindus and Muslims intermingled with each other, dancing, singing, merry making together in public thoroughfares. Over a hundred thousand attended his prayer meetings on the 15th, 16th and 17th. The 18th was Id, the great Muslim festival. Half a million attended the prayer meeting and Gandhi offered Id greetings to the Muslims who reciprocated with hearty cheers.

Wrote Mountbatten to Gandhi: "In the Punjab we have 55,000 soldiers and large scale rioting on our hands. As a

<sup>9</sup> Veils

serving officer, as well as an administrator, may I be allowed to pay my tribute to the one-man Boundary Force, not forgetting his second in command, Mr Suhrawardy."

On the 30th the Boundary Force was put to its severest test. Gandhi had gone to bed. This was about 10 p.m. Some excited young men, who had heard of the alleged stabbing of a Hindu by a Muslim, surrounded Hydrat Manzil. They started smashing the furniture and picture frames with hockey sticks. Panes began to crack all round. An old Muslim lady in the house and her son stood by Gandhi. Suhrawardy by then was not sharing the roof at night. As Gandhi got up to face the mad, excited, violent crowd, someone called out: "where is the rascal Suhrawardy?" Not finding him, they hurled their wrath on Gandhi. Gandhi took a lantern in his hands and stood in the door. A massive brickbat passed him by. There was a hail of stones injuring one or two people around him. A heavy stick narrowly missed his head. Gandhi asked himself, "Is this the result of the peace that was established on the 15th of August?" A violent communal conflagration broke out simultaneously in several parts of the city. Bombs, hand grenades, acid in soda bottles, knives, daggers, spikes, in short every kind of weapon was commissioned to strike terror among the Muslims. Thousands left their homes in panic. Gandhi decided to fast unto death or till peace was assured in Calcutta. "Can one fast against the goondas?" said Rajagopalachari, who was then Governor of Bengal. "If I falter now the conflagration might spread. . . and this will end our short-lived dream of independence," replied Gandhi.

The fast commenced at 8.15 p.m. on the 1st of September. On the second and the third day, the mob fury continued in a rising crescendo. Gandhi lingered between life and death, the *Ramdhun* on his lips. He asked the leaders of all sections, who appealed to him to give up his fast, to act instead for the restoration of peace. "I will not mind if the entire police force is withdrawn," he said to them. "If in the result the whole of Calcutta swims in blood, it will not dismay me. . . You and I shall then have to rush barefoot in the midst of the

flames and work without respite day and night till peace is restored or we will be all dead. That is my conception of a peace mission—not a mealy-mouthed, milk-and-water business.” The fast continued, the frenzy mounted, the efforts to put out the conflagration multiplied. On the 4th of September, while Gandhi lay exhausted in a state of giddy restlessness, a document signed by accredited leaders of all sections was presented to him. It said: “We, the undersigned, promise to Gandhiji that, now that peace and quiet have been restored in Calcutta once again, we shall never allow communal strife in the city and shall strive unto death to prevent it.” Seventy-three hours after it was commenced, Gandhi broke his fast. A truck-load of hand grenades and all sorts of weapons lay outside Hydari Manzil, surrendered voluntarily by the anti-social elements. Seeing these Gandhiji chuckled and said to Rajagopalachari, who was with him: “I am now thinking of leaving for the Punjab tomorrow.” He did on the night of the seventh.

## From Death to Immortality

I never believed that the soles of a man's feet could be so delicately shaped, so well scrubbed, smooth and so terribly clean. I had never looked at the soles of any person's feet for so long. Then there was the head! It had been recently shaved, one could almost see the bones, of the cranium, the veins under the soft transparent skin. I had never looked at any one's head for so long and so intensely. It was a grand, majestic, wonderfully formed head. The ears jutted out on both sides. They were conspicuously large. Gandhi lay in eternal repose. He was dead!

The story, which opened with Gandhi emerging as the dictator of a nonviolent struggle for Indian freedom after the end of the 1st World War, had come to an end. As I entered Birla House, soon after he had been fatally shot at,<sup>1</sup> the whole compound of the large palatial building, the roads and the lawns of neighbouring houses were all full of thousands of men and women, mostly in a state of shock, some sobbing, some still disbelieving that the Mahatma was dead. "Get the best doctors, don't let him die" they wailed. In the room to which his body had been hurriedly carried, an assorted crowd had assembled. Some of his chosen disciples were chanting his favourite hymns in sobs. Others stood mute or lay huddled, dazed, tears gushing out of their eyes. In front of a closed door, resting his head on his daughter's lap, lay Vallabhbhai Patel, his eyes bloodshot, his face livid, his body prostrate. For 21

<sup>1</sup>Friday the 30th of January, 1948



long time, Nehru held back his tears. Then he had a spell of hiccups. Nehru rarely cried. When he did it was followed by hiccups, a spell of sobbing, a shaking of the ribs and then it would pass. Abul Kalam Azad stood mute, without his cap, his hands pressed on his walking stick in a pose of dramatic distress. He was shaking all over. Kripalani lay crumpled in a corner, sobbing silently with a few friends pressing his shoulders to calm his distress. With Rajen Babu the stress had the effect of bringing up his asthma.

Devdas, Gandhi's son, and I had gone to Bula House together. It did surprise me that Devdas, who had the first claim to break down with emotion, retained a very dignified control over himself. After the first burst of silent tears, which we both shared, we walked up to Nehru and told him that while tears could wait, many things needed to be done at once, to prevent a threat to law and order in the city or in any part of the North. The mixed crowd outside had to be pacified and controlled. An official announcement had still to be made about the Mahatma.

Meanwhile, Vallabhbhai Patel slowly walked up to Nehru with Baldev Singh, the Defence Minister. They conferred together for a few minutes. Then Mountbatten steamed in. After a brief consultation with him, Nehru rushed out in the dark, climbed the pillar of a gate to make the first announcement. He took a grave risk. Report had it that he was also one of the leaders the conspirators wanted to kill. Electric lights had been intermittently going off and on. After Nehru's speech, the crowd became even more restless. People began to mob the doors of the house, trying to have a last look of the great leader. We decided that the body should be carried to a well lit open terrace on the first floor to enable the waiting swelling crowd to have a last "darshan". I held the mattress from the feet. I could not keep my eyes off the scrubbed clean, almost polished soles, as we mounted step by step to the terrace. The body seemed almost weightless. As we laid the body down on the terrace we raised the head so that the crowd could have a fuller view. We arranged the lights so that they fell on

the head and on the face. The face looked pale, but completely relaxed. It seemed as if the Mahatma was still asleep and may move and wake up any moment.

I stood behind the head. Maybe it was adoration, maybe it was superstition, but I was not the only one to feel that there was something more than the physical about that head which lent it even in death an aura of the spiritual, a sort of ethereal lustre that one visualised but could not see, a living, vibrant emptiness which did not invite tears but worship! To think that this handful of flesh, with the scars of three bullet wounds, till a few hours ago spoke the voice of God, and claimed to carry out a divine mandate! That his soft, deep, sonorous voice had in it the capacity to rouse and stir the hearts of millions, which could be more menacing than a thunderclap when in reprimand, and sweeter and more inspiring than a lullaby when it called for sacrifice. That this man who exercised more power over millions for quarter of a century than any other leader, living or dead, whose appeal was of the spirit and not of the sword, and whose weapon was suffering, not violence, had been assassinated at the hour of his greatest triumph, and also when he felt he had suffered his most dismal defeat.

"My life's work seems to be over," he had said after partition had been decided upon. "Today I find myself all alone!" How many times had he not asked his disciples to chant the soothing hymn of Tagore "You shall walk alone Traveller." How many times since partition had he not said to us "I have no desire to live!" He had recently fasted "unto death" more than three times in penance for the crimes of others. He had willingly sought death if he could save India, her soul.

He who to us and millions had been a saint, and a superman, had lately become in the eyes of a certain section of Hindus a scoundrel, a demon, a man who in his zeal for imposing nonviolence was destroying the moral fibre of the community, was bartering away their rights and their possessions in the vain hope of appeasing Jinnah and the Muslim League in Pakistan. Even to some of his own intimate and

immediate political disciples he had become a "headache", or at best a nuisance. They would not say so. He continued to command their esteem, but he had ceased to enjoy their confidence. Nehru had looked upon him as his political father. But in matters of administration, political and economic policies, ideological concepts for India's future, he had now been drifting from him far and far away, till they were poles apart. Vallabhbhai Patel did not want a Hindu Raj. But he did want only those Muslims to stay in India whose loyalty to India was unreserved, unqualified and beyond doubt. With him the country came first. Religion next. Rajen Babu, Kripalani, Morarji Desai and others shared Patel's views and not the enthusiasm of Gandhi.

As I stood on the terrace, looking at the majestic head, while the crowd wailed in periodic sobs "Gandhi Amai Hai" (Gandhi is immortal), my mind went back to the day when, in response to the soul-stirring appeals of this frail man, I left my studies, burnt my boats and joined the struggle under his leadership. This was more than a quarter of a century ago. He had then promised "Swaraj" in a year. It took more than twenty-five years to reach the goal. This was not because his methods were defective but because he required a standard of moral perfection and rectitude beyond the capacity of the large multitude of his followers. This incapacity had created contradictions. As in the case of God, more heroic acts had been performed in his name than in the case of any other man known to history. Also more humbug and hypocrisy had been let loose on the people than in the name of any other saint or savant. Gandhi dead had become a beacon light showing the truth to generations seeking an alternative to human violence. He had also become a Messiah in whose name hypocrites, mountbanks and charlatans would parade as saints and receive homage from the gullible and the ignorant for years. He had become both a lodestar and a trademark; a grand, immortal incarnation of virtues and a silent witness to the grossest exploitation of his name and directives in different forms by doubtful disciples.

From this reverie I was suddenly awakened by the Defence Minister, Baldev Singh. Under the advice of Mountbatten he had taken over arrangements for the funeral the next day. As we went down the main hall, we were joined by Devdas, H. M. Patel, the Defence Secretary and a couple of other Secretaries, who had been deputed to help make all the arrangements. We drove to old Delhi and selected for the cremation the actual spot where Motilal Nehru and Malaviya had lit the first mammoth bonfire of foreign cloth before the adoption of the Resolution of Independence at the Lahore session of the Congress in 1929.

Next day, irony played a dirty trick! Gandhi was immobile otherwise I felt he would have walked out of his own funeral with more than a million people watching. The last remains of the apostle of nonviolence were put on a "gun carriage" led by armoured cars and mounted machine guns. These were followed by the Viceregal bodyguard with lances blazing in the sun. Three thousand armed men drawn from the services closed up the ranks. Everything against which he had struggled lived, everything for which he seemed to have died, lay crumpled at his feet! There was such a rush on the gun carriage that hardly much room was left for the dead. Most of his old comrades who had sacrificed and struggled alongside him could only watch the grand funeral from a distance with tear-bedimmed eyes and a few sighs of sorrow.

"If India is ever partitioned," he had said, "my place will be in Pakistan." It was not a vain threat. Gandhi earnestly and sincerely wanted to move from Delhi to a place a few miles inside Pakistan, so that he "could serve Muslim refugees from India and Hindu refugees from Pakistan." He had written to Jinnah twice to be permitted to do so. There had been no answer. I went over to Lahore in the hope of meeting Jinnah to arrange an invitation for Gandhi, if possible.<sup>2</sup> Jinnah was expected there at the time. Jinnah, however, fell ill and his visit to Lahore was postponed. I conveyed Gandhi's wish to

<sup>2</sup> Gen. Shah Niaz Khan of the INA was there on the same mission with Mridula Sarabhai.

Liaquat who was also ill. He was really touched by the request and felt that after what Gandhi had achieved in Delhi, Bihar and Calcutta, his visit should be most welcome. He communicated this to Jinnah. After a few days, I was told that Jinnah was adamant. Jinnah was not willing to permit Gandhi to "enter even within an inch of Pakistani territory". "He would only stir trouble in Pakistan," he had said. "Let him take care of the Muslims in India," he wanted me to tell Gandhi, "and I will take care of the Hindus. Tell him what is happening in India is a shame!"

I saw how Jinnah was taking "care" of the Hindus in Pakistan. There were practically none of them left north of the Capital. The few who had been compelled to stay over in Lahore went about camouflaged as Muslims. They confined their movements only to "safe areas". Lahore, which had been one of the most cosmopolitan cities in India, had become "Islamicised" overnight. It was rich in Hindu temples and Sikh shrines. Muslim refugees were squatting in and around them and even using parts of them as latrines. The Mall, which prided in Italian and Swiss caterers, had a rash of kabab shops at every turning. The smell of sizzling, charcoal-broiled meat spread for miles, becoming more and more intense as one entered the old city.

Muslim refugees, in search of urban rehabilitation, found that most of the valuable properties left by Hindus and Sikhs had already been usurped by local residents, generally by gangsters and anti-social elements who had erstwhile paraded as National Guards. They now treated every Muslim refugee as a potential enemy. They dictated obedience at the point of guns and pistols. I never saw so many individuals roaming about in the streets with rifles, guns and daggers as on the roads of Lahore.

It was also amusing how the now-rich enjoyed their newly achieved prosperity. One of these toughs had looted a shop in the Cantonment which catered to the sanitary and culinary needs of soldiers. On the occasion of his son's marriage, I was told, he made a big display of his riches. In the process he pro-

vided for his two hundred guests new enamel dishes and clean white-and-blue service pots. A piece of furniture that was being sold cheap by these *nov-riche* was spring beds without mattresses. They found the mattresses useful for sprawling on the floor. Lying on the springs seemed a torture. I met several influential Muslims who had migrated from Delhi and who strangely enough were staying at the Falettis Hotel "for safety". A stage had now been reached when Muslims were threatening or killing muslims in the name of religion for purposes of acquiring rich properties.

Muslims are divided into several sects. The Sunnis were in a majority in West Pakistan. Paradoxically enough, Jinnah was a Shia Muslim and a first generation convert, both unpopular factors in West Pakistan. The Agha Khanis were a sect of Borah Muslims who believed that the first Agha Khan was a direct descendent of Mohammed. This was a heresy which the Sunnis did not tolerate. The Pakistan Government did not accept Agha Khan's ancestry but welcomed his princely contributions. The Qadianis were another sect which considered the head of the sect, a former school-master, as the living symbol of the dead Prophet. One of the most notable personalities in Pakistan, Sir Zaffrullah, who became the Foreign Minister and one of Pakistan's best advocates at the United Nations, was a Qadiani. At the time I was in Lahore, Sir Zaffrullah had not been given any office and was moving between India, London and Pakistan to find a job and "safety".

A neighbour of mine in New Delhi was a famous doctor. He was an intimate friend of Zaffrullah and was himself an ardent Qadiani. Like Zaffrullah, he disported the regulation beard and whiskers. He said his *Namaz* solemnly four times a day, observed the *roza*,<sup>3</sup> never touched meat unless sanctified by a butcher's prayer, nor alcohol which had not been diluted by water "purified by the *Kalma*". He swore by the Muslim League. It was sometime in 1946 that the police swooped on the doctor's house and his clinic in Old Delhi, and made a haul of hand grenades, spears, daggers and a few guns and revol-

<sup>3</sup> Fast

vers. I then learnt that my neighbour had been collecting an arsenal for anti-social elements.

The doctor, however, absconded. I unexpectedly met my doctor friend in Lahore. He greeted me with utmost cordiality and invited me to dine with him the next day. When I went to the address he had given, the house was empty. Several pieces of broken furniture were lying outside. I got genuinely scared lest it had been a trap. As I returned to my residence, which happened to be the house of the Indian Deputy High Commissioner, I found my doctor friend waiting for me. He had brought a sumptuous dinner with him. While dining he disclosed that there had been a raid on his house, inspired by a mullah who was preaching against Qadianis, and calling them "worse than kaffirs."<sup>4</sup> Actually, some of the neighbours had an eye on the fabulous bungalow he had acquired very cheaply by negotiating with its Hindu owner who had migrated to India. Because of their influence, the Qadianis had been more successful in such deals than others. He had brought the food from a hotel, but wanted asylum for the night till he could fly the next day to Karachi where such bigotry was not being preached or practised.

On the Frontier, tensions of a different character had developed. The Pathans were proud of their pure Islamic ancestry. The Muslims from India and West Punjab were mostly converts from lower strata of society. Socially the Pathans looked down upon the convert Muslims. Politically they were afraid of their domination. Financially they did not trust them. Hence they wanted a separate, independent State, "Pakhtoonistan".

Removed by a distance of 1,500 miles, East Pakistan posed problems of a still different type. It was more populated, larger and richer than West Pakistan. The Muslims, Bengali converts from the lower classes, spoke Bengali, observed Bengali customs, and dressed and lived completely different from the Western Muslims. They wanted to evict the rich Hindus because they had an eye on their property, but they wanted

<sup>4</sup> Infidels

the Hindu peasantry to stay as they were necessary to their economy. They preferred free migration, as many who had homes in East Pakistan had jobs in the jute mills of West Bengal.

Having got his Pakistan, Jinnah soon realized that his two-nation theory in the words of Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman had "proved positively injurious to the Musalmans of India and on a long-range basis for Musalmans everywhere."<sup>5</sup> Jinnah was too proud to publicly admit his blunder. He was also too sensitive not to react to the suffering his blunder had caused and was causing to millions on both sides of the border. Whatever his detractors might say, neither he nor Liaquat ever dreamt that Muslims in Pakistan left to themselves would behave like brutes, dacoits, goondas and cannibals against Hindus and Sikhs and later even against their own co-religionists!

Jinnah later arrived in Lahore, hoping to neutralise some of the despair of millions of homeless, destitute Muslim refugees by making a bid for Kashmir. Tribal hordes were let loose on Kashmir, supported by Pakistani forces. He found India effectively and powerfully entrenched in Kashmir. He felt cheated and defeated. He was in Rawalpindi when his health again broke down. He returned to Karachi a weary, disappointed, broken man. His lungs were seriously affected.

Jamshed Nusserwanji, an old Congress veteran, was as great a friend of Gandhi as he was of Jinnah. Being a Parsi, he felt safe in Karachi. A few days after Gandhi's assassination, Jamshed Nusserwanji went to Government House. He found Jinnah dozing on a garden seat, something his pride would never have permitted. For the first time Jinnah felt humbled, and characteristically confessed: "I am so tired, Jamshed, so tired!"<sup>6</sup> A few days later, Ian Stephens of *The Statesman* asked him if he was ill. "No, I am not ill at all," he said in soft tones. "I get tired."

Jinnah became weaker and weaker, thinner and thinner and

<sup>5</sup> Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman, *Pathway to Pakistan*, p. 400

<sup>6</sup> Hector Bolitho, *Jinnah*, p. 210



more and more "tired". He retued to Ziaiat, a hill station near Quetta, where the weather was cold. His ADC was sent in quest of some woollen vests. He searched the whole of Quetta but failed to match Jinnah's bony size. Finally, he brought a few meant for women.<sup>7</sup> Jinnah was still more than feminine in his love for attractive clothes. When the doctor told him that in his silk pyjamas he might catch a cold, he pleaded, "But I have always worn only pyjamas made of silk, I haven't any others." With reluctance he accepted the woollen ones ordered for him. While he was still ill and there was talk of his being taken to Karachi, his vanity asserted itself. "Don't take me there on crutches," he said to his doctor. "I want to go when I can walk. I would dislike being carried on a stretcher from the car to my room."

Disappointments were crowding round him. The Kashmir adventure had dismally failed. There was trouble in the North-West Frontier. East Pakistan was rebellious. Khaliquzzaman, Shaheed Suhrawardy and other Muslim leaders who had returned from India reported that the Muslims felt insecure in India because of the blood curdling stories of Muslim atrocities in Pakistan which reached the other side. He now felt deeply his obstinate refusal to allow Gandhi to meet him or to enter Pakistan. But now Gandhi was dead. Where and how could they meet? He told his doctor, "You know, when I first came to Ziaiat, I wanted to live. Now, however, it does not matter whether I live or die."<sup>8</sup>

Jinnah developed pneumonia. On the 11th of September he was secretly flown to Karachi. The plane arrived unannounced. It was met by a solitary ambulance without flag or escort. Contrary to his last wish Jinnah had to be placed on a stretcher

\*These fitted Jinnah. He squirmed but did not protest. After the first wash there were holes in them. The shopkeeper could not change them because there were no more in stock. He however got them darned. The banya Jinnah sent the ADC back to ask the shopkeeper in the circumstances to give a discount. The shopkeeper was a Baluch Muslim. He generously returned five rupees. 'Good boy' said Jinnah. 'You must learn the value of money.'

<sup>8</sup> Jinnah died on the 11th of September 1948.

and secretly taken into the ambulance. As ill-luck would have it, while passing the densest and dirtiest section of the refugee settlement, the ambulance broke down. The wait lasted more than an hour. Flies swarmed around the patient. The humid air was full of foul odours. For once Jinnah, though restless, felt patient and humble. When the nurse fanned off the swarming flies by an improvised fan made out of a discarded cardboard, he pressed his frail hand on her knee in gratitude. No one among the refugees realised that the man inside the damaged flagless ambulance was Qaid-e-Azam Jinnah. After repairs, the ambulance reached Government House. The doctors pronounced the patient dead.

Jinnah was a great man among small people. Gandhi was a greater man among the greatest of his time. He was among the great of all time. Gandhi symbolised the spirit of truth, non-violence, love and unity. Jinnah symbolised the violence of bigotry, division, disunity and hate. Gandhi believed that only the right means could lead to right ends. Jinnah did not bother about means. For him the ends were all-important. Gandhi was courage, truth and honesty personified. He stooped to conquer. Jinnah also was a man of unusual courage and rare integrity. He was in this head and shoulders above all others in Pakistan. But, measured against Gandhi, he was like a dwarf prowling about the feet of a giant. He made up by conceit and bluff what he lacked in graciousness. Gandhi was the last word in simplicity. Jinnah looked like a Saville Row tailor's model. Gandhi was physically a question mark. They were born five years apart. They died within eight months of each other.

## They Wanted to be Kings

Lt General Maharaja Adharaja Alijah, Hisam ul Sultanant, Manzur-i-Zaman, Mukhtar ul Malik,<sup>1</sup> Sir George Jiwaji Rao Scindia Bahadur, K C S I, Maharaja of Gwalior, thirty six, five feet four, stood against the window of his private study, in his hundred room palace, telephone in hand, blue in the face, his clothes drenched in a cold sweat numb<sup>1</sup>

A few minutes earlier he had been telling two pretty American visitors in the main drawing room that the Durbar Hall had the largest one piece carpet in the world, the chandeliers hanging from the roof were larger and more in number than those in Buckingham Place, that the silver tureen which was commissioned for serving food at banquets in the dining hall was the only one of its kind, and that provision existed on the ground floor to feed 2,000 guests at one sitting

He was on the point of showing them some of the family jewels, a tiara of matched pearls unique in the world, and rare antiques and trophies collected by the Scindias, when an ADC rushed in, unduly excited, and whispered something which turned the ruler completely pale. His Highness rushed to the telephone in his private study, and after a first hoarse "hello!" put it down as if he had been stung by a viper.

"I think it is a fake," he whispered to a Secretary and me, shaking all over. "In any case be discreet, and find out what it is all about, till I come back." With these words, His Highness put down the receiver and rushed to a side room to change

<sup>1</sup> All titles traditional and otherwise

into fresh clothes. The two American visitors, meanwhile, were sent off for an elephant ride. "Can I speak to His Highness," said the authoritarian, untitled voice on the other side. "This is Louis Mountbatten." The private secretary informed the voice that His Highness was in the dressing room, and that he could give him any message His Excellency may have to convey. "But I was just speaking to him," the voice said. "Tell His Highness to come to Delhi at once. I will be waiting." The Secretary explained that it was already getting late into the evening and that, after finding out His Highness's wishes, he would telephone to His Excellency's Secretary as to when it would be convenient for him to drive down to Delhi the next day. "He does not have to drive down," said the Viceroy, adding, "I want him to fly out, and now. Tell His Highness that I have already sent an Army plane to bring him here. It must be waiting for His Highness at his airport this very minute." So it was. "But Your Excellency," said the Secretary almost plaintively, "His Highness has some guests coming to dinner and some important engagements tomorrow." His Highness had come back and was listening to the conversation from another line. He thoroughly approved of this bringing in of "guests", since it was a fact that the two American strangers were coming for dinner and His Highness very much looked forward to the pleasure of their company. He was again in a cold sweat when Mountbatten replied. "My dear man, will you tell His Highness this is important business. It cannot wait. The guests can. Ask him to leave at once."

Those were critical days, not only for the country, but also for the princes. The Maharaja of Gwalior was among the top five. Other premier States being Hyderabad, Kashmir, Mysore and Baroda. Changes in my own professional life at this time had brought me closer to His Highness and some of the other princes. This explains my presence at Gwalior.

Finding themselves constitutionally independent, Indian princes started toying with a variety of plans to avoid, or at least to postpone, for as long as possible, territorial fusion with India. Although most of the States had signed a treaty of

Accession, they did not wish to go any further. They were now in full control of their armies, which had been hitherto engaged in World War II. Some of the armies matched the standards of training and efficiency of the Indian Army. This encouraged them to toy with possibilities of carving out big units out of small States, or, in the case of big States, of preserving as much of their independence as possible.

Hyderabad, the largest among Indian States, was the first to set up the banner of rebellion. The Nizam, one of the most astute among the Indian princes, and by far the richest and most thrifty, was a Muslim. All important and key posts in the civil and military wings of his administration were held by trusted Muslims, mostly recruited from loyal feudal families. During the period of political transition he and his feudal associates had secretly mobilised bands of unruly, anti-social gangsters operating in the name of Islam to coerce, terrorise and where possible loot the Hindus. The *Razakars* had become a non-official religious militia to fight for and preserve the Muslim control of the State and the independence of the Nizam. Their leader, Qasim Rizvi, a former school teacher, believed that once Hyderabad became independent the Muslim minority could by compulsion, conversion, forced marriages and monetary temptations decrease the Hindu population in due course, become a majority, and preserve Hyderabad as a sovereign Muslim State. A thin, lean, medium sized, middle-aged man with a shapely beard, deep furtive cunning eyes and a loud, squeaky voice, Rizvi was just the man the Nizam needed to mobilise a religious militia and to rouse a sense of ambition among other Muslim rulers to raise the banner of Islam and to make a joint bid to found a princely confederate State, a neo revival of the Moghul Empire.

The Nizam started riding several horses one and the same time. While he was evading accession, he was using Sir William Monckton, his legal adviser, a close friend of Mountbatten, to negotiate the possibility of a treaty with India. If this became possible, he could then have a separate treaty with England. Through Lalkrishnan, his new Prime Minister, and other

Muslims, he maintained close touch with Jinnah, in case treaty overtures to India failed, and a straight alliance with Pakistan became necessary. Towards this end, he had paid twenty crores to Pakistan, and in return had received heavy consignments of arms for his army. In addition, a very large quantity had been left by helpful British officers in charge of an ordnance factory in Hyderabad, manufacturing machine guns, etc. The Nizam was also secretly negotiating with the Portuguese to gain direct access to the sea through Goa, in case a showdown with India became inevitable. The Portuguese were only too glad to become a link between Hyderabad and Pakistan. While the Nizam kept his plans secret, Kazim Rizvi was fairly outspoken about these possibilities. During one of his visits to Delhi he declared that his Razakars were going to be "the liberators of the Muslims of India," and that with the help of Hyderabad they would spearhead an insurgent movement to restore Muslim domination of the country. While the Nizam took no responsibility for the inflammatory speeches of Rizvi and the lawless activities of the Razakars, he took no steps either to curb the one or the other. He allowed the Rizvi horse to run without riding it.

In the North, Hari Singh, the Maharaja of Kashmir, had been trying to negotiate separately with India and Pakistan to consolidate Kashmir's independence by a treaty with both, failing which to sell out to the highest bidder. But before any negotiations could yield constructive results, dark terror was let loose on Kashmir by tribal Pathan marauders from Pakistan's Northern frontier, aided and abetted by Jinnah and the Pakistan Government, leaving Hari Singh no choice.

The Maharaja of Baroda, Major-General Farzand-i-Khas-Daulat-e-Inglishia, Sir Partap Singh, shared Maharaja Hari Singh's ambitions, as also his callow, indecisive mind. The day the States were declared independent he decided, like the Nizam and Hari Singh, to be a king in his own right, the sovereign ruler of a dominion as large as France, extending from Surat in the South East to Dwarka on the western coast.

\* Special son of the King of England.

Partap Singh succeeded Siyaji Rao, one of the most enlightened and distinguished rulers of any Indian State, in 1939. He was then forty, married, and had four children. During the forty years he ripened in everything except the disciplines of morality and the laws of economics.

Partap Singh, during his adventures on the race course, came under the spell of Sita Devi, a well-built, sharp-featured, shapely, dark, highly assertive wife of a landlord from South India. Her husband, even though he was rich enough to meet her expensive tastes, was a lean, leisure-loving, philosophic-minded, stay-at-home type, who could not keep pace with her passion for social excitement. While love blossomed, because both the lovers were married, marriage seemed impossible. Partap Singh could not take a second wife because his father had banned polygamy in the State. Sita Devi, being a Hindu wife, could not divorce her husband. Sita Devi found a way. She embraced Islam. A Muslim girl cannot be a Muslim if married to a Hindu. Thus she became unmarried. Partap Singh by a special decree amended the ban on polygamy to the extent that it should not be applicable to the ruler and that too retrospectively. Sita Devi turned a Hindu after divorce. What seemed impossible thus became a reality. Sita Devi became the legal second wife of Partap Singh. Unfortunately, no one watching their later life could say that "they lived happily ever after," nor was the marriage recognised by the Government as legal. Sita Devi's status remained a question mark.

During one of his many visits to Partap Singh, I accompanied V. P. Menon, then Secretary of the newly created States Ministry. "He is putting on airs and is giving us a lot of trouble," Menon told me. "I will have to pull his ears." We were received in an outside room of the Baroda Palace, one of the grandest buildings in Bombay, overlooking the sea. We were kept waiting with a lavish supply of cigars and cigarettes. After a long wait the ADC came to ask V.P. why the Minister, whoever he was, did not call on His Highness himself. This irritated V.P. He told the Secretary that he was seeing

His Highness by "appointment" and with the consent and authority not only of the Minister, but also of the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten.

When V.P. returned after the interview, he could hardly contain himself. It was his ears that had been pulled "How did the interview go," I asked "He sat there with a map of western India on the wall. He gave me a long lecture on the strategic position of Baroda, the strength of the Baroda army, the advantage for the Union of India to have Baroda as a friend and an ally, willing to help guard the frontiers of western India, rather than to compel Baroda to make common cause with hostile States, or hostile 'neighbours'. He condescended to talk to me because he was told I enjoyed Sardar Patel's confidence. He would of course have preferred to talk to the Sardar directly." And then, said Menon, "after puffing at his cigar repeatedly and vigorously, the Maharaja said, 'You are having trouble in Kashmir. You are having trouble in Hyderabad. Some of the Rajputana rulers like Jodhpur and Jaisalmer are out to betray you. You can no longer trust Bhopal or any Muslim ruler. Junagadh is selling out to Pakistan. I am alone your best friend who can control western India and hold it for you. My army is there to offer help. If you do not accept my terms, well, you see these red marks on the map. Here are located my troops. On a given signal they can clear you out of western India in a few weeks'."

On September 2, 1947, he sent his terms in a letter written in his own hands directly to Patel.

"Baroda will be ready to shoulder the responsibility," the letter said, "of maintaining law and order as well as peace and tranquillity of the whole of Kathiawar and Gujarat, on the following conditions: (1) transfer to Baroda the control of all western Indian States and certain adjoining districts; (2) offer armed support to Baroda in any emergency; (3) recognize Pataap Singh as the king of Gujarat and Kathiawar."

While these negotiations were going on, rare and costly jewels of the Baroda Jawahar Khana were being transferred to safes in Europe and America. The seven-strand necklace of



matched black pearls, three famous diamonds, "The Star of the South", "Eugene", and "Sha-e-Akbar", two rare carpets inlaid with pearls, necklaces of rubies and rare emeralds, and a lot of gold had gone. Besides, within a few months Baroda transferred abroad or withdrew from the State treasures more than  $3\frac{1}{2}$  crores of rupees. He raised his privy purse from thirty to fifty lakhs a year. Baroda displayed all the weaknesses his father did not possess. Baroda used a part of these funds to buy political support for himself in Britain, from influential Congress circles in India, and from friendly Indian States. While Sardar Patel and the States Ministry were engaged in bringing Pataap Singh to earth, some of the Congress Ministers at the Centre and in the provinces, some important politicians of western India, quite a few lawyers with a Congress background were lining their pockets working for Baroda. "These", V. P. Menon said, "made fantastic promises and gave him false hopes with regard to his future position and status"<sup>3</sup>

There were more than two hundred States in Kathiawar, through which the Baroda territory stretched out to the sea.<sup>4</sup> Many of these States had their own railway lines, extending from two miles to a hundred miles, with the track of one State breaking into the other, creating the most amazing medley of jurisdiction known anywhere in the world. A delay of eight to ten hours in negotiating the three hundred miles from Viamgam, the railway Customs barrier, and the ports like Okha, Bhavnagar, Porbander or Jamnagar was not unusual. A ruler delayed in a week end tiger hunt, a prince detained by his favourite concubine after a late dinner, a marriage party in a ruling family awaiting an auspicious hour, a British officer of the Residency returning late from a fishing expedi-

<sup>3</sup> V. P. Menon, *Transfer of Power* p. 410

<sup>4</sup> Quite a few of these were maritime States having good harbours such as Veraval, Kutch, Jamnagar, Porbander, Bhavnagar etc. The fourteen Sultane States were fairly large. Of the two hundred odd States forty six had an area of two square miles and less and eight nearly half a square mile each. In the total area of 22,000 sq. miles there were as many as eight hundred and fifty different administrative jurisdictions, the territories of one State running into the other, creating legal and administrative confusion.

tion could all keep a whole train waiting for hours. While most of the States were tiny bits of territory, the rulers were disproportionately rich. Most of them depended less on the yield of the soil and more on the spoils of the sea. Smuggling was an accepted trade in most States, and it was not unusual for rulers or their wives to take the lion's share. Gold, pearls from the Persian Gulf, manufactured merchandise from Europe, cigarettes and liquor were all freely smuggled. This enabled most rulers to have a large income and to keep taxes low.

Except the farmer who had to depend on the vagaries of the monsoon, the common traders were reasonably prosperous.

The Jam Sahib of Nawanagai, among a few others, was a realistic, far-seeing statesman. He realized that the two hundred-odd States could not separately exist and remain individually sovereign. Junnah wanted them to join Pakistan and assured them that they would be allowed the fullest internal autonomy. In the alternative, Bhopal suggested that they could form a dominion of their own. Baroda wanted to be king of western India, with these rulers as his chieftains. The Jam Sahib however advised them to reject all these offers and to make terms with the Congress Government as early as possible, salvage as much of the booty collected by them from the time of their forefathers, and get out with a reasonable privy purse. Any other plan would be suicidal. If they did not come to terms, the popular movement might soon sweep them away like brushwood and they might lose everything, including, maybe, their heads. They reluctantly agreed.

One of the major maritime States of Kathiawar, had a Muslim ruler, but a predominantly Hindu population.

Nawab Sir Mahabat Khan Rasulkhanji was both sly and eccentric. He spent most of the time in his harem among wives and women of all gradations of relationship. He was fond of watching cock fights and partridge bouts, or a sort of "Ludo" (chaupat) where guls, sometimes nude, or partly draped, served as living pawns. There was nothing extraordinary about these sports. These had been a common pastime of many princes. He also specialised in propagating the best breeds of

dogs under his personal care and supervision. He gave his dogs a personality. Junagadh was one place where dog marriages were performed with as much ritual and ceremony as the weddings of junior princes. State bands headed the marriage processions. The dog "groom" travelled in state, sometimes on an elephant, bedecked in a biocade jacket and garlands to meet the "bride". The owner of the "bride" offered the wedding feast to the guests and presents to the "bridegroom". The ceremony sometimes lasted three to four days. The Nawab left the administration mostly in the hands of his Chief Minister. His Chief Minister in 1947 was a capable but weak administrator, Abdul Kadir Mohammed Hussain. The Nawab and the Chief Minister found themselves in disagreement over whether Junagadh should declare its independence, accede to India or join Pakistan. Jinnah was willing to offer a blank cheque to any ruler who expressed willingness to accede to Pakistan, because he knew that when the time came the sword arm of Pakistan could fill in the blanks. The Chief Minister felt that, the population of Junagadh being predominantly Hindu, Pakistan being more than three hundred miles by sea from Verawal, any attempt to link the destinies of Junagadh with Pakistan would be suicidal. Abdul Kadir was advised to go on leave abroad "for reasons of health". Sir Shah Nawaz Bhutto was imported from Karachi to finalise Junagadh's accession to Pakistan.

After declaring Junagadh's accession to Pakistan,<sup>5</sup> Sir Shah Nawaz bundled off the Nawab, his wives, concubines and dogs to Pakistan, with as much of the wealth in the treasury as could be exported. In his name he took sole charge of the administration. Jinnah was jubilant since the Nawab had brought a lot of money which could be invested in Pakistani securities, but also a valuable territory which could spearhead a wider insurgency on the part of some of the coastal Indian States.

Jodhpur was one of the premier States of Rajputana, with its north-western boundary contiguous with Pakistan. Jaisalmer

<sup>5</sup> On the 15th of August, 1947.

✓and Bikaner were two other States with Hindu rulers and predominantly Hindu populations but with boundaries adjoining Pakistan. Bhopal had done a lot to inject them with the virus of sovereignty. Jinnah started to woo them to join Pakistan. Bikaner soon walked out of the trap. But the young ruler of Jodhpur kept wavering for a long time. Rajput States were generally backward, socially, educationally and economically. Jodhpur and Jaisalmer were even more backward than the rest. Jaisalmer was known for its camels, sand dunes, graves, derelict forts and palaces. Jodhpur was much larger in territory, but beyond the capital city, the territory was mainly sand dunes, derelict forts and the mud homes of villagers.

Young Hanwant, the then ruler of Jodhpur, had not been long in the *gaddi*. His father, a robust, medium sized glutton, had died recently at an early age. Hanwant Singh's father had, however, lived thrifty and had left him a fairly prosperous State, and a palace the like of which did not exist anywhere west of Udaipur. Hanwant Singh was not so much interested in the fifty-roomed, marble-studded palace as in its unusually spacious basement. Here he had installed a workshop-cum-laboratory to carry on experiments in chemistry, physics, etc. of a rather elementary character. During these experiments the basement had been torn up twice with explosion, and Hanwant Singh had suffered both major and minor injuries. As an outdoor sport he loved flying and hunting.<sup>6</sup> During the short time he had been ruler, however, he had done little to improve the lot of his people. Like the people of most other parts of Rajputana I found them ignorant, caste-ridden, mentally and physically isolated from the world of progress, and generally ground down under the tyranny of a very backward type of feudalism.

Even more backward than the Rajput States were the Jat States, fringing Rajputana, but without any boundary link

<sup>6</sup> I had met him several times before he succeeded to the *gaddi* and had found him unusually alert and receptive. He was a keen student of politics and quite well-informed on international affairs. But he had a demoniacal temper.

with Pakistan. Bharatpur, Alwar, Dholpur. Except where the palaces of rulers were concerned, people still lived in conditions which prevailed during the days of the Moghuls. All three had substantial Muslim populations. These were mostly labourers, depressed classes, petty farmers, who observed Hindu customs and rituals while avowing the Muslim faith. The last ruler of Dholpur was an orthodox Hindu, a royalist by faith and a firm believer in the "divine right of kings". He like his predecessors to the third degree, died issueless. In the neighbouring State of Alwar ever since the State came into existence in the early part of the nineteenth century with the fall of the Mahratta empire no ruler had a direct successor. Sir Jey Singh, the predecessor of the ruler at the time was ordered out of the State in 1937. Sir Jey Singh was a brilliant eccentric who combined the qualities of a genius with the weaknesses of a rake. His successor did not share his brilliance, but tried to imitate his eccentricities. At the time of independence, he had as chief Minister D. N. B. Khare, a former member of the Viceroy's Council.

Like many others at the time, the young ruler wanted to make Alwar an independent sovereign territory. In Khare he found a powerful ally. Khare made Alwar the training ground for a large contingent of the RSS<sup>7</sup> underground, so that they could clear the Muslims out of Alwar and serve like the Razakars of Hyderabad, the nucleus of a movement for setting up sovereign Hindu States. Reports reached New Delhi that the Muslims were being killed and terrorised out of the State.

The third State, Bharatpur, was also suspected of a conspiracy to set up a Hindu Raj by the extermination or forcible eviction of Muslims. Bharatpur was founded by a Jat freebooter by the name of Bui, born of a Rajput father and a Jat mother. Bharatpur had produced some excellent fighters. The Bharatpur Fort constructed in the eighteenth century, was one of the most well designed defensive structures hitherto built in any part of the world. In 1805, the forces of General Lake failed to penetrate its defences and it was after many

<sup>7</sup> Rashtriva Swayamsevak Singh

years that the State was brought under control, more by strategy than by force. The ruler, Maharaja Brajendra Singh, succeeded to the gaddi in 1929. His father, after a long period of turmoil and struggle, had been ordered to abdicate.

Maharaja Brajendra Singh, a lean, medium-sized, amiable ruler, spent as much time in the pursuit of pleasure as he did in devotional worship. He underwent many kinds of penances every day, at the same time engaging in the good things life could offer. His younger brother was aggressive, ambitious and impetuous. He found in this transitional period of political change a good opportunity of building Bharatpur into a strong Hindu State. Whether the ruler and his brother had any direct hand in some brutal attacks against Muslims, the looting of their property, the looting of trains passing Bharatpur, the building-up of a powerful RSS cell in the State, one cannot say, but some of these constituted serious allegations against them. Mountbatten, Patel and Nehru had evidence that they were responsible for some ghastly acts, or had connived at their perpetration.

At this very time wild rumours had been afloat that some major chieftains had been parties to Gandhi's assassination. There was evidence to the effect that the alleged assassins, Apte and Godse, had visited several Indian States including Gwalior before the murder. Because of the alleged activities of the Maharaja of Alwar and Dr Khare, they had been summoned to New Delhi. Report had also reached that the Maharaja of Bharatpur, a fast personal friend of Gwalior, and his brother had also been summoned to Delhi.

It was in this background of startling events, that young Jiwan Rao of Gwalior suddenly received the imperative telephonic summons from Mountbatten to leave for New Delhi at once. A few of his intimates, fearing the worst, advised the ruler to "fall ill" and thereby delay his departure. "Falling ill" was a common device with rulers to avoid a crisis. The chief of the medical services was called to arrange for a "convincing" illness. I advised him however to face the situation boldly, as feigned illness would only emphasise suspicion if such existed.

His wife was the only one to support me. Jiwaji Rao with tears in his eyes took leave of everybody. We were further shocked when we saw the waiting craft. It was an open Army plane which had only one hard wooden seat besides the pilot. This was certainly not worthy of ruler who had two luxury planes of his own. This further added to His Highness's anxiety. He insisted I accompany him, along with one of his confidential secretaries. It was one of the most awkward uncomfortable flights I have made in my life. Sitting in the solo seat, His Highness held our hands, while we without even seat belts, employed our spare hands to seek some kind of stability on the flat wooden framework on which we were squatting. The breeze was fierce and dust-laden. At the airport we were met by the Viceregal car, an escort car and a lot of police. This made the Maharaja even more nervous. We were then whisked off to the Viceroy's House. In an ante-room an ADC kept us waiting. The Viceroy was having some guests. This almost convinced Jiwaji Rao that he was under some kind of cloud. A little later, V. P. Menon arrived and took Jiwaji Rao to Mountbatten. "Don't leave the place till I return," were the parting words of the Maharaja to us.

Actually, someone's stupidity had created a storm in a tea cup. It was suggested to Mountbatten that before taking action against Alwar or Bharatpur, it might be desirable to consult a few of the leading princes, such as Jam Sahab, the Maharaja of Patiala and the Maharaja of Gwalior. All this fuss could have been avoided if the Maharaja had been allowed to reach even the next day, or to come by car, and if the Viceroy or his aides had disclosed to the Maharaja the purpose of the urgent invitation.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> That night we sat up till well past midnight going through the Bharatpur case and finally drafting a statement which made it possible for the Maharaja to return to his State, a chastened and penitent man, and his brother to go abroad on an expensive holiday. Alwar was removed from the gaddi.

## The "Dhoti" Dynasty

1948 It was a hot sultry evening in late June Chandni Chowk, the "silver street" of Delhi, wore a festive appearance. From the Red Fort to the municipal gardens<sup>1</sup> colourfully decorated arches had been erected. The whole street had been festooned with buntings, flags, ornate hangings and floral wreaths.

Chandni Chowk had changed considerably since the days when a canal with fountains divided it. It had changed even since 1946. The shops, the projecting balconies, the wide pavements were all there. But on its pavements in front of the shops, even in the main road, and in the side lanes, thousands of distressed refugees from the Punjab, the North-West Frontier and Sind swarmed with their big and small wares to make an honest living. Nearly two years had elapsed since they had been driven out from their hearths and homes, sometimes only with no more than the clothes they were wearing. After crossing the border, when they felt they had finally reached the homeland, they were callously dumped in their hundreds and thousands in improvised camps. Outside these pens of human misery they were mostly unwelcome.

Despite prejudice, despite handicaps, despite man-made difficulties, these god-forsaken victims of political wrath and communal persecution had slowly but surely persevered in developing little colonies for themselves, setting up homes for their children and starting petty trades along the roadside to

<sup>1</sup> Now known as Gandhi Grounds



earn their livelihood. They trudged everyday to Delhi from distant habitats in scorching heat pelting rain or freezing temperatures, to set up their small wares rescued from Pakistan, or purchased locally, to earn whatever was possible for themselves and their children. For hours they sat on bare pavements, using torn tarpaulins, tattered blankets or empty packing cases to protect themselves against sun and rain. When men got tired, women took over. Even little children helped. All over Delhi refugee children took to selling newspapers, looking after parked cars, scooters and bicycles, cleaning shoes and doing odd jobs for shoppers. These children of distress adopted every means to earn a livelihood, but they did not beg. Within a few years, many of these pavement adventurers had become proud owners of prosperous stores, large eating houses, factories, modern farms and other profitable enterprises. Their days of misery were even forgotten with time. But one thing they could neither forgive nor forget—the latent hostility of those who should have received them with open arms and should have adequately compensated them for the political blunders of the leaders and their wrong assessment of the situation.

For them June 22 was no different from other days. But for once, even they had removed their wares from the pavements. They had draped their broken packing boxes with colourful bedspreads. They had hung expensive shawls and carpets from the lamp posts. They proudly flew the national flag. More than half a million people had collected in the Gandhi Park for a reception arranged to bid farewell to Lord and Lady Mountbatten.<sup>2</sup> It was for them that Chandni Chowk was wearing a gala appearance. As the procession entered Chandni Chowk, the cheers of thousands rent the sky. Never had a foreigner received a more popular send off in any country, any time in history. Some said they saw Mountbatten's eyes moisten with a sense of gratitude, and his voice seemingly hoarse with

<sup>2</sup> Lord Mountbatten had been since the 15th of August Governor General of India—the first to hold this office since Independence. He was the last Viceroy.

emotion. If this was true, it was the first time that Mountbatten, ever since he took charge of "Operation-Scuttle", surrendered to the call of sentiment.

Even though more than twenty years have elapsed since the Mountbattens left India, it is not easy for those who witnessed them operating in their different spheres, all three of them, Louis, Edwina and Pamela, to assess the impact they made on current events, and how far and in what manner they altered or influenced the course of history.

Mountbatten did a great administrative job with the skill and efficiency of an admiral. But it was in the sphere of public relations that all three of them excelled. Almost everyone from Gandhiji downwards began to lean on Mountbatten with a sense of personal confidence and sought his advice and help even in matters which ordinarily would not have suffered intrusion from a foreigner, whether he was a commoner or of royal blood. Pamela, the Mountbattens' daughter, tall, slender, large-eyed with the look of demure innocence on an oval, attractive face, was just the type to attract paternal patronage from the elders, emotional response from the young or not very young, and a school-mistress attitude from Congress women of all ages who then hovered around the seats of political power. Pamela's presence at prayer meetings offered Gandhiji the satisfaction of a prestige addition to his audience. She animated the scene.

Edwina, Lady Mountbatten, was different. She was still attractive to the post-middle age group, but it was her alert mind, her emotional personality, her dynamic nature, her humanitarian outlook which added a certain intellectual magnetism to her personality that few elders could resist. Gandhiji had great regard for her. He admired most of all her tireless humanitarian work among the refugees, which exposed her to dust, disease and filth. She had Nehru's confidence, in a manner that could be only possible between two people of ripe age, ripe intellect and "ripe experience". It was a real "companionship". Nehru was no hypocrite. He liked the company of intelligent women, and time permitting displayed

a certain amount of amorousness, platonic or otherwise, pardonable in a handsome widower. He made no secret of his aesthetic euphoria, even though the rigours of jail life, and the exacting obligations of office, left very little time for "pleasure".

Mountbatten, a "man for all seasons", was as adroit in diplomacy as he was dynamic in action. It is not what he did, but the way he did it, that won him approbation even for his blunders. It will be for the future historian to pass judgment on the wisdom or folly of partition and to apportion the responsibility for this fatal decision. But one does not have to wait till then to declare that having agreed to partition, Congress leaders would have been well advised to nominate an Indian as the first Governor General, at least after it had become known that Mountbatten was not acceptable as Joint Governor General to both dominions. Either there should have been joint consultations before the recommendations were made, or the request of Mountbatten, after Jinnah had nominated himself for leaving to India the choice of nominating an Indian should have been accepted.

During the year he was Governor General Mountbatten did a great deal for India. But however much he tried he could not extend to India the same loyalty, and partiality as Jinnah could to Pakistan. In the line of priorities England and the Commonwealth had first place in his mind and India the second. His constant endeavour, naturally, was to reconcile the interests of both and to avoid hurting Pakistan lest this should hurt the Commonwealth. He was too powerful a personality to act as a mere constitutional figurehead. On the other hand, he was in the enviable position of taking credit for successes and blaming others for lapses or failures. It is to his credit that he "pulled up" Jinnah several times and warned him against rash actions. But this only annoyed Jinnah who for some reason expected that even though Mountbatten was the Governor General of India as a former representative of the Crown and a Britisher he was expected to favour Pakistan.

Mountbatten helped to secure the signatures of almost all

## The Lid Off

the four hundred odd Princes to the treaty of Accession before the transfer of power. Left to themselves the Indian leaders would have achieved this result in any case, perhaps with less financial commitments for the future. But where history is bound to be critical of Mountbatten is his soft-pedalling with Baroda, Junagadh, Bhopal and Jodhpur, and his questionable role in Kashmir and Hyderabad.

Mountbatten and Ismay had specially gone to Simla and stayed there for a few weeks before Independence. They advised Hari Singh to take a firm and early decision "in favour of Pakistan". They even hinted that in doing so they were also expressing the views of Nehru and Patel. Fortunately his new Prime Minister, Mehr Chand Mahajan, who later became Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, was a man of sound judgment and broad vision. On his advice the Maharaja tactfully "fell ill" during the final stage of Mountbatten's visit. Mountbatten could not get a "yes" before his departure.

It was strange that even Gandhi should have gone to Mountbatten and not to Nehru or Patel before commencing his last fast. Stranger still that he should have at the "suggestion of Mountbatten" made the payment of Rs 55 crores to Pakistan as a pre-condition to breaking his fast.<sup>3</sup> The Congress Government never wanted to back out of this commitment. But there was nothing wrong in its demanding assurances of good behaviour from Pakistan before the commitment was implemented. An Indian Governor-General would not have advised Gandhi to lay down such a condition and embarrass the Indian Government. The result was that while Gandhi got all the assurances of good behaviour from Hindus and Sikhs in India, Pakistan got the money and retained the freedom to continue its war of extermination and expropriation against Sikh and Hindu citizens.

<sup>3</sup> Gandhi's last fast was for the restoration of communal amity. India was to pay Pakistan Rs 55 crores. The Government was reluctant to do so till other disputes were settled. Mountbatten advised Gandhi to make this payment a condition for breaking his fast.

There were occasions when Mountbatten with his great influence with the Cabinet at home could have helped India more than an Indian Governor General. But he did not. He could have certainly controlled or at least discouraged British Army and civilian officials from becoming a party to violent anti-Indian activities in Pakistan. Through Sir George Cunningham, the Governor of the Frontier, he must have known for a very long time, that organized efforts were being made to mobilize the Frontier tribes and to prepare them for raids on Kashmir territory. And yet, there is nothing on record to show, nor was it evident then, that he passed on to India the benefit of this information, or used any pre-information to dissuade British officials from becoming parties to a wanton aggression.

One can recount many major and minor lapses on the part of Mountbatten. And yet, top most Congress leaders, Nehru particularly, placed such reliance on his wisdom, ability and statesmanship that it seemed almost pathetic. In fact, it redounds to the credit of Mountbatten that up to the last day he retained this confidence. His powerful personality made even wrong advice seem convincing.

June 2nd was the last day of the Mountbattens in India. In the Gandhi Grounds, amidst laudatory speeches, shrill cries of "Mountbatten Zindabad", and a moundful of garlands, the Mountbattens took leave of the gathering. Next day they left for England, leaving Chakravarty Rajagopalachari in charge of the Viceregal palace—the first Indian Governor General of Free India.

Rajaji<sup>4</sup> had nothing royal about him except his name. Physically, if Gandhi was tweedledum, he was tweedledee. After Gandhi's death he was the nearest in looks to Mickey Mouse. Like Gandhi, Rajaji kept his head completely shaven, allowing the ears to protrude abnormally, and the neck to seem shrunk in proportion. Like Gandhi, Rajaji was lean, but, unlike Gandhi, Rajaji had a sharp, shrill voice, a malevolent grin and a lacerating tongue. He wore dark glasses which made him seem all the more inscrutable. Instead of

<sup>4</sup> Raja Kung

choosing a more plebeian place for holding his court, Rajaji readily decided to retain the red-ticked, 300-roomed palace built for the British moghuls. The Cabinet consented. Thus the "dhoti" dynasty was installed in Government House. It was later known as Rashtriapati Bhavan.

Rajaji was not entirely new to an exalted life, although his own house in Madras was of modest dimensions. As Governor of Bengal, he occupied the magnificent house which Lord Curzon built, and which had served as Viceregal residence till the capital shifted to Delhi. Capricious Lady Willingdon had spent a few lakhs introducing Lilac glamour in Viceroy's House. Rajaji spent several thousands to give a *khadi* veneer to the costly interior decorations.

While *khadi* did cover a multiplicity of extravagances, it could not go far enough. *Khadi*, for example, provided no substitute for the rich red and gold sashes worn by a whole regiment of stewards, butlers and bearers working in Rashtriapati Bhavan. Then there was the Viceregal bodyguard, the most colourful of horse riders, trained and maintained in accordance with the traditions of the King's bodyguard in London. Rajaji and his successors decided to retain it. They had also to retain, "*sans khadi*", their lace turbans, their sky-blue gaberdine tunics, their white Hussar-style tights, with their spurs, spears and jackboots.

Rajaji and his successors, except for Dr Zakir Hussain, were predominantly rice-eating vegetarians. In fact, the change in the table menu from mushroom soup, chicken *a la king*, plum pudding and fresh asparagus with mint sauce, to *masala dosa*, boiled rice, *rasam*, crisp banana wafers, *wari*, yoghurt, *puus* and *moong ka halwa* was in the nature of a gastronomic revolution. Rajaji also wanted sartorial changes. The first problem he faced was to reconcile the dhoti with sartorial formalities imposed by protocol. Foreign diplomats presenting credentials came in formal attire, so did the officers of the foreign office. Rajaji had a brainwave. He designed simple, ornamental *khadi* overalls, a cross between an academic gown, and a night-shirt, in different colours and hues to distinguish protocol status.

These were to be worn by everyone attending the Governor-General's court, over any other kind of formal or informal dress. Vallabhbhai Patel rejected the plan. "My dhoti and kurta are good enough," he declared. "I refuse to wear anything else." Nehru laughed at the idea as too theatrical to be taken seriously. Having failed, Rajaji himself introduced two sartorial changes in his own attire. He began wearing a pair of woollen trousers under his dhoti. This was almost like a girl wearing jeans under a skirt. On formal occasions Rajaji removed the dhoti and, over the trousers, wore a huge coat, a village tailor's version of a cross between a long coat and a soldier's tunic. In summer he carried a folded towel on the shoulder. On informal occasions he balanced it on the left shoulder. On formal occasions it was placed on the right shoulder.

Rajen Babu<sup>5</sup> moved into the Viceregal Palace as India's first President. Instead of the British Royal Anthem, the Indian National Anthem was introduced. Sartorial changes were made to suit a "Socialist" pattern. A circular defined "national dress" for formal and informal occasions.<sup>6</sup> The dhoti was given no official recognition. But many top leaders still preferred to sport their dhoti. The *achkan* and *chudidars* curiously enough had been the court dress of the princely order. Only a fraction of the common people could afford such a dress. The tunic and trousers had been worn by petty Indian officials, junior clerks and other subordinate functionaries since the days of the East India Company. It was the dress of the "babus", a euphemistic distortion of the word "baboon".

Rajen Babu himself had hitherto been a nonconformist in sartorial matters. Even as a minister, Rajen Babu wore a long, all-purpose coat buttoned up to the neck. He had a rich crop of dark hair which looked wild being only occasionally exposed to the casual operations of a barber. His Gandhi cap changed angles all day, since it was either too loose or too small. He

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

<sup>6</sup> A black *achkan* and white pyjamas or a white tunic buttoned to the neck and black trousers a reverse combination of the above or all white or all black could serve as a formal national attire.

had bushy moustache, falling indifferently over the upper lip, and even sometimes carrying the tell-tale marks of a hurried meal. Rajen Babu was tall, well-built and, despite his neglectful make-up, handsome.

Rajen Babu struggled hard to adapt himself to the ways of Rashtrapati Bhavan. His Military Secretary,<sup>7</sup> a charming Bengali Officer, took his sartorial affairs in hand. A special tailor was commissioned to drape the Rashtrapati both in elegant achkans and tunic-style jackets with well-fitting trousers. Rajen Babu looked elegant in "formal" and "informal" attire. But no one could do anything to keep his cap in place! Rajen Babu enjoyed among other things a dive in one of the many horse carriages he had inherited, down Rajpath on summer evenings. Admirers stood by to cheer him. During the dive he enjoyed wearing a dhoti, baring his feet, and clipping or cleaning his toe nails. Whenever the Military Secretary politely referred to this operation as "undignified", Rajen Babu protested, saying that he had seen even "Rajas and Nawabs doing it".

Rajen Babu and his wife had several children and grand children, an aged sister and a whole brood of other dependents. The Viceregal palace had never anticipated providing for a family so large, nor had adopted rules of security or protocol for so many members of one family used to orthodox living. Typical of an unusual problem was the *na'ach*, a quasi-sacred bath in the river on festive occasions. The President's wife, sister and other dependents once went for one of these festive baths duly escorted by aides and security personnel. On reaching the river they entered the ladies' enclosure, and disappeared in the vast sea of dhoti-clad, semi-nude female pilgrims. The bewildered aides and security staff reported the situation to Headquarters. An SOS was sent to the nearest police station to despatch a few women police to help security. After the bath the ladies returned unaware of the commotion they had caused. Rajen Babu himself caused some consternation when he decided on a ceremonial occasion to feed a hundred priests.

<sup>7</sup> Maj-General Chatterjee



When the pictures of a hundred brahmins in dhoties and pig-tails with the President (naked in a mini dhoti) serving food to them appeared, the "secularists" were manifestly shocked.

I can't forget Independence Day, the year India became a Republic. It was open house at Rashtriapati Bhavan. Invitations were sent to five thousand guests. The invitees brought their children, friends and relations on their own. They brought their own sweets, their own balloons, and sprawled everywhere. Rajen Babu was very happy! The presence of so many informally attired citizens enjoying themselves seemed to have taken away from his mind some of the guilt of living in such lavish surroundings. Rajen Babu found the experiment heartening. After the experiment was over, the choice blooms in the Mughal Gardens had been taken away as souvenirs. Children had freely contributed to the lotus ponds and cascading fountains, while some of the visitors had taken shelter behind jasmine arbours in search for conveniences. After the party was over, Col. Chatterjee had a harried look. "No more of these public exhibitions of private discomfort," he said.

Making allowance for personal aberrations, or changes in ritual, the life in Rashtriapati Bhavan has moved in accordance with pre-Independence traditions. The "Dhoti" Dynasty has preserved the pomp and the formalities of the British, with all its extravagance, uptill this day, making the socialist pattern indistinguishable from the British or the Moghul pattern of Court life. Compared to the life of living royalties, the Indian Rashtriapati enjoys greater splendour and pomp: more royal than any royalty!

## The Pillars of Government

"Hold on there!" said an agitated cop watching one of the traffic islands on Michigan Avenue in Washington (D.C.) "Boss, didn't you see that red light?" The short man wearing a charcoal gray Saville Row suit, a black bowler hat, gray spats on his black Oxfords, smoking an expensive cigar, gently pulled down his umbrella, looked at the cop affronted. "Do you know who I am? Bajpayee is the name. I am the Ambassador from India". "I am sorry, sir," said the cop, touching his peak cap. Before the new ambassador, who was crossing over to reach the Chancery, had gone out of hearing, another cop asked curiously, "Who was that guy, the Agha Khan?" Said the first cop: "Says he is an ambassador. Some kind of pie." Observed the second cop: "Ambassador or Agha Khan. If he does not look out, he will be a mince pie one of these days."

Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai was Brahmin, Cambridge and "I.C.S." all rolled into one. Sir Girja was a competent officer. He rose very rapidly to some of the top positions in the service hitherto denied to Indians. He had all the qualities of a successful bureaucrat. He was a brilliant speaker. He combined ability with tact, and snobbery with servility. In the Assembly, as a member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, he defended the treasury benches more ardently and effectively than many of his European colleagues. He rolled his r's and struggled with his diphthongs more laboriously than a British undergraduate. In general behaviour towards common folk he was more arrogant and less approachable than any of his European colleagues.

gues. His last assignment before independence was as representative (in Washington) of the then British-run Government of India. One hesitated to speculate as to the fate he and many like him, guilty of many unpatriotic acts, had in store for them after Independence.

Vallabhbhai Patel was a realist. As Home Minister, he soon realised that the highest merit in a civil servant was his ability to obey policy directives and to implement them loyally with competence and ability. If, he argued, the Indian members of the civil service and the defence services were capable of keeping to this code of conduct, though with an emphasis on servility, when a foreign government was in power, then there was every reason to trust that they would act even more efficiently under a national government, whose policies were in accord with patriotism. On the eve of independence, some of the finest Indians were in top jobs. Because their promotions had been retarded, in ability and experience many of them were far superior to their British colleagues. They were also in no way inferior to men occupying comparable positions in other advanced countries.

Instead of serving as the tools of a coercive alien imperialism, they were now expected to be the promoters of a people's democracy. Free India offered an agreeable challenge to their competence. But it took some time before they could forget the lapels of British tail coats and transfer their loyalty to the new khadi-wearing masters of the Republic. As was to be expected, there was an interesting interplay of pride and resistance on both sides during the transitional period. The politicians began sorting out the officers most suitable to them. The officers began sorting out the ministers whom they could most agreeably serve.<sup>1</sup> Sri Gurja Shankar Bajpai represented, in some ways, an ideal civil servant. Soon after independence, instead

<sup>1</sup> Vallabhbhai Patel preferred hard-headed realists to theorists. In V. P. Menon, V. Shankar, Vellodi, C. C. Desai, Venkatachar, Vishwanathan, K. B. Lal, etc. he collected some of the finest products of the service. In Gurja Bajpai, Raghavan Pillai, K. P. S. Menon, S. Dutt, Nehru found what he liked most: men of refinement with a scholarly bent, part sophists, part snobs.

of being arraigned for past sins, he was appointed Secretary-General to the Prime Minister and also in charge of External Affairs.

It was only natural for the Secretaries and the Under Secretaries in their turn to surround themselves with trusted men of their own, sometimes from the same religion, region or caste. The junior clerks and the *chaprasis* however had no such choice. They transferred loyalties, but were rarely transferred to suit individual preferences of top seniors. Once employed, the job existed for them, not they for the job. As an institution, the *chaprasi* had nothing comparable in any other part of the world. He was the last official rampart between the government and the common man. He was not merely an attendant or an usher, but became a know all handyman. Many *chaprasis* were now considered indispensable, because of their cooking. Several cooks were promoted to be *chaprasis*. A *chaprasi* by day could be butler, barber, masseuse or washerman to the boss, outside office hours. The *chaprasi* knew a lot about the bosses' household and carried in his bosom the secrets of his boss and even his wife. The *chaprasis* had a free-masonry of their own. They knew all the popular astrologers and what they had foretold about the bosses. They knew the names and addresses of trusted bootleggers, dependable mistresses, the rate of consumption of liquor in different homes, and how to camouflage a drink party into a card party at short notice. Thus while Ministers and Secretaries started governing the country, the clerks and the *chaprasis* held control of the Secretariat.

The Indian Army was made up of commissioned officers and jawans. "Jawan" was not an equivalent to "Tommy" or "GI". The "Jawan" had no comparable type among any of the armies of the advanced countries of the world. The "Jawan" was a professional soldier whom the British treated as gun fodder for emergencies. The "Jawan" lived in isolation from common folk, underwent severe training, made a good soldier, and, until independence, bothered little as to whom he shot provided it was under orders. He had fired at the Chinese in

Shanghai, the Japanese in Singapore, the Germans in Flanders, Tobruk and Tripoli, the Turks in Gallipoli, and his own people, as and when called upon, as part of his duty. The Indian 'Jawan' was the cheapest to be had for the service he rendered. He was now out to serve his country.

India inherited the nucleus of an Air Force and a Navy. But it took some years before India could have a sizeable navy and an effective air force. For peace time purposes, and for normal defence, India was well provided. But the Indian Army was anything but a people's army. It was an army of professional soldiers hitherto deprecatingly referred to as mercenaries. Indian officers had prematurely stepped into the shoes of the British. They had adopted their ways and methods and seemed initially to be as great strangers to their own people as the British were to Indians. In arms and equipment the army was far from being modern. Mule teams and camel batteries were still as much its exhibits as its anachronisms. The amenities and comforts the officers expected, even during war, near the front lines, were almost equal to what they were offered in base camps. What moved with the Indian Army were less guns, tanks and armour, and more tents, carpets, beds, chairs, bath tubs, service plates and utensils. Since the "defensive" aspect of the army was continuously emphasised by the Prime Minister and others, and the Army was virtually referred to as a "Shanti Sena", the officers and men were inclined to emphasise comfort more than soldierly austerity.

In production, in presentation and collecting of news and in editorial comment, the Indian Press had established high standards. Some of the editors and journalists were even now among the ablest in the profession. The limitations that restricted the freedom of the press or militated against its becoming a more forceful exponent of public opinion were not legislative but organizational. Under the British the fear of non-chains or a whole series of coercive measures, threatened press freedom. These also served as a challenge which journalists had to meet. After independence silver chains made more 'cowards' of many a star writer than penal restrictions. To

insure big salaries and expensive comforts one naturally had to first serve those who controlled the papers, and only then the common people. With independence, editorial salaries had spualled up to impressive figures<sup>2</sup> Most Editors therefore struggled between the prudence of self interest and the abandon of self expression. The result was higher salaries and controlled opinions. With fabulous investments at stake "responsible editors" could not play ducks and drakes with policy. At the same time high circulations had to be built up to attract maximum advertising at the highest rates. Unless readers felt attracted and interested high circulations were not possible. Proprietors therefore were prepared to pay high salaries to able editors, who combined tact with adaptability. Failing that, a few preferred to become "Editors" themselves<sup>3</sup>. Through this process of orientation and adaptation to changed conditions, the Indian Press began to attract at its helm as much ability as elevated ignorance. Just as anyone, however ignorant, could with the support of the High Command, become a Minister, any one who had a proprietor's confidence however incompetent, could become a managing editor. The Indian Press could therefore be appropriately described as a capably edited institution working under proprietorial control through "confidence" men where necessary, in an atmosphere of legal freedom.

The radio had been a medium for informing and moulding public opinion even more powerful than the press. The All

"I have known the joy of suffering for a cause in penury, and have also tasted the pleasure of working in opulence. But I can never forget the sleepless nights I spent trying to adapt myself to my changed environment. serious efforts made to 'give unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's."

<sup>2</sup> A Bombay editor took up cudgels against Prohibition. It was one of the most stupid legislations adopted out of misguided piety. The Chief Minister disapproved of the criticism. He believed in the freedom of the Press but also felt his Government equally free to cut off the paper from its advertising programme. Government had become by now a big advertiser and could employ silver bullets to browbeat adverse criticism. The editor upheld his views vigorously. The proprietor felt the pinch. The manager whose nearest claim to journalism was high speed stenography, was overnight promoted to Managing Editorship.

India Radio, under the British, was entirely controlled by the Government and made no pretence of being a free, unbiased purveyor of news and views. During the years following Independence, All India Radio enlarged its services considerably. It built up one of the largest networks of stations in the world. It had a fast system of relaying news. Its spoken word in many languages reached people in some of the remotest villages where a newspaper was not seen for days. Its listening audience, literate and illiterate, exceeded by millions the combined circulation of all the newspapers of India. One would have expected that All India Radio would set worthy standards of objectivity and offer a healthy forum for free expression of public opinion necessary for a developing democracy. But the Government allowed less freedom and less initiative to radiomen engaged in news gathering and views presentation than was available to editors under private proprietors. News blackouts became a regular and continuous feature of All India Radio. Subjects chosen for talks and more often the speakers followed the official line. Even the entertainment offered was of a synthetic and pre-fabricated variety. If some metropolitan papers were derisively called by detractors the "Jute Press", the All India Radio could more appropriately be referred to as 'His Master's Voice'.

It was in this environment that parliamentary democracy began to function in India.

## Lamp Posts and Parliament

"Don't you call Nehru a bull, you foul mouthed, dirty minded Babu," protested the formidable Harijan woman who had left her broom outside the polling booth. She had come to cast her vote.

India was having her first general election. The constitution which declared India a Federal Republic had been formally adopted by the Constituent Assembly on January 26, 1950. Attempts had been made by legal and constitutional pandits then crowding the Constituent Assembly to provide for all kinds of eventualities. Every adult citizen was entitled to a vote. One hundred and seventy million men and women were enfranchised to vote in the first general election. To make it convenient and intelligible for the illiterate to exercise their vote, the Election Commissioner had asked different parties to select their separate symbols. These symbols were printed against the name of every candidate. The voter had merely to put a cross against the symbol of his or her preference. The symbol of one party was an earthen lamp, of another the bicycle, of a third a hut, of a fourth the umbrella.

No less than a few dozen symbols had been adopted for as many parties, big and small. A pair of bullocks yoked to a plough represented the Congress. To the ignorant and the illiterate the Congress was Nehru. The Harijan woman and millions all over India knew nothing about the candidates concerned. They knew very little about the issues involved. They had heard about the Congress and the Mahatma. These were



symbolised by "Nehru". "I want to vote for Nehru," the Haiyan woman had told the polling officer. "You see those bulls, that is Nehru." It was this unguarded reference to Nehru which provoked the Haiyan woman. She was almost running out for her broom to give full expression to her wrath when the polling officer explained that Nehru was head of the Congress and the two bulls symbolised the Congress. If she wanted to vote for Nehru's candidate, she should put a cross against the bulls and cast her vote in the ballot box.

During his first visit to the United States, Truman had given Nehru a statistical summary of his election campaign: the miles he had covered, the number of meetings he had addressed, the number of people who had attended the meetings, the processions and the receptions, the number of hands he had shaken and the number of babies he had kissed. After his election tour in 1953 Nehru said to me cheerfully, "Multiply everything ten times, except the hand shakes and the kisses". "What are the chances of congress candidates?" I asked. "Some who have been put up are just gadhas (donkeys), but they will all be elected," he said. I then told him a story about Poincare, one time Prime Minister of France. He laughed.<sup>1</sup> Nehru then observed solemnly, "Even gadhas will be elected, but rest assured none of them will become ministers." Mrs Sarojini Naidu said in a mood of triumph, "Even if a lamp post had been given a Congress ticket, it would have been elected." Nehru felt a sense of rare personal triumph! The manner in which almost everyone whom Nehru supported, and some he had not even met or known, received overwhelming support made him feel like a magician.

If during the elections the Congress had not gone all out for quantity, but essentially for quality, preferring able, competent candidates, the congress would have undergone a political

<sup>1</sup> Poincare was once strolling along a road in a French suburb when he heard a peasant cursing a 'minister'. At the same time the farmer was goading a donkey with his stick. Poincare first thought the curses were directed at him. It was however explained to him later that in that part of France a donkey, because of the variety of service it rendered was called minister.

rebirth. But this was a stage when top congress leaders felt confident that two or three dozen old congress heroes who still survived could, between themselves, pull the country forward along a charted programme, and what they expected of the party-men whose election they favoured was unstinted support. Loyalty was preferable to ability. Thus many competent and honest men left to join other parties, either because they found the Congress ideology and the pace of progress unsatisfactory, or because they felt frustrated and found subservience a high price for patronage.

Parties like nature allow no vacuum. Thus while the Congress lost the 1942 leadership in dublets, its post 1946 flock of power seekers increased by leaps and bounds. Even those who dreaded meeting or entertaining a Congress leader in 1942 or attending a congress meeting, rushed to swell the Congress ranks. In the Indian states which represented more than one third of the total territory and one-third of the population, the Congress had not existed before 1947. Here petty rulers, feudal chieftains, indigent nawabs and odd characters with a *Piraja Mandal* background became active participants in the struggle for power.

The Elections were a costly affair. Ostensibly no candidate was expected to spend more than ten thousand rupees on his election. The number of those who during the different elections succeeded by spending this modest sum would be very small. Quite a few successful candidates had to spend a hundred to two hundred thousand. These personal expenses were in addition to what the parties had to spend to insure the success of their candidates.<sup>2</sup> Before the general elections, a legislation was adopted, permitting industrial and business houses to make such contributions as they wished to the funds of any political party. The Congress being in power became by far the greatest beneficiary. Congress leaders by sponsoring this legis-

<sup>2</sup> According to a statement made by Mr S K Patil who had been closely associated with almost every election fought by the Congress since 1937, the Congress party expenses on these elections averaged at two and a half crores or more per election.

tion wanted to make it easy for their friends and supporters to provide large funds, not realizing that in the process they were subverting their independence and their integrity to the dictates of such patrons.

Big business houses openly voted lakhs of rupees to Congress funds, apart from channeling unaccounted black-market contributions through diverse sources to insure the personal election of some of their favourite leaders. Congress tickets were allotted to Rajas, Maharajas, Chieftains and big-business magnates, so that apart from looking after their own election they could provide funds to the party for the election of some of their associates standing from subordinate Constituencies. Naturally those who had to provide these funds looked forward in due course to getting concessions from Congress Governments to earn back many times more, to make up for past contributions, as also to provide for future requirements.

Nehru had said again and again before the elections, "Candidates chosen should not only possess integrity but be known to do so. They should also have certain ability and capacity." A team of reporters went out to assess the educational background and literary interests of members in the lower House. The results were revealing. Only thirty per cent read serious literature, beyond newspapers and pamphlets. Fifteen per cent owned a sizeable library. Twelve per cent did not subscribe to any newspaper. Ten per cent had graduated, and a conspicuous few had studied abroad. Fifteen per cent had studied beyond high school. Thirty per cent called themselves "self-educated". Sixty per cent gave their profession: "Politics".

## Vallabhbhai the Valiant

"Is Mr V. P. Menon in?" I asked. V.P. had now become Secretary of the Department of Indian States under Vallabhbhai Patel. Vallabhbhai was Deputy Prime Minister and also Minister for Indian States, Home Affairs, Information and Broadcasting. The person I had addressed was wearing a Gandhi cap, a sloppy khadi shirt and flapping white pyjamas creased and crumpled to a degree, inexcusable even in a better type of attendant. It had become difficult, during this period of transition, to distinguish a chaprasi from a Minister. Both dressed alike. In the present case I had made a mistake. The person I had addressed was a Minister! More. He was a newly appointed Chief Minister of one of the States in Central India.

Intigued by my confusion, V.P. reminded me that the Congress had never directly functioned in Indian States. In most of the big States Congress nuclei had been improvised out of *Praja Mandals* and State People's Committees. In others, Congress committees had been practically hand-picked by the Sardar after Independence. "In the present case," he said, "I had no choice. The ruler wanted to transfer power to a 'popular' ministry. No 'popular' party existed in the State. He, therefore, started a Congress Committee of his own. The gentleman whom you met outside is an ex-'Captain'. He is the only one in the 'Congress Committee' who has seen the inside of a prison for two days and of a college for a few months. He says he studied up to the Intermediate before joining the army. Hence I and the ruler recommended his

name to the Sardar. He is now 'Chief Minister' He is here to settle the names of the rest of his Cabinet."

My own visit to V P was in connection with a similar problem V P, on behalf of the Ministry, and I non officially had been engaged in helping the ruler of Gwalior to transfer power to a popular ministry In transferring power, the young ruler, Sir Jiwaji Rao Scindia had made no political reservations The local States People's organization, which had been fairly active for several years, was converted into a wing of the Indian National Congress and was invited to form the ministry I was entrusted with the task of assessing the eligibility for the Cabinet and for Chief Ministership of the likely candidates I was deeply impressed by a capable, politically alert lawyer, Jagmohan, but he was not officially in the Congress Takhtmal Jain, another lawyer, had already been a member of the ruler's Council of Ministers, and seemed eligible But he had not yet taken to khadi The search took me into the heart of the city, where a young apothecary was manufacturing rare herbs into potent medicines I met a writer who had made many emotional contributions in prose and poetry to the national movement Third on the list was an unassuming, tall, delightfully modest lawyer, who simplified his domestic needs through self help, and spent most of the time organizing Congress committees rather than in arguing doubtful cases Ghole, the apothecary's son, Vijayavaighi the writer, and Liladhai Joshi, the lawyer, all were on my list I had come to consult V P. They all were included in the Cabinet, but it was the unassuming, dhoti sporting, "home cooking" Liladhai Joshi who became the Chief Minister

I had gone to see Vallabhbhai during his illness that later proved fatal This time we were discussing the integration of Gwalior, Indore and about two dozen other States into a single unit The Union was later named Madhya Bharat While waiting in the outer lounge I met Vyas who for years had done disinterested service to newspapers by reporting events from the major States of Rajasthan and charging practically nothing beyond postage and out of pocket expenses He was all smiles

and giggles. The Sardar had just nominated him Chief Minister of Rajasthan. A few months later he was to be succeeded by another political worker whom I knew very well, Tikaram Paliwal. Tikaram had been a teacher in one of the nationalised schools set up by us in the rural areas of Delhi.

Except for Baroda, Kashmir and Hyderabad, the accession of practically all the other States had been completed before Mountbatten left. But accession only immobilised the State rulers against manoeuvring for secession. It still left them in sovereign control of their territories. India could not long remain half feudal and half democratic. Left to himself, Nehru would have preferred to liquidate the princes by mobilising the State people's organizations and *Piraja Mandals*. He, however, soon discovered that in most cases the so-called *Piraja Mandals* and State People's Committees had functioned in British India and not in the States concerned. Their chief leaders had lived outside their home States, or had been exiled for one political offence or the other. He also discovered that in many cases fake *Piraja Mandals* and State Committees had been set up by the rulers themselves to bluff the British and the Congress. Their leaders were puppets or dummies. The people in the States were still terribly servile, caste-ridden, parochial-minded and communal. Distinctions between the Rajputs and the Jats, between the Kachhwahas and the Rathors, between the Mahiattas and the non-Maharattas and between the low-caste and the outcaste were deep-rooted. The rulers had a certain hold on the people which the Congress could not easily substitute. Vallabhbhai took a practical view. He was not wedded to any ideological approach. Vallabhbhai therefore adopted every method—naked force, bargaining, cajolery, public pressure and open and covert threats—to bring about the integration of Indian States with India.

His Exalted Highness Sir Usman Ali Khan Bahadur, "Faithful Ally of the British Government", Nizam-ul-Mulk, the richest and most powerful among the princes, had hitherto proved the most truculent. He insisted on retaining his newly won independent sovereign status, demanded the return of the

Beiras, and a negotiated opening to the sea at Masulipatam. In return he offered to consider signing a treaty of "mutual alliance" and friendship with India. He made it clear through a long and tortuous process of negotiations, extending over months, that if his offer was not accepted he would be prepared "to meet force with force". There were indications that powerful elements in Britain and Pakistan were willing to help in case there was a showdown. On the eve of Mountbatten's departure, he sent a delegation to tell India officially that if his terms were not accepted he would conclude a separate treaty with Pakistan, leaving it to India to accept the challenge with all its consequences. Meanwhile, British newspapers and paid propagandists of the Nizam started spreading alarmist reports, about the stockpiling of weapons by Hyderabad, the growing strength of the Hyderabad army, the large number of disciplined Razakars<sup>1</sup> under arms, and the possible link-up at the strategic moment between Pakistan and Hyderabad.<sup>2</sup> According to circulated reports, the Nizam had a force of 50,000 to 100,000 trained regulars and irregulars, more than 200,000 trained Razakars "determined to fight until death", a large force of Pathans and African (Siddis) all under the command of a giant sized, corpulent, ruthless soldier, El Edroos.

British papers carried the fiction that El Edroos was greater than Rommel, and that once he let loose the Razakars and the regular army on India, and rolled out his tanks, there would be no holding him back. It was also hinted that Hyderabad had a well-trained air force which could bomb many of the metropolitan cities and cause destruction from the air. To lend credence to these reports, at the very time when Lark Ali, the new Prime Minister of the Nizam, was virtually giving an ultimatum to India, the Razakars started looting trains and pillaging Hindu homes. Hindu women were outraged and molested. Insurgent elements in Hyderabad went further. They made common cause with the Communists, who wanted a base

<sup>1</sup> Islamic crusaders

<sup>2</sup> Sydney Cotton an Australian had been smuggling large consignments of arms by air from anywhere and everywhere into Hyderabad

from which to operate against bourgeois elements in the country. They allowed them control of several villages in the district of Telengana from where, through pillage, blackmail, coercion and violence, and by holding rich people to ransom, they raised large sums to spread their activities in other parts of India.

The Government watched helplessly, depending on Mountbatten and Monckton<sup>3</sup> to arrange a settlement between themselves.<sup>4</sup> Nehru, otherwise impatient with the slow pace at which princes were being liquidated, supported Mountbatten. Abul Kalam Azad, Rafi Ahmed Kidwai and others pleaded patience with the Nizam, to avoid communal difficulties. Vallabhbhai Patel brought matters to a crisis as soon as Mountbatten left. He insisted that the army should be invited to take action at once against the Razakars, the Communists and, if need be, against the Nizam himself. Vallabhbhai warned his colleagues that if an all out action was not taken against Hyderabad, some other States might also rebel and even join Pakistan. Vallabhbhai found the Defence sub-committee vacillating. At one of the meetings, he picked up his files and just walked out of the meeting, saying, "I don't want to hold office if I cannot safeguard India." On that very day news came of the molestation of two nuns and the rape of many Hindu women by the Razakars. This was the last straw. Nehru went to Vallabhbhai and told him to go ahead.

Even though India's army was tied up in Kashmir and on the Western coast against Pakistan, Vallabhbhai authorised the commanders to take action at once. The Hyderabad "police" action was the second Army action soon after Independence. The date of the action was kept a complete secret even from

<sup>3</sup> Sir Walter Monckton, legal adviser to the Nizam.

<sup>4</sup> To quote V. P. Menon: "Opinion among the advisers of the Government of India was not unanimous on the question of what action should be taken in regard to Hyderabad. The section which favoured a policy of drift had a ready excuse in the bogey of large-scale communal disorders which would follow any positive action against Hyderabad. They apprehended that in Hyderabad the Hindus would be butchered in thousands. There were others who spoke of mass Muslim uprisings in South India particularly among the Moplas."



some members of the Cabinet known for pro-Hyderabad loyalties, till the Indian forces were within fifty miles from Hyderabad. The Hyderabad Generals, acting on "private" information from British sources, started preparing to meet the Indian forces on the 15th of September. They were taken by utter surprise when the forces reached on the 13th. "Operation Polo," as it was called, had all the elements of a Hollywood production. Only the death of nearly eight hundred irregulars and Razakars, misled into action by Kasim Rizvi, was an unfortunate reality.<sup>5</sup> The whole operation was organized within a few days. General Rajendra Singh, who later became the Commander-in-Chief, was head of the Southern Command. Major General J. N. Chaudhury, who later distinguished himself as the Chief of Staff during the 21 days' war with Pakistan in 1965, led the operation. In order to preserve complete secrecy, tanks were boarded on railway trucks and transported at night to within thirty miles of Hyderabad, to join the marching columns. The Army entered the city before day-break. So unexpected was the attack that a British officer, Lt Moore, who had been deputed to blow up some of the strategic bridges before the enemy reached on the "15th", was caught with his jeep full of explosive materials returning from a late night carousal. General El Edroos, the Rommel of the Hyderabad Army, had to be suddenly woken up, and was taken into custody before he had time to get into his colourful uniform. The whole operation lasted 108 hours. The Razakars threw down their arms, many tore up their uniforms and pleaded for mercy. Kasim Rizvi was arrested.

The only one who was not asked to surrender was the sly Nizam. He peremptorily dismissed the Laik Ali Government, denounced Kasim Rizvi and the Razakars as unruly, lawless elements, and the Communists as the enemies of the State. He welcomed and then formally "invited" the invading General "to help to restore law and order in the State." He asked the

<sup>5</sup> Rizvi had threatened that if the Indian armies entered Hyderabad "the invaders will see the burning everywhere of bodies of one crore and sixty-five lakhs of Hindus"

Government of India to aid in setting up a popular administration. The Nizam's abject surrender struck terror among the princes. Vallabhbhai had used the big stick to humble the mightiest among the princely order.

A few years later, I went to Hyderabad with Prime Minister Nehru. At the end of his visit the Nizam came to see us off. The departure of Nehru was unexpectedly delayed by an hour. The Nizam waited patiently for the exalted guest. The Nizam was simply but formally dressed. He bowed thrice to greet Nehru. Then, as an added gesture, he bade farewell with folded hands, adopting the new salutation of "namaste" which had become the vogue after Independence. Nehru was deeply touched. When I remarked after the plane had left that among the princely puppets the Nizam with his tax-free privy purse of fifty lakhs was the most expensive, Nehru ignored my critical observation and said, "Did you see how he behaved? Only a great ruler knows how to offer respect to authority. He has lost his throne. He has been badly treated by his children. But he has not lost his graciousness and culture." "I did also notice," I remarked, "the absence of this last quality in the bizarre group headed by the new Chief Minister that waited at the airport." The members of the new Cabinet, I told him, waited in a most disorderly fashion, wearing all sorts of garments, talking loudly, splashing betel juice all over and impatiently edging for positions. The Chief, a midget, a little shorter than the Nizam, was trying to make up for his dwarfness by loud gestures and a lot of showing off. His colleagues, who had been recently baptized Ministers, were even more detonating in their voices and gestures. The Nizam stood dignified, silent, aloof, contempt written on his placid face. For me that had been a study in contrast!

Vallabhbhai Patel visited Baroda after the integration of the State. Maharaja Parthap Singh was there to receive him. He was no longer the truculent Parthap Singh, who had earlier threatened to break with India if he was not acknowledged "King of Western India". He was now a humble supplicant for small mercies. Bhopal had done more mischief to the cause of

ional unity and India's solidarity than any other ruler. When after Mountbatten left, Vallabhbhai made it clear to him that he meant business and would no longer tolerate any nonsense. Bhopal capitulated!

In Southern India, the State of Travancore presented a different problem. The Prime Minister of Travancore, Sri C. P. Maswamy Iyer, was the power behind the throne. He was more loyal than royalty! He had the "blind" loyalty and support of the ruler's powerful mother. He had become the sputum of Travancore. People felt disgusted with his dictatorial ways, and of palace intrigues. He was now so unpopular that he rarely risked public appearances, except when being photographed, sans clothes in a ceremonial dhoti, making offerings to the State deity, God Padmanabhan. Soon after the announcement of June 3, C.P., without even obtaining the consent of his ruler, declared that Travancore had decided to come "independent". As the 15th of August came near, the people of Travancore became impatient and restive. They began agitating for the dismissal of C.P. The young ruler's sympathies were now with the people, but he was too weak to set himself against his dominating mother. On the 27th of July, an attempt was made on C.P.'s life. The assailant however failed to do much harm, beyond inflicting a few injuries: a sharp cut on the nose and a wound on the lower lip. C.P. got old feet and quit. The young ruler accepted integration. Soon responsible Government was granted to the people, both in Travancore and Cochin, and the two States were merged into the single State of Kerala, meaning the "land of the coconut".

Jodhpur and Jaisalmer posed a different kind of problem. They had territories contiguous both with India and Pakistan. They could not decide whether to join India or Pakistan or to remain independent. Jaisalmer was weak-minded, unprogressive and deeply wedded to feudal traditions. He decided to accept Jinnah's blank cheque, subject only to one condition. That, if there was any trouble between Pakistan and India or between Muslims and Hindus, he be allowed to side with the Hindus. This proviso left Jinnah cold. Young Hanwant Singh of Jodh-

pur was neither weak nor unprogressive. But Hanwant Singh had no faith in democracy, or in Rajasthan politicians. Those known to him had given no proof either of extraordinary ability or of integrity. Hanwant Singh felt that if Jodhpur could have separate treaties with India and Pakistan it could help to stabilize the status of minorities in India and Pakistan, prevent mass exodus, and in due course create a bridge of amity between the two territories. One day Hanwant Singh spoke to V. P. Menon on these lines, when he met him in the Viceroy's House. Menon taunted him about treachery and bracketed him with Bhopal. He felt that V.P. had a one-track mind and wanted to apply to States like Jodhpur and Jaisalmer the same "accession" formula as to the other States in the interior. He lost his patience. He pulled out his revolver and would have shot V.P. if Mountbatten had not entered in time to restrain the impetuous ruler. Soon after Hanwant Singh died while piloting his own plane. Jodhpur joined the Rajasthan union.

Thus within two or three years Vallabhbhai liquidated the Indian princes as a political power and added by integration an area two and a half times that of Pakistan. He extended the boundaries of India by a territory three times larger than Bismark had added to Germany in a decade, or Hitler by his mad adventures during the first phase of World War II. He had not used bombs and bullets like Hitler, nor the coercive methods of Bismark. But in seeking the willing consent of the Princes he accepted arrangements whereby the Government agreed, on behalf of the present and future generations of Indians, to guarantee to the Maharajas, the Nawabs and the Rajas millions of rupees in tax-free pensions. They were allowed, in addition, ownership of billions of rupees in jewelry, palaces, properties, lands, shares and securities acquired with the money of the subjects. The Nizam of Hyderabad who had spent more than thirty crores on acquiring fresh armaments to join in an Islamic crusade against India received the biggest prize—a tax-free pension of fifty lakhs and a further guaranteed income from his jagirs etc. of a like amount. The

[Nawab of Bhopal, who had done many things to deserve being tried for sabotaging the unity of India, was given a tax free privy purse of eleven lakhs, and ownership of properties running into more than a crore of rupees. The way bounties were distributed among the ruling princes was like a fairy tale.]

✓ The ruler of Gwalior was among the very few who had transferred power to the representatives of his State as part of a voluntary arrangement. They voted him a privy purse of forty lakhs. When Gwalior, Indore and other States of Malwa were integrated, the re-fixing of the privy purse of the ruler was left to the States Ministry. In strictest confidence, Jiwaji Rao told me that though his existing privy purse of forty lakhs had been voluntarily guaranteed by his popular Ministers, to please the Sardar he would be willing to accept fifteen lakhs. He emphasised "but nothing less". Gandhiji had fixed the maximum at 10 lakhs.

A few weeks later, I found myself alone with V. P. Menon, on the moonlit terrace of one of the Gwalior's jungle palaces. It had the façade of a floating ship with the terrace jutting into a lake. It had the rear of a modern Italian villa, rising out of a floral landscape. All around was an extensive forest. The palace was equipped with some of the latest American gadgets. Even the doors opened and closed with electric eyes. V. P. was in a particularly cheerful mood as he had "bagged" not one but two tigers that day. I still do not know how good or bad he was with the gun, but the way he handled the weapon, he seemed as much of an amateur as myself.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Earlier in the day we were informed that three tigers had been sighted in a ravine a little distance from the palace. We drove to the edge of the lake where shikaris on elephants were waiting for us. Scindia took charge of one of the elephants himself as mahout with V. P. and two of the shikaris in the howdah. I and one of the secretaries (Bij Raj Narain) with a shikari followed on the second elephant. A third brought provisions. I discovered that the elephant was employed to avoid alerting the tigers since any sound within a few miles sent them to cover. The shikari handed me a gun and another to the secretary. The only shooting I had done was with an argun as a boy and later with my camera. The entire party collected on the top of a hill overlooking a deep ravine with a stream of water flowing zigzag through a thick jungle. Frankly, I felt unsafe despite all the

Talking about integration, he asked me if I could help in removing one of the biggest hurdles that was preventing the formation of the Madhya Bharat Union. "You will have to exercise a lot of tact and a bit of pressure," he added. Indore, he said, was hostile to integration with Gwalior. He had finally agreed after Vallabhbhai had promised him a privy purse of fifteen lakhs, and the office of permanent Up Raj Pramuks. The Government was willing to make Gwalior Raj Pramuks for life, he said, with an allowance of two-and-a-half lakhs. But they will not agree to the privy purse of forty lakhs he is now getting. I almost fell off the chair. "Considering the revenue, the population and the area of the two States, would not Gwalior," I asked, without batting an eye, "be justified in claiming at least double the amount of Indore?" V. P. did not dispute the logic, but suggested we meet the Sardar and get a final decision. When I informed the ruler he could not believe his ears. He tactfully made V. P. repeat the conversation. When the matter was later referred to Vallabhbhai he approved of a tax-free purse of twenty-five lakhs and an allowance of two-and-a-half lakhs.

In this horse-trading many rulers suffered but many gained: some, fabulous amounts. It is true that this horse trading at the expense of the people seemed at the time an easy and convenient way of liquidating the political power of the princes. It is also true that because of the hostile forces then

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shikaris around. After some patient waiting not three but four tigers appeared trending majestically through the thickets reaching up to the stream. Then suddenly shots were fired, one after the other. Two tigers lay dead. One wounded tiger limped away growling with a growling cub in retreat. When we reached the spot where the two tigers lay, a thorough examination of the beasts and the bullets followed. It was discovered from the bullets that one of the tigers was shot by "V. P.", the other by "His Highness". The tiger that limped away had been ostensibly shot by me. But I had not fired my gun. His Highness, however, offered his tiger to V. P. So he was trebly happy. First, that he had established himself as a crack shot. Secondly, that he could claim his "own" tiger. Thirdly, for having got an extra one as a gift. What intrigued me however was that His Highness did not have a gun while the shooting was going on. The mystery resolved itself when my shikari friend told me that the two tigers and the tiger that escaped had been shot by two shikaris, one behind V. P. and the other behind me.

at work this liquidation could not be long delayed. The future historian will however have to answer for himself the question as to whether the fabulous price paid to the princes was justified, whether this was the only practical and proper way of liquidating them, and whether their continuing for some time before political forces of extinction overtook them one by one was not the lesser evil. If Vallabhbhai and Nehru had been each ten years younger, they would have preferred to battle with these pampered satraps, refusing to be blackmailed into making settlements based on the astounding assumption that State territories were the property of the rulers. But time was of the essence!

At the time of Independence some of the ablest and most experienced Indians were employed as Ministers in the States. With the disappearance of the rulers and these able Ministers, an administrative vacuum was created in the four hundred odd Indian States. The question one asked is, should this vacuum have been created? To fill this vacuum handpicked men chosen out of improvised Congress Committees were appointed Ministers. In the newly constituted State Ministries the emphasis was on loyalty. Thus, obscure, inexperienced, immature minds were overnight catapulted into high office, and many inept morons filled the legislatures. This resulted in corruption, mal-administration and political intrigue. It gave a bad start to democracy.

Vallabhbhai however was urgently concerned with consolidating the fragments of freedom. After Partition, time had become of the essence. He did not want India to be further divided. Besides, he realized that he did not have long to live. Instead of pursuing ideologies, he was afraid of losing the grip on realities. In one of his cryptic statements,<sup>7</sup> replying to his Socialist and Communist critics he said "You want levelling of wealth. But where is the wealth to be levelled? Do you want distribution of property? We have not gained freedom for distribution of poverty! We have to create wealth first." In what seemed to be his last message, he said "What we have

On May 14, 1950 at Ernakulam

is not 'Swaraj' but only freedom from foreign rule. The people have still to win internal 'Swaraj', abolish distinctions of caste or creed, banish untouchability, improve the lot of the hungry masses, and live as one joint family: in short, to create a new way of life and bring about a change of heart and a change of outlook."

On the 15th of December, Bombay, the city which Vallabhbhai the peasant lad from Karamsad village had adopted as his second home, witnessed one of the largest funeral processions since the death in the 'twenties of Lokmanya Tilak, the then uncrowned king of India. The great fighter, the great builder, the grand dictator of the Congress, Vallabhbhai received the homage of millions as his cortege passed the streets on his last voyage. According to his own wish, Vallabhbhai was cremated in the public cremation ground, where his wife, and his elder brother, Vithalbhai, had been cremated many years earlier. Another of Gandhi's great generals, battle-scarred and weary, had fallen by the roadside!



## The Democratic Dictator

Babu Purshottam Das Tandon was seventy, and a lawyer by profession. Among the galaxy of faddists who had reached eminence in the Congress, he was a super faddist. Tandon lived on raw vegetables, uncooked rice, wheat and lentils, fresh goat's milk, and fruits. He washed his body with a type of caked clay. He abhorred soap. He idolised Hindu culture and Hindu traditions. He enjoyed burping and belching as symptoms of good health. He was a devoted patriot, courageous, fearless and dedicated. He was a man of rare integrity.

In 1950, Tandon's name was sponsored by Sardar Patel for Presidentship of the Indian National Congress. Nehru had nothing against Tandon. But, because of his fads and reactionary social views, he thoroughly disapproved of his being elected Congress President. He conveyed his feelings to Vallabhbhai. Vallabhbhai, even though ill and nearing his end, wanted Nehru to realize that he, and not Nehru, was still the Congress dictator. The candidature of Tandon was not withdrawn. An open trial of strength followed. Nehru challenged the nomination by sponsoring a rival: Kripalani. Kripalani had already been President once. He had been one of Vallabhbhai's erstwhile lieutenants. This made the situation all the more piquant and the tussle all the more personal and acute. The way the Vallabhbhaies and the Nehruites went about canvassing reminded one of the hostility of the old Scottish clans like the Macleans and Macdonalds. Tandon won.<sup>1</sup> Nehru was shocked. He felt humi-

<sup>1</sup> He got 1306 votes against 1092 for Kripalani.

liated, Vallabhbhai chuckled with satisfaction. Elated Vallabhbhaies sauntered about the lobbies like flamboyant peacocks, making a brazen show of their triumph. They even threatened to topple Nehru.

Soon after Vallabhbhai's death, Nehru took the first diastolic step to dislodge Tandon. With Vallabhbhai gone, many changed loyalties. Nehru found new supporters in the Working Committee and the All India Congress Committee. To force the issue he resigned from the Working Committee. This was an indirect way to show lack of confidence in the President. Several other members followed. Tandon soon realized that he could not function any more as President. He resigned. In order not to take any chances and to establish his undisputed authority within the party, Nehru decided to become Congress President himself.<sup>2</sup> Within a month of succeeding Tandon, Nehru ordered that arrangements be made for holding a special session of the Congress. It was to be the first session in the capital after India's independence. It was also to be a sort of Coronation.

A Reception Committee was set to work. I was elected Vice-President of the Committee. The site for the session was chosen by Nehru. We were allotted unlimited space on the area where Chanakyapuri was later to be built. Official agencies and big-business cooperated with us in lightening our task. A magnificent tent city sprang up overnight, where delegates from all over India were to be lodged. A mammoth pandal was constructed. As Nehru had suggested, one wing was reserved for foreign dignitaries and diplomats. It was filled up with comfortable chairs. Another wing was reserved for rich donors. The rest of the space was duly carpeted to provide squatting space in traditional Congress style. A seven-foot high platform was raised to seat members of the Working Committee. In size alone the platform looked like the mammoth stage of an open

<sup>2</sup> At one stage, due to difficulties with Patel, Nehru had been seriously contemplating retirement from the Congress, and from the Prime Ministership. But after being elected Congress President he felt retirement was out of the question.

an theatre. The rostrum offered another ten feet of height to the speaker. To give the platform a theatrical touch, the "architect"<sup>3</sup> had designed a hessian framed, colourful rear, wherein instead of a green room, were located a private room for the President, a Committee room for consultations, a canteen, etc. From the roof ran white massive rolls of lent khadi creating the illusion of curtain drops. Khadi panels with murals done by leading artists made up the wings. A Moghul style facade ran all along the front of the dias with hidden lights creating an eerie effect. On the well carpeted platform were arranged massive Moghul style pillows to serve as back rests.

As the dream city of gray and white khadi was undergoing its last touches, Nehru arrived for a final inspection. The spectacle pleased him. He walked up to the rostrum to survey the massive pandal, adorned with buntings, streamers, and stencilled slogans—quotes from the sayings of Gandhi and himself. "This is splendid," he said. The words had hardly been uttered when we heard the sound of loud explosions. In the twinkling of an eye flames rose from one of the back stage rooms. Forgetting that he was Congress President and Prime Minister, Nehru rushed towards the room in which the flames had almost become a blaze. By a mysterious effort I pushed him backwards. Before he knew what had happened two security men had forcibly captured the "Prime Minister" and taken him away. We feared that some time bombs may have exploded. Actually a fuse box had burnt, causing a short circuit. Within a quarter of an hour, before any fire engine could arrive, the pandal was reduced to cinders. With great difficulty, we could save a major part of the neighbouring tent city.

As soon as we could, I and a few others rushed to the Prime Minister's house to report what had happened and to find out if Nehru was safe. The Prime Minister was missing. Instead of returning to the house the Prime Minister had first sent urgent calls for fire engines and police help. He then saw a large number of cars parked unattended behind the pandal. Seeing the danger of flames spreading to the cars, with the

<sup>3</sup> Mr G. C. Sharma

help of his security men and a few others, he pushed each one of them one by one, till they were beyond danger. Behind the *pandal* were also a few workers' huts. He helped the occupants to remove their belongings and to set up galvanised sheets between their huts and the advancing flames. "You should not have done this, sir. It was taking a great risk," remarked one of my companions. Nehru smiled. His face and hands were still covered with soot. "Frankly, I forgot I was Prime Minister. I felt for once I was a boy-scout again. I hope I did a good job."

The Congress was to meet the next day. We met later at the Prime Minister's House to confer with the "Congress President", whether the session should be postponed or held in some other improvised place. Nehru sat silent for a time. Then suddenly, as if waking out of a dream, he said, "Let everything be as it is. We will never again hold a Congress session among the ashes of a grand *pandal*.<sup>4</sup> Let us all work tonight to make the arrangements for tomorrow.

It was early morning before he and all of us left. At the appointed time, he, the Congress President, was received with due ceremony, and in the manner in which he had rehearsed a day earlier. He was taken in procession to the *pandal*, and then to the platform, amidst the odour of charred wood and burnt cloth, and the deafening applause of fifty thousand people. He had been Congress President half a dozen times before. This was the first time Jawaharlal himself placed the "crown of thorns" on Nehru's head!

Writing about himself in 1936, under a *nom-de-plume*, Jawaharlal had expressed the fear that Nehru the popular hero, the pampered, favoured child of destiny, might be heading for "dictatorship": a tendency which needed to be resisted. Circumstances had now conspired to actually make him dictator, and there was no resisting him. He was Congress President, Prime Minister and the idol of millions!

Gandhi had advised the dissolution of the Congress after

<sup>4</sup>The incident was repeated in 1969 when the Congress *Pandal* at Faridabad was reduced to ashes, and the session was held among charred remains.

1947. His most ardent and trusted followers had grown out of some able students who had given up their studies a quarter of a century ago, or from lawyers who had given up their legal practice at the same time. Periodic or repeated jail-going, sacrifices and sufferings in the struggle, may have added to their popularity, but were not calculated to have added, in all cases, to their eligibility or ability for Ministerial office. A good soldier, Gandhi felt, did not always make a competent administrator. He feared that, with Congress in power, a jail ticket might become a passport to high office. The position now became worse, when many who only had a "party ticket" edged for positions of power and influence.

If the Congress had been dissolved after Independence, it is most likely that Nehru would have emerged as leader of one party and Vallabhbhai of the other. The emergence of two such parties not so widely divided in political and economic outlook would have been a healthy development for the country, and for democracy. If, again, Vallabhbhai had died before Gandhi, Nehru would not have felt a continual sense of insecurity within the party. While Vallabhbhai was alive, he could not kick back at the party. After Vallabhbhai's death, the sense of insecurity continued. Safe, loyal men were difficult to find. To remove the element of insecurity he tried to win over key party-men who had reached positions of power under Vallabhbhai, even though they did not share his political convictions. He became Gandhi, Vallabhbhai and Nehru rolled into one. He gathered around him a widening circle of party-men, Cambridge associates, and kinsmen from the Kashmiri clan. But among them he had very few confidants. There was in fact no one, except perhaps his daughter in later years, in whom he confided unreservedly.

A born exhibitionist, an actor who could simulate the pose best suited to a circumstance, the real Nehru now lived in a chrysalis of his mental creation, insulated against the consequences of his actions, feeding his ego on seeming triumphs, blaming others for set-backs and failures—feeling all the time a sense of superiority and insecurity which both increased with

the diminishing IQ of the associates around him. There were now times when Nehru spoke to you, and the real Nehru passed you by. There were other times when Nehru overpowered you with an intense emotional impact, like a depth charge from a highpowered dynamo, without even saying a word. He became a man of shocks and surprises; a man of paradoxes and contradictions. He became a man with highly strung nerves, and a will of iron; a volatile, excitable temperament and yet capable of utmost patience; a bundle of indecisions, and a man of intense action; a thinker of extraordinary depth and clarity, but invoking intuition to dictate big decisions; a man of long silences, and at the same time a voluble speaker whose resistance broke down in front of the mike.

Nehru was intensely human. He liked good food, flowers, works of art, music, plays, books, beauty in general, and attractive women. In food he was like his father an epicure and not a gourmet. Of flowers he wanted the best, but never had a gardener's enthusiasm. He liked seeing well-produced plays, scanning select books, listening to choice music, but only when he had spare time. Of these he preferred to be more of a patron than a connoisseur. Handsome physically, he could cast a spell as a conversationalist on anyone he met. Where women were concerned, these two qualities, combined with a certain amount of emotional intensity, made him irresistible. He won the hearts of many, but offered his serious loyalty to a very few. Even among these few there was no one whom he permitted to come permanently between him and his life's mission. This only emphasised his sense of loneliness. In doing so he had to deny to himself the emotional impulses he valued most, not because like Gandhi he considered them taboo, but because beyond a certain measure he valued his mission and purpose more.

If he could not clearly define the Socialism of his concept, it was because he himself was feudal in his approach to life, and socialistic only in his approach to political problems. India itself was a country to which no dogmas or theories propounded by those alien to its problems could apply. The answer to its

national allergies, individual idiosyncrasies and social and economic inequalities could not be provided either by Engels, Proudhon, Lenin or Karl Marx. Even Gandhi failed to give a complete answer. It is not surprising that Nehru should now on have felt bewildered, even though the country gave him the green signal to evolve for it a pattern of society he deemed most suitable.

## A Classless Society

He was wearing a saffron-dyed mini-dhoti, under a white, badly-tailored mini-shirt. He escorted me to a little room. This served as bed-sitting-dining room in his double-storied, twenty-roomed mansion. His wooden slippers, with their centie knob held between the big toe and the second toe, sounded "klip-a-klap". "Sit down," he said, "pointing to a rush chair. He himself squatted on a wooden Diwan, with saffron-dyed covers on its mattress and cushions. "Lallaji",<sup>1</sup> as he was familiarly known, was then one of the few multi-millionaires in Delhi.

The Banyas of earlier days started life, with borrowed money, in a rented place, and out of nothing built fabulous fortunes. A big house was a prestige symbol. The Banyas ate sparingly, dressed in slovenly simplicity, and worked hard from sunrise till late after sunset. "Lallaji" was no exception. Even then his display of saffron-dyed simplicity seemed to me unusual. I asked if this was a "stunt" or a prelude to his becoming a Sadhu. "No," said Lallaji, "I have no desire to become a Sadhu. I am practising Socialism. In this I am more inclined to agree with Gandhi than Nehru. I have reduced my personal wants. I spend on myself no more than does one of my mill workers. I hope to use a greater part of my wealth as a trust, in the service of my fellow citizens."

The saffron phase did not last long. Lallaji soon returned to normal life. He did donate a large part of his immense fortune to good causes. Like many other idealistic preachings of

<sup>1</sup> Sir Shri Ram.



the Mahatma, the Gandhian concept of Socialism died with Gandhi.

Though Nehru believed as sincerely as Gandhi in diminishing the disparities of wealth, "class", and "caste", he made considerable allowance for pomp and ostentation in the name of party and State. Nehru himself dressed elegantly. In the twelve-acre Prime Minister's Estate, he surrounded himself with all that good taste and feudal comfort could command. But what came naturally to Nehru carried an element of non-vulgar vulgarity where many of his colleagues were concerned. They began to look upon themselves as the privileged and the "chosen ones" and considered public funds as a private preserve, expendable at their discretion even to meet their private requirements.<sup>2</sup> Palatial buildings were either acquired or built for ministers, or to serve as exclusive guest-houses for officials and party bosses.<sup>3</sup> Taxpayer-subsidised amenities gave to the new class the same illusion as my friend Lallu had created for himself of spending no more than one of his mill workers on personal wants.<sup>4</sup>

To reduce the accumulation of wealth in private hands, and to accelerate the process of rapid industrialization, a large number of essential industries involving hundreds of crores of investment were started by the state. These represented the "public sector". In setting up Railways, establishing the tele-

<sup>2</sup> Dylas (of Yugoslavia) in his book *The New Class* writes: "By various methods such as nationalization, compulsory co-operation, high taxes and price irregularities, private ownership was destroyed—country homes, the best housing furniture and similar things were acquired, special quarters and exclusive resthouses were established for the elite of the new Class." p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> A well-furnished, double bedroom in these palatial establishments cost Rs 5/- per day. Similar hotel accommodation cost a private individual more than ten times. The rates for three square meals and two teas were at places Rs 10/- to Rs 15/- per day. In Cochin, in the aristocratic state guest-house overlooking the sea, for a suite consisting of a very large sitting room, an office, a colossal bedroom with separate dressing rooms and bathrooms the charges were Rs 40/- for two including excellent meals.

<sup>4</sup> According to estimates made by critical members in the Lok Sabha, a Minister's emoluments, inclusive of tax-free perquisites, came to over three lakh rupees a year.

graph and the telephone systems, putting up ordinance factories, or controlling mines, the purpose the British had was to control public utilities for effective administration. This was state ownership. The new state now started acquiring control of aviation, life insurance, banks, natural oil resources, dry docks, ship yards, radio, television, milk supply, transport and a score of big and small industries. In no country in the world had a democratic Government acquired in such a short time control of such vast industrial, commercial and public utility enterprises and financial resources as the Congress Government did in the two decades of independence. Although rightly impatient to set up and enlarge the public sector, the Congress did not have in the party, or in the Government competent technocrats or men of administrative experience or ability to manage these colossal undertakings involving billions. What was designed to promote economic expansion, in actual practice resulted in a most inefficient and a thoroughly amateurish and gravely mismanaged, bureaucratically run form of state capitalism.<sup>5</sup>

As a further step towards socialisation a whole range of throttling controls were introduced at various levels so that, except the tempers of the opposition and the amenities of the ministers, very little remained uncontrolled.<sup>6</sup> While some control may have been necessary, the administration of controls was, not just faulty, but profoundly annoying. Few at the top realized what these controls meant to the common citizen in waste of time, physical discomfort, humiliation and frustration.

<sup>5</sup> Dylas in his book *The New Class* writes 'It is the bureaucracy which finally uses administers and controls both nationalized and socialized property as well as the entire life of society. This process of extended state control or nationalization he writes has 'the origin of a new form of ownership of a new ruling class. According to Dylas the new class cannot assume its oligarchic power unless it endeavours to eliminate other classes. Hence the cry for a Classless Society.

<sup>6</sup> Licensed imports controlled practically every industry in the country. Then there was control on cement and bricks control on kerosene and spirit control on cereals and sugar control on fuel and chemicals control on water supply and electricity control on foreign travel on gold and—the least successful of all—birth control.

A man or his wife had to wait mornings in queue for a doubtful half pint of milk. They had then to line up for a kilogram of coal. Once a week, for the weekly ration. The common man had to queue at bus stops, at railway stations, before clerks to obtain ration cards for sugar, cereals and kerosine, outside hospitals to obtain medical attendance, at postal windows to deposit money or to get a stamp.

In order to meet a soaring bill of expenditure, on losing enterprises and an expanding army of employees, the Government resorted to a policy of taxation which, in terms of its variety and incidence, had no parallel in any country in the world. Two men stand out conspicuously whom Nehru handpicked to implement the socialistic commitments of the Congress party. T. T. Krishnamachari was an astute Brahmin hailing from Madras. He started life as a sales agent for a British set-up in Bombay. He resigned to join politics. He became a member of the Legislative Assembly. In later years he joined the Congress party. Morarji Desai hailed from Ahmedabad. He had served as an executive in the British administration, but resigned in response to Gandhi's appeal to public servants to withdraw their cooperation from the British. Morarji Desai shared only one thing with Nehru. They belonged to the same party. He considered Gandhi his spiritual guide, and Vallabhbhai Patel his political guru. Starting as a Minister in the Bombay Cabinet, he rose to be the Chief Minister. Like Vallabhbhai he was strong, efficient, and obstinate. Like Vallabhbhai he was neither a leftist nor a rightist.

Only in one matter did Morarji Desai discard realism and slip into the morass of Idealism. Being a tee-totaler himself, he felt that, as a devotee of Gandhi, the one great reform he could introduce in Bombay by legislation was "prohibition". It was one of the most daring social legislations introduced by any state government in the world after the expensive failure of the experiment in the United States. It meant a loss of crores in revenue and an expenditure of several crores in enforcement machinery. Open drinking diminished considerably. But social and moral evils, crime and corruption resulting

from prohibition obscured totally the moral gains. Prohibition made crime profitable. The smuggler, the illicit brewer, the bottlegger, colluding with customs, excise and police officials, set up an expanding underworld of crime and corruption. Even those who never thought of a drink joined in the clandestine thrill of visiting improvised bars and "speak-easies" in which the city of Bombay suddenly began to abound. With "speak-easies" and illicit bars came the depravities of unregulated night life. It was freely said that the only liquor shop open to non-permit holders day and night was a well-known police station in the crime area. The best illicit brew came from the prisons where bottleggers were detained.

T. T. Krishnamachari originally joined the Government as Minister for Commerce. Deshmukh, his predecessor, was for giving the highest priority to capital goods. T.T.K. was liberal towards toothbrushes, cosmetics, other consumer requirements, including even foreign sweets and chocolates. Deshmukh believed that taxation should be like feathering a goose: "maximum feathers without hurting"! T.T.K. was neither a Socialist nor a financial expert. He had the flexible mind of a politician. When Deshmukh resigned, Nehru wanted someone with a Socialist bias. Dr Kalder, a leftist economist, had visited India and impressed Nehru with his unconventional ideas on taxation. T.T.K. not only started "talking Socialism" but was one of the few who began advocating that a Socialistic pattern was possible through taxation on the lines suggested by Dr Kalder. Thus T.T.K. was moved from "Commerce" to "Finance". Besides other direct and indirect taxes, he introduced the Expenditure Tax. This enthused Nehru and bewildered the economists.

Moraji was invited to join the Central Cabinet. He came with high hopes of becoming either the Home Minister or Minister for Defence with a claim to Deputy Prime Ministership. In appointing him to a stop-gap vacancy<sup>7</sup> created by T.T.K., Nehru did not encourage such a hope. The unpredictable however happened. After a few years T.T.K. came under

<sup>7</sup> Commerce Minister.

a cloud and resigned.<sup>8</sup> Nehru did not expect this to happen. He felt bewildered why 'Calpurnia' did not keep herself "above suspicion". Nehru now wanted someone to restore national confidence in the soundness of the Government's economic policies. Morarji was the only one with party influence and popular prestige. Even though Morarji did not share the economic theories of TTK and had no bias for Kalder, Morarji was appointed Finance Minister. Morarji abolished the Expenditure Tax and introduced a scheme of annuity deposits to induce savings. While his financial experiments were still in the law, Morarji lost his seat in the Lok Sabha in the elections. Meanwhile TTK made a last minute photo finish bid to get reelected unopposed. He was again put in charge of Finance. TTK reimposed the Expenditure Tax.<sup>9</sup> He pronounced the Compulsory Deposit Scheme as misconceived and amateurish. Instead he introduced the Annuity Deposit Plan. Thus through a complex, confusing unstable and amateurish process of trial and error, these short term Ministers developed a financial chaos which led to heavy deficit financing, a lot of avoidable waste, and a blocking of national economy.

In determining sartorial conventions and living standards, the leaders found themselves between Socialistic pulls on the one hand and the need to keep up with the standards of the diplomatic corp on the other. Most diplomats lived in a state of princely pomp and splendour out of reach even to their own ministers at home. The "VIP" now represented a new class. If you were not a VIP you were a nobody. The VIP group included diplomats, Ministers and other political big-wigs. They all used chauffeur driven limousines, employed a battery of chaprasis and lived in stately mansions. Thus the new Classless Society came to represent a rare motley of contrasting colours. The tattered loin cloth, the feudal *achkan*, the taitan bushshirt, the babu's tunic, the blue decoran suit,

<sup>8</sup>The financial transactions of one Mundra, a business adventurer, involving lakhs in LIC investments and the Finance Ministry led to a major scandal and a public inquiry. The inquiry left some black spots on TTK's escutcheon.

<sup>9</sup>Only to abolish it within a year.

the custom-built cadillac, the stately mansions, the jhuggies and the jhompies. All these represented a rare weave of permissive economic co-existence. They constituted a feudal format for the new "Socialist" pattern, intended to obliterate distinctions between the affluent and the poor.

## Of Mice and Rice

"We could send you plenty of mice, your Excellency. In fact, any amount, free. India need only pay freight charges," said the Ambassador of Argentina<sup>1</sup> to the then President of India, Rajendra Prasad, a former Minister for Food. The Ambassador was an affable, well-meaning, generous individual. The President, though seemingly shocked, maintained an air of politeness and with a chuckle suggested I take the Ambassador to K. M. Munshi who was then the Minister for Food. Munshi was standing at a little distance among other guests attending the President's party.

K. M. Munshi had been an outstanding lawyer, an author and a brilliant playwright. He was an astute politician. He had been off and on in and out of the Congress during the last twenty years. He was short, lean and vibrant. He was unduly conscious of his capacity to think and decide quickly for everyone else. He had an "I-know-all" ego, and felt that whether it was food, a constitution, or a rabbit, he just had to wave a wand and, "pocsto", it would be there. Within a short time of his taking charge of the food ministry, he had made two original contributions towards "improving" the food situation. He and Mrs. Munshi, both competitors in slimming and fad-dists in food habits, had created a non-cereal diet to make common people "change their food habits". Mrs. Munshi succeeded in creating a variety of substitutes for rice and wheat out of jack fruit, raw bananas, sweet potatoes, lentils, tapioca,

<sup>1</sup> 1950

lotus roots, etc. Although cereals were in short supply, the substitutes were much more expensive.

Munshi's second "outstanding" contribution was the discovery that ever since the Vedic period, on a special day before the commencement of the monsoon, trees were planted all over India. The festival was called *Van Mahantsav*. Behind this great ritual, he explained, was a scientific concept, namely, "more trees, more under-soil water and more vapour-condensing areas in the country, resulting in plentiful rains". That year, on *Van Mahantsav* day, everyone of any importance in the country, from the Prime Minister downwards, took time off, to plant solemnly and ceremonially, thousands of little saplings in different cities. The ceremony helped to satisfy the ego of many high and low dignitaries, offering them the hope that while they may be forgotten, there would still be a tree or two associated with their names. To the people this exercise in pit-digging generated the vision that every tree meant more rain and more food for the hungry. Very few of the saplings survived beyond a week.

As a "vegetarian", Munshi felt manifestly offended when the Ambassador made his offer. He had heard that in China certain types of "lice" were a delicacy and a special species of rodents was staple food. "It is very kind of your Excellency, but our people do not eat mice," he said curtly. "It is high time they did," protested the Ambassador. "Some people in our Embassy could help in teaching them how to cook. There are sixteen-odd ways of cooking mice. We prepare loaves. In Mexico they even make *tortias*. Guess you call them 'chupattees'." Munshi soon discovered that the Ambassador's country had a large surplus of maize, and the confusion lay in the way the word was being pronounced by him.

We invited Babu Rajendra Prasad to inaugurate a non-cereal food exhibition. When arrangements were being made for the exhibition, the Ambassador offered to help in introducing a few non-cereal dishes of his country. Ladies from his Embassy prepared almost a dozen excellent dishes. Apart from the regular *tortia* (chapatti), pop-corn, corn on cob, corn soup, etc., there



were mincemeat corn bread, meat stuffed corn loaf, hot dogs in corn rolls, etc. I was delighted. Mrs Munshi was shocked. "But, Madam, you must taste the dishes. They are very nice. They have no wheat, no rice," urged the Ambassador. "We want only vegetarian dishes for the exhibition, Your Excellency," protested Mrs Munshi.

The Ambassador could not easily associate such an orthodox outlook with her bobbed hair. "But, Madam, your country has enough meat. Look at the large number of useless cattle in the streets and on the roads. I have seen some good hogs in the villages going to Agra and Jaipur. Then you have plentiful birds. They only eat away your grain. I do not know what monkeys taste like. But you have these in thousands. Besides, a large number of your people are meat eaters. It is not merely cereals that you can use, but a lot of your own local meat. Your country may be short of rice, or a little of wheat, but otherwise you have a lot of food for your people, if they are told how to use these plentiful natural resources. Look at your seashores, lakes and ponds. What fish, Madam!" he added persuasively. "With the way your population is growing, if the people are not made to feed on any and every nourishing thing they can get, the time will soon come when all the surplus rice and wheat of the world will not help to meet India's needs."

Mrs Munshi did not like this homily and suggested in Hindustani that I explain why we had to exclude meat dishes from the exhibition. Frankly, I could offer no convincing explanation, except that the Munshis were vegetarians. Besides, the introduction of meat at the exhibition could lead to needless controversies. A large part of the population, it was true, were non-vegetarian. But the Hindus, I explained, abjured beef, and the Muslims pork. Both had religious taboos concerning the methods of killing. Nonetheless, I was inclined to agree fully with his rational approach.

In 1949, basing his views on the doubtful data supplied by the Food Department, Nehru estimated<sup>2</sup> the food deficit to be

<sup>2</sup> Speech at the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, March 4, 1949.

seven to eight per cent. "It should be easily possible . . ." he said, "in the course of the next two years or so . . . by bringing fresh areas under cultivation, or by a change of food habits, to fill this deficit of seven to eight per cent." In this mood of illusory optimism, Nehru declared, "I think of not getting any food from abroad after a certain period—let us put it two years. I should not add a day more, and we must make up our minds that we shall all live on the food that we produce after two years or die in the attempt." Three years later, Dr Lanka Sundaram, M.P., reminded the Prime Minister of this pledge. Nehru apologised and said, "I regret, however, that my words have been falsified. I feel thoroughly ashamed that what was almost a pledge to the country has been broken." He however still maintained that by the end of the first plan they would have put "an end to them (food imports)" and "we may be eventually exporting some of our surplus food."<sup>3</sup>

In 1949 I was in New York. I was requested to be present at a ceremony arranged by Press Correspondents at the United Nations who had collected special funds to send a few tons of wheat to India. It represented a great sacrifice on their part. It was also for them a tremendous humanitarian gesture. In 1951 I was at Adelaide (Australia) where I was invited to participate in a similar ceremony. The Rotary Club of Adelaide had collected funds to send a few tons of wheat to India. I was even asked

<sup>3</sup>At the time of the first National Food Conference called by Rajendra Prasad, then Minister for Food in a memorable address Gandhi warned against India turning a beggar, and insisted that by enlisting the cooperation of the people, the problem could be solved. His views were not heeded. "We must reclaim all waste land which is capable of being placed under immediate cultivation," he had said. "If every farmer were to realize the necessity of growing food wherever food could be grown, we should most probably forget that there was scarcity of foodstuffs in the land" (Tendulkar op cit., Vol. VIII)

Gandhi wanted rationing and other controls to be lifted, and distribution of food stuffs left to normal local agencies. "Centralization of the food stuffs, I apprehend, is ruinous. Decentralization easily deals a blow to black-marketing and will save the country millions." He called for "self help and self reliance" and warned against dependence on foreign countries which would ultimately lead to "bankruptcy." In any case, Gandhi said, "we must not go abegging. It demoralizes."

to make a speech I felt overwhelmed by the generosity of these men and women I said so But in my heart, on both these occasions and on many other occasions, like any other Indian, when I had to acknowledge acts of similar generosity I felt more shame than gratitude As time passed, Indian politicians on the other hand almost felt as if this charity on the part of the donors was an obligation, and for India to receive it was a matter of right Every new Food Minister blusteringly promised that he intended tackling the food problem on a 'wai footing' But one after the other they all failed The average life of a Food Minister did not go beyond two years

Rationing of wheat and rice was first introduced by the British during the war Sri J P Srivastava was the Minister for Food "J P" was an astute politician, a clever businessman and generally a very happy go lucky individual I asked him once if he seriously believed that the very expensive machinery of rationing which covered only a fraction of the country was effective or necessary? "Yes and no," he said "Nobody knows how much shortage of food there is in the country Maybe there is even a surplus" "But how can rationing for say twenty million people only in large cities take care of the food needs of a total four hundred million inhabitants?" I asked "Isn't that funny?" he said "I have often asked that question myself But your Congress friends take it for granted It is clear that the Government trusts the other four hundred millions to take care of themselves" Sri J P had a delightful sense of humour, and an extraordinary way of laughing He narrowed his shoulders, broadened his all too broad lower lip, closed his bleary eyes and with a little spurt burst into loud laughter before he said what he considered humorous "There has been rationing in UK since the war started Some Congress politicians complained that if we had followed Britain's example earlier, the Bengal famine could have been prevented Rationing now gives them the illusion that by adopting the British system, food supplies to the people have been assured! Aren't they infantile?"

Rafi Ahmed Kidwai was neither learned nor brilliant. But he was a great realist. Kidwai took quick decisions, sometimes acted intuitively and had a way of making things move. In 1953 Rafi took up the Food portfolio. Before officially taking charge, Rafi mysteriously disappeared. Very few even among his intimates knew about his "hide-out". I was to be one of those few.<sup>4</sup> Among other things, I asked what he was doing watching races and the Indian Ocean when he should be sitting in the Secretariat solving the food problem. "Do you think I am wasting time?" retorted Rafi. "I have driven out to villages and small towns. I do not want to meet secretaries and politicians for some time. I want to meet common people, peasants, labourers, petty traders. I would even like to meet wholesalers, black-marketeers, importers, etc. etc. But not as the Food Minister."

Rafi spent a few weeks away from Delhi changing from one hide-out to the other. Soon after taking official charge, he decided to end rationing. He closed down all rationing offices and depots. For the first time after years, India had free trading in grains and cereals. His colleagues were first shocked at the grave risks involved in such an unconventional decision. The planners produced carefully assembled data to prove the dangers involved. But then fears were belied by experience. In the few years that followed, food production went up in the country. Foreign imports diminished from year to year, prices kept fairly within the representative index for other essentials. Millions were saved by closing the Rationing Department. The peasants felt happy. The traders were more than enthusiastic. The people in the former rationed areas breathed a sigh of utmost relief. For once they were saved the torture and the humiliation of queuing to obtain a handful of gram or rice. When Rafi died, free trading in cereals died with him.

<sup>4</sup>I accidentally met him during one of his unusual visits to the rice course in Bombay and then started visiting him in his seashore shack on the Juhu Beach, where he was relaxing.

## A Planners' Paradise

Shri Gulzari Lal Nanda, lawyer by profession, Trade Unionist by adoption, and a socialist by belief, was one of the most honest politicians around Nehru. Before joining the Cabinet he had distinguished himself as a labour leader in Ahmedabad. When I knew him first, he was a two garment politician, simple in habits, simple in dress, and simple in his normal way of living. When he joined as Labour Minister in the Nehru Cabinet, he added a "Jawahar vest" to his garments for informal occasions, and an indifferently tailored long coat buttoned to the neck as formal attire. His unevenly drooping growth on the upper lip was another one of his distinguishing trade marks. This was trimmed to accord with the dignities of office.

Except that they both shared a flare for Socialism, Nehru and Nandaji had very little in common. In fact, there were many things about Nandaji which Nehru thoroughly disliked. Nehru could not suffer Sadhus. Nandaji had a deep regard for all kinds of Sadhus and Yogis. He had his own private astrologer who regulated his movements and actions in accord with the directives of the planets. Where his advice conflicted with that of the officials, Nandaji was more inclined to be guided by the astrologer. He was a faddist in diet. He carried his own meals, if he could not take his private cook with him. When a Member of Parliament referred to the danger of a 'hot case' with live coals being carried by a Minister during air trips, the Prime Minister felt seriously embarrassed.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> One of the aides in the Indian High Commissioner's office in London.

Nandaji approached every subject in a circle rather than in a straight line. He employed a hundred words where ten would be too many. He enjoyed repeating himself for the pleasure of listening to his own voice. With all that, his integrity, his patriotism and his sincere dedication to the cause of service to the common man were never in doubt. It was these three qualities, so very rare among those around Nehru at the time, that persuaded him to ignore the fads and spiritual vagaries of Nandaji. He began associating him closer and closer with the administration. In addition to his ministerial duties, Nandaji soon found himself directing the operations of the Planning Commission.

Nehru had a Marxist's faith in planning. While his sense of individualism revolted against the non control of the Politburo in Russia, he was highly impressed by the successive Five Year Plans of the Soviet Government. Soon after Independence, Nehru formally set up a Planning Commission to draw up the first Five Year Plan. Its members were men of outstanding ability with a vast experience of administration. They were free from political or ideological "isms", and bereft of any doctrinaire inhibitions or obsessions.<sup>2</sup> The Commission produced an unambitious, realistic First Plan which soon put the country on the road to economic recovery. In many directions the targets of the Plan were exceeded.

Soon, however, the Planning Commission underwent rapid

told me about a Minister for whom reservations had been made at Claridge's. "I would prefer to have my own simple diet," the Minister had said. "If you could just get me the 'cook' for a few minutes, I could give him the ingredients and tell him what to do." The aide felt it was easier to approach his own High Commissioner than to summon the Chef.

<sup>2</sup>Deshmukh, the Vice-Chairman, was one of the finest financial brains to have ever joined the Nehru Cabinet. V. T. Krishnamachari (75) was the grand builder of Baroda. He had also been the Prime Minister of Jaipur. Chandu Trivedi (69) was one of the most brilliant and outstanding members of the Indian Civil Service with a versatile experience in several jobs of great responsibility. K. C. Neogy (68) had been a member of the opposition in the Legislative Assembly for more than two decades. He had been a constructive critic of the administration and a keen student of politics.

changes With the Second and Third Plan, the Planning Commission gained more and more in prestige and size. From a small, compact body, it grew into a large administrative machine, with an expensive and expanding Secretariat representing in itself a microcosm of all Central and State departments<sup>3</sup>

Since Nehru was the head of the Planning Commission, membership of the Commission became attractive, and in the case of many aspirants, a stepping stone to ambassadorial, ministerial and other important positions Economists who before Independence had advocated an economy oriented to production through private enterprise and *laissez faire* began finding extraordinary virtues in controls, high taxation, state ownership and indeterminate socialist patterns Some of them even discarded their western garments in favour of khadi, in the hope that this physical faith in the handloom might further convince the Prime Minister of their altered beliefs Thus in due course the pattern of membership changed Practical minded, experienced and realistic veterans were slowly replaced by inexperienced, "Socialism" oriented, theoretical men, capable of preparing ambitious blue prints, but incapable perhaps of successfully running a barber shop

By the time of the Second Plan, the Government had overcome inhibitions about carrying the beggar's bowl for "aid". The success of the First Plan, the prestige of Nehru as the unaligned peace maker, and the size, capacity and importance of India in South Asia as a great democracy, all contributed to build up a "Help India" psychology in different countries of the world Aid and loans started pouring in from many quarters

Not satisfied with the many millions that foreigners offered in loans and charity, the planners wanted the Government to mop up all that could be obtained through every conceivable method of taxation Thus in the ten years of the Second and Third Plan, India spent the normal revenues of fifty years The interest on the loans alone was more than a few years' revenue.

<sup>3</sup>The Planning Commission shifted to its own six storeyed airconditioned building Yojana Bhavan

The have-nots soon began to shout, "The rich have become richer, the poor have become poorer!" The rich complained, "Too much money has been pumped into the economy. The taxes are too heavy to permit any incentive. The rupee has lost its purchasing power. The dog is eating its tail!" Students clamoured, "We have graduation diplomas but no jobs!" The wage earners protested, "We have jobs at three times the old wages. But prices are six times higher!" The salaried classes felt squeezed in between slow-rising incomes and sky-rocketing prices. One section demanded, "Remove controls as these create black money, corrupt officials and shortages!" Another section shouted, "Confiscate black money, freeze profits, nationalize as many trades and industries as possible!" The voice of discontent and distress became louder and more confused!

The planners were a mixed lot: Good, bad and indifferent. Those with experience lived too much in the past to be able to project their minds into the future. Those who had read all the theories were mostly lacking in experience. Hardly any of the whole-time incumbents stayed long enough to face the results of their planning, to test where they had done well or where they had blundered. The average life of a planning member was less than two years. The plan span was fixed at five. When the Third Plan hit the marshes, and the Fourth Plan was stymied for lack of funds, the Planning Commission had lost all its members. One by one they left for better jobs or pastures new.



## “Maulana” Teaches Milton

I sat looking at the sapphire-blue waters of the Nainital Lake, one of the most picturesque small lakes in the world. I was reading P. G. Wodehouse. I had time hanging on my hands. Exactly within half an hour I and a couple of other press representatives were to be handed printed lists in which would be recorded the fate of more than twenty thousand boys and girls distributed all over the United Provinces. For years the papers had published the results on being received by post in the ordinary course. I was determined this year to be the first to publish the list and had come personally only for this purpose. I had already met the telegraph supervisor and the two morse men under him and had been assured fullest cooperation. As I was looking across at the lake between intervals of reading Wodehouse, I had a brain wave. There was still half an hour before the Registrar was to hand over the results to us. I walked over to the telegraph office. Supposing I gave him part of the chapter from P. G. Wodehouse I had read, to telegraph to my paper, what time would it take to clean? The amused chief made a careful calculation and said, two days, if important government messages do not intervene. “Good,” I said, smiling. I tore the pages, pasted them on the forms, signed my name and handed over the “message.” “You are not serious, Sir?” asked the supervisor. “I am.” “But it will cost a lot of money even at Press Rates,” he warned. “I know.” I wished I could tell him that the gamble I was taking opened up fresh prospects of my beating my rivals by a scoop, and selling my paper to

the thousands of young hopefuls hours before others. The tick worked!

In no country in the world could one imagine editors trying to scoop each other on examination results! Nowhere in the world have school and university examinations meant so much to so many in determining their future life and in influencing the family economy of their parents. I have often remembered the words of Marshall Pibul Songiam, who was dictator of Thailand when I visited that country in the 'fifties. Thailand had an agricultural college, euphemistically referred to as the Agricultural University, a teachers' seminary called a Teachers' University and a few other higher educational institutions all with impressive names. The chief source of education was a large number of minor schools attached to monasteries. Eighty per cent of the people were "literate", but education except for a few thousand stopped at the elementary stage. "Education is good," mused the earthy Pibul. "But education can be harmful. Too much of it can be a curse. Everyone does not have the same brain. But everyone who has the same diploma thinks so. So the more diplomas you distribute, the more fools you have on your hands. Then you go about creating new jobs for them. But this does not reduce the number of fools! In Thailand, we have literacy, but not too much education. The people are happy. They can read and write, but they will do any job, in the city or on the farm."

In India, the picture was just the opposite. Men and women—whole families—starved to provide boys and girls with "education", to procure some kind of diploma or degree. The system of education the British had left was primarily aimed at producing administrative subordinates, executive underlings and clerks.

Of all the people around him, Nehru selected Maulana Abul Kalam Azad as the first Minister of Education. He remained in charge of education till he died in 1959. Abul Kalam was born in Mecca.<sup>1</sup> His father, a great Arabic scholar, looked after his education in early years. "My father was a man who

believed in the old ways of life,"<sup>2</sup> writes Azad. "He had no faith in western education, and never thought of giving me an education of the modern type." At sixteen he learnt the English Alphabet from his tutor. Azad, Ansari and myself were in prison together for a short period in the early thirties. Azad thought Ansari a politician without any religious base. "He is a Mulla first and a Mulla last," said Ansari of Azad. "He sits in Delhi and dreams of Mecca." The Maulana had developed a good grasp of fundamentals in politics and economics. But internationally the epicentre of his thinking lay in the middle east. He might have distinguished as Chancellor of an institution for theological research and Islamic studies like Al Hazar, but as a Minister of Education he was definitely a square peg in a very round hole. Unfortunately for him, Milton did not compose poetry in Arabic. It was impossible for anyone to convince Nehru of this apparent fact. "You do not need to possess a diploma or a degree to become a Minister." Nehru often pleaded on behalf of the Maulana and his other "self-educated" colleagues.

Quantitatively, during Azad's twelve years of Ministership, the progress made by India in the field of education was colossal. Qualitatively the system remained practically the same as in 1947. His slogan was "more education" but not "better education". From 60 crores in 1947, State expenditure on education rose to six hundred crores. Fifty million children were enrolled in elementary schools. Eight out of every eleven children under eleven years were attending school. The number of students rose from three million to eighteen million. These astronomical figures, quantitatively, represented a staggering achievement. Assessed qualitatively, they represented a monumental failure. "The destiny of India," wrote the Educational Commission in 1967, "is being shaped in her classrooms. The human material emerging out of these classrooms is very much inferior to what was being turned out in 1947. The choice of studies remains mostly divorced from considerations of livelihood."

<sup>2</sup> Azad, *India Wins Freedom*

Since the Maulana himself was not conventionally educated, he was keen on showing quick results to prove his competence. Thus instead of waiting for the slow process of revising curricula, remodelling the whole system, he and his associates chose the more spectacular course and spent most of the funds multiplying conventional schools, colleges and universities.

The British not only encouraged but deliberately subsidised sectarian and denominational institutions all over the country. Thus in Northern India, for example, the pattern of education involved an Islamia College for Muslims, a Khalsa College for Sikhs, a D.A.V. College for Arya Samajists, a Sanatan Dharam College for Sanatanists, and here and there a Jain College for Jains and a missionary college for Christians. In all these institutions the general curriculum was uniform but the extra-curricular preachings and activities tended to emphasise divisive sectarian, caste or communal tendencies. In these institutions, the seeds of division were daily sown by educationists. They should have been the first to be nationalised. The Aligarh Muslim University was one institution which the Maulana as a muslim could have nationalised without being misunderstood. And yet it was not only encouraged to retain its Islamic identity, but it continued to be the centre of belligerent muslim communalism lending itself to anti-national and pro-Pakistan activities.<sup>3</sup> In his own department, through polarisation, patronage or blatant favouritism, Azad introduced so many Muslim officers, that Vallabhbhai Patel often quipped: "If you want to see a miniature Pakistan, go to the education ministry."

Abul Kalam Azad and his Education Ministry made few contributions if any to the cultural life of the country. Abul Kalam had no interest in sports. He had a passion for Arabic, Persian and Urdu poetry, but he evinced no interest in painting, music or dancing. He founded the "Azad" Museum, but I doubt if he took much interest in its exhibits.

<sup>3</sup> "These parochial institutions," the Education Commission observed, "instead of promoting social and national integration and making an active effort to promote national consciousness, promote divisive tendencies"

The Ministry under Azad remained culturally moribund, and showed little interest or pride in the creative arts. It is no wonder that India should still be using a song written by Tagore two decades before Independence as the National Anthem. India paid a very heavy price for keeping Azad employed in a job for which he was least competent, and perpetuating a system of education which could only produce pen pushers and morons by the millions.

## The Attempt to Kill Nehru

Nagpur struck me as a dead city - featureless, lifeless, utterly lacking in animation. Traffic moved slowly in its congested streets, impeded by languishing groups of flea-infested cattle. The odour of drying dung got mixed up with the wafted smell of urea and the choking smoke of smouldering dung cakes. Its low, oddly constructed buildings were hardly calculated to rouse a tourist's enthusiasm.

Nagpur was known for its large, sweet, succulent oranges. It was also associated with some very controversial political personalities. In the late twenties the first conspicuous Congressman to sell out to the British and to accept office in the State Government was Tambe. Then there was the gray-bearded Di Moonje, who started as a Congressman and ended as the head of the Hindu Mahasabha. Di Khare was Congress Chief Minister in 1937. Khare now represented the extreme, militant Hindu point of view. Guru Golwalkar, the head of the RSS and the Jan Sangh, also had his headquarters in Nagpur. Although the Muslims of Nagpur were backward and generally poor, among a section of Hindus a feeling was growing that like Gandhi, Nehru was pampering the Muslims too much.

I had arrived to attend a national convention. We were waiting in the main park, where a mammoth meeting had been organized for Nehru whose arrival had been delayed. This was Nehru's first visit to Nagpur after becoming the Prime Minister. A long procession of cars had escorted him from the

airport to the city. Hundreds of thousands lined the streets to offer him a royal welcome. When Nehru's car reached a busy crossing, a man pulling a rickshaw suddenly dashed out of the crowd. He passed the motor cyclist outriders, dodged the dozens of armed policemen on duty, and, leaning his rickshaw against the car, jumped on the dash board. He then made for Nehru with a sharp knife. Before he could cause any serious injuries one of the security men in the car jumped out and caught hold of the assailant. It was this that had delayed Nehru's arrival.

When we met him in the park he was looking composed. I however knew that he was profoundly rattled. His private behest to me was to call up his daughter in Delhi through the police telephone. "I don't want Indira to worry. I will speak to her myself," he said. His second request was that, without attracting notice, I get a chair transported to the thirty feet high rostrum from where he was expected to address the mammoth audience. "I don't have the strength to address standing. Arrange it in such a way that I should be able to sit and speak when I want to," he said. That was the first occasion for Nehru to make use of a chair while addressing a mass meeting.<sup>1</sup> "Six inches of steel, in the hands of a misguided maniac, might have undone the work of a life time!" Speaking to me later, he continued "One shudders to think what would have happened if this insane youth had succeeded in his mad design! He little realized that by his stupid desperate act he was out to murder a cause not a human being."

For more than fifty years he had dreamt of a free united India. Pakistan was his first disillusionment. Even then Nehru had continued to hold steadfastly to secularism and unity. Nehru's forefathers came from Kashmir. But it was not for this reason that he resisted attempts to separate Kashmir from India. For him Kashmir was the acid test of Indian secularism. Kashmir proved to the world that the Hindus who were in a minority could live as happily in Kashmir among an over-

<sup>1</sup> The practice increased with the years till with failing health it became regular.

whelming majority of Muslims, as the Muslims in the rest of the country could live among the Hindus.

Even though Sheikh Abdullah and the Kashmir Constituent Assembly had accepted accession and declared Kashmir a part of the Union territory, it was irritating to find that Kashmir retained its own flag, its own special status, its own separate citizenship and its own "Prime Minister". To some of us who discussed the question of Kashmir with him, Abdullah freely asserted that it would be in everybody's interest if Kashmir was declared autonomous, or even independent like Switzerland, with a guarantee by the United Nations. Disillusioned in his one-time hero, Nehru consented to a change of government in Kashmir. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, the Sheikh's deputy, was asked to form a new Government. After a midnight chase, Sheikh Abdullah was arrested.<sup>2</sup>

Nehru vehemently asserted that he would not be party to any reorganization of State boundaries on a "linguistic" basis. Basing their demand entirely on the linguistic principle, the people and the Congress leaders of Andhra demanded the separation of the Telugu-speaking areas from Tamil-speaking Madras. The Cabinet rejected the demand. "We shall not be coerced," Nehru said. Feelings ran high. Many heads were broken. Then came the *coup de grace*, the Gandhian weapon, "a fast unto death". When all entreaties and public agitation failed, Sri Potti Srimulu, a distinguished Congress leader of Andhra, went on an indefinite fast. Government remained resolute and indifferent. Finally Potti Srimulu was reported dying. Nehru's resistance broke down. He decided to concede the demand. But the offer came too late. Potti had died a martyr to the cause of linguism.

C. D. Deshmukh was a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service. Deshmukh had married a French lady and lost her. Later he married in the late fifties<sup>3</sup> Deshmukh, apart from

<sup>2</sup> The arrest was ostensibly against Nehru's wishes or "instructions", but had his consent.

<sup>3</sup> Durgabai, a capable, corpulent, mature South Indian lady. Durgabai had been a distinguished social and political worker, a lawyer by profession, and a member of the Lok Sabha.



being a financial wizard, was a versatile scholar and a brilliant speaker. He was like Nehru, secular-minded. Nehru invited him to become the Finance Minister. India never had a more capable, more competent or more popular Finance Minister.

With the addition to it of two hundred odd States which made up Saurashtra,<sup>4</sup> Bombay had become too large. It was decided to divide Bombay into Gujarat and Maharashtra—one Gujarati-speaking and the other Marathi-speaking. The Government decided to create the metropolitan area of Bombay into a third State even though Bombay was predominantly Maharashtra. The Gujaratis were pleased. Maharashtra rebelled. Deshmukh was too much of an internationalist to allow language, caste or race to determine his political conduct. And yet he was sensitive enough to feel that the separation of Bombay from Maharashtra was a gross injustice. He had been elected to the Lok Sabha from an important Bombay constituency. He therefore felt it his duty to interpret the will of his constituents and also to protest against the injustice. He resigned. Nehru expected loyalty. He did not appreciate Deshmukh's courage or integrity. He even crudely reprimanded him for falling a prey to "parochialism and linguism".

Hindi, Urdu or Hindustani were closely allied but were anything but standard languages. There were many whose Hindi had a universal appeal—Kabir, Surdas, Tulsidas, Mirabai. Hindi written or spoken was variously referred to as Bhojpuri, Brajbhasha, Baiswari, etc. Hindustani had developed as a national esperanto. It was the language of popular films, of national songs of Iqbal, Ram Parshad Bismil Akbar and Chakrabarti of bhajans and love ditties, khayals and thumries, and was widely understood and appreciated over most of India. This the Mahatma had in mind when he pleaded for its being accepted as a national language.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The new name of the Union of Western Indian States.

<sup>5</sup> Gandhi (Harijan, January 1948) defined Hindi as "Hindustani" in the Devnagri script. He wanted this Hindi to be an amalgam of popular Hindi and Urdu. He was opposed to borrowing too much either from Persian or from Sanskrit on the plea of enriching the language. He proclaimed most emphatically, "I am undoubtedly an advocate of Hindustani. I say that

Having sponsored the constitutional imperative that "Hindi" replace English as the official language by 1965, Congress leaders found themselves the driftwood of a linguistic deluge let loose by Hindi enthusiasts. With fanatical fervour, they began so to Sanskritize popular Hindi that it ceased to have any kinship with Hindustani. It became overnight one of the least understood languages of the country.

E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker, an octogenarian with a flowing beard, a stormy voice and a rebellious spirit, was born in an orthodox non-Brahmin family in a small town near Trichy, during a period when the Brahmins in South India dominated the spiritual and intellectual life of the people. E. V. Ramaswamy Naicker became a rebel against the caste superiority of the Brahmins. In his eyes, the Brahmin, the idols of Ganesha and Parvati before whom they wanted the common folk to bow and pray, represented different facets of coercion, preventing the Southern non-Brahmins from progressing economically and politically. Naicker sought to fight Brahminism on all fronts, political, spiritual and economic. One of his early associates, Kamaraj Nadai, overthrew the Brahmin oligarchy within the Congress. He became the first non-Brahmin Chief Minister of Madras. Another of his lieutenants, Annadurai, climaxed the struggle against Hindi and Brahminism. Annadurai broke away from E. V. Naicker in the early 'fifties, when he decided at the age of 72 to marry one Maniyammal, a girl of twenty. Annadurai founded the DMK. When the Congress committed itself to imposing Hindi as the official language, it dug its grave in the South. Annadurai called on Brahmins and non-Brahmins alike, the Hindus and the Muslims, all those who spoke Tamil, to join in a common rebellion against the imposition of Hindi. At his behest, thousands of copies of the Indian Constitution were cast into demonstrative

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Hindustani will win in the end as the Sanskritized Hindi is entirely artificial while Hindustani is quite natural. In the same way the Persianized Urdu is artificial and unnatural." He wrote further "Which heart will not throb on hearing Iqbal's 'Hindustan Hamara' whether the language of the song is named Hindi, Hindustani or Urdu"

bonfires. Cinemas where Hindi films were being shown were boycotted and attacked. DMK flags were flown on practically every house, shop and hamlet.

Nehru had survived the assassin's knife. But as time passed he discovered that the ideals he had deeply cherished, one by one, had been stabbed by reality, and the dangers he had apprehended, and the evils he wished to combat, crowded around him like a hydra-headed monster. The India of his dreams was taking a long time a-making! The "Indian" had yet to be born!

## Alice in Dulles-Land

I had taken two air plants and a rare cactus a friend had sent from Mexico as a birthday gift. It was Nehru's 64th birthday! After a brief discussion on "Cabbages and Kings" as I was taking his leave, Nehru said, "Will I be seeing you this afternoon at the Press Conference?" Nehru's Press Conferences were always a big event. But of this I had no previous notice. The fact that he should have chosen this particular day to hold one was rather unusual.

After birthday greetings from Pressmen, the conference settled down to routine questions and answers. I could not understand why such a rush conference had been called unless the Prime Minister felt that the Press should be offered an opportunity to greet him on his birthdays. After major questions had been disposed of, Nehru suddenly became serious. There was lightning in his eyes. No thunder in his voice! But in what seemed almost like a cloudburst, he told pressmen that he had learnt through a "reliable source" that in her efforts to contain Communism and to convert the Pacific into a guarded "lake", the United States was planning in the name of collective security, to enter into military pacts with some Asian countries which had no regional proximity to the United States. One of these countries was Pakistan. This inclusion of Pakistan in a military pact would, he said, bring the danger of a cold war to India's back door. Within a few hours of this statement, Zafarullah, the Foreign Minister of Pakistan,

came out with a categorical contradiction and characterised the statement as a "baseless canard". An "official spokesman" of the American Government in Washington emphatically declared that no such plan was being considered. Evidently, neither the official spokesman nor Zafrullah knew that an offer of such a character had been made to Nehru by Truman during his visit to the U.S.A. It had been repeated, he told me, in a more concrete form at the instance of Dulles by Anthony Eden. It had been rejected. "But India cannot tell the United States what it should do," Dulles had then told Eden.

John Foster Dulles<sup>2</sup> was the eldest son of Rev. Allen Macy Dulles, D.D., a Presbyterian minister in New York. His grandfather also belonged to the church, but his maternal grandfather from whom he inherited his first name "John Foster", was a gracious patriarch of the old school. He had served on quite a few diplomatic assignments in his own time. Dulles inherited a deep patriotic fervour from his maternal grandfather, and an almost fanatical devotion to the church from his father and grandfather. Even though a Republican, Truman selected him as a member of the U.S. delegation to the United Nations. Eisenhower chose him to be the Secretary of State, and offered him practically a free hand in determining the foreign policy of the country. Thus, with a weak President in office, Dulles became, during a very crucial period in world history, the most powerful single policy-making authority in the United States. The cold war had then set in. Dulles and those of his way of thinking saw in Communism a much greater menace not only to world peace, but also to all that "Western civilization" stood for, than in Fascism or Nazism.

Dulles also saw in Communism a "challenge to Christianity". In his eyes Communism was a serious danger not only to the "State", but also to the "Church". If Dulles had been born in the middle ages, he would have led some army or the other in the crusades! It was in the spirit of a medieval crusader that he approached the challenge of Communism. Where Stalin

<sup>2</sup> Born February 25, 1888

and Mao Tse-tung were concerned, he could not think in terms of "co-existence". In his eyes the Christian countries in Europe, that had adopted a Communist system, had been forcibly dragooned into accepting political "atheism". It was for him as a defender of the Faith and of the Western people to fight for their "liberation".<sup>3</sup> Thus, in trying with fanatical zeal to meet the menace of "atheistic" Communism, John Foster Dulles himself became a serious menace to world peace. It happened that soon after Dulles assumed office, Stalin died. Dulles thus became the "Stalin" of the democracies.

Nehru never liked Stalin. Stalin considered Nehru a bourgeois. Dulles was also of a type Nehru could not like. Even more than that, Dulles had plans in which Nehru did not fit. If Stalin wanted satellites, Dulles wanted puppets. Having strengthened NATO with the inclusion of West Germany, Dulles began looking Eastwards. It was during this search for allies that India had been sounded through Eden, the then Foreign Minister of England, if it would join the alliance. Nehru had given an emphatic "No". Dulles was not the type to alter his plans to fit realities. He was one who would use all his energies and resources to force realities to fit his plans. Having got a "No" from India he sounded Pakistan and found it eager and willing.

A few months later Dulles and Vice-President Nixon<sup>4</sup> paid a visit to India. I had met Dulles a few years earlier at Lake Success. His speeches those days were well written, but his ideas always ran in one groove—"anti-Communism". His bi-focals framed in white metal resting on his nose, his face wearing a fixed frenzied expression, his voice monotonously gruff, his lips twitching in between words, his language Biblical in emphasis, his political ideas a mixture of Hobbes, Locke, Bergson and Jefferson, Dulles thundered like an evangelist, invoking the wrath of heaven on the Red despots who were out to destroy the kingdom of God, the soul of man and the economy of the United States. He seemed to me like a human

<sup>3</sup> Eleanor Lansing Dulles, *John Foster Dulles—The Last Year*, p. 99

<sup>4</sup> Elected President in 1968 on the Republican ticket

road roller, propelled by only one motivation, the creation of a massive deterrent to curb the spread of Communism, if this was possible, or to destroy Communism if that became necessary.

Nehru received Dulles and Nixon according to strict formalities of protocol. They were entertained to the usual banquets and receptions. They were invited to address a joint session of Parliament. There was a Press Conference and a tea cum coffee reception by the American Ambassador, George Allen. During all this one could not escape a feeling of frigidity on both sides. While addressing Parliament and speaking to the Press, it seemed as if Dulles was trying to walk on egg shells, impatient to leave India as quickly as possible. To assuage Nehru and to cover up the earlier leakage of his plans, Dulles, while expatiating on the need for pacts and alliances to contain Communism, solemnly declared that while some kind of arrangements along the lines of collective security were being considered, India would be consulted before any of these arrangements were finalised so far as South East Asia was concerned. At the Press Conference, I sent a written question asking whether the statement meant that no commitment would be made to Pakistan before India was consulted. Dulles parried an answer by pleading "shortage of time". At Nehru's insistence I walked up to Dulles at the Ambassador's party and asked if he had now the time to answer my question. Nehru stood by. Dulles gave me an angry look. "I can't add anything to what I have said," he said curtly, "not till I have been to Pakistan." The next day Dulles and Nixon flew to Karachi. A military pact was signed with Pakistan, without even the presence of a previous consultation with India.

To Nehru this was one of the biggest challenges of his life. Through one insane act, which later contributed little to American security, and added very little to the collective deterrent he was trying to build, Dulles undid the grand work of many Americans who, ever since the forties had established a bridge of understanding, mutual respect and confidence between the United States and India.

Nehru saw in the Dulles plan a serious danger to democracy and freedom. These fears and suspicions did not seem unfounded. When Pakistan joined both the Baghdad Pact and SEATO, they became very real. It was soon discovered that the pacts included what was later known as the "Anti-subversion Clause". The Anti-subversion Clause had a sinister background. It was originally devised by Dulles<sup>5</sup> to fight subversion by collective help in Latin American countries. Most of these governments were headed by puppets or were under dictatorial regimes depending on American help and enjoying American support. The anti-subversion clause ostensibly aimed at preventing subversion in the pact countries by Communists. In essence it meant preservation and perpetuation, by collective force if necessary, of the ruling party or junta, or even a colonial power functioning at the time in the pact-signing countries.

I visited Indo-China in 1950. I felt then that the French were on the way out. They did not have the resources or the military strength to hold down the people. Even though they were ruling in the name of Emperor Bao Dai, the popular leader who enjoyed the respect and confidence of the people was Ho Chi Minh. Bao Dai's writ did not extend beyond the hundred-room palace at Hue, where he lived with his few dozen wives and several concubines. At the time it was estimated that there were eighteen thousand spies, twenty thousand white and Annamite prostitutes, a hundred and fifty thousand French soldiers, of whom seventy per cent were African colonials, mostly concentrated in the city of Saigon. While the French governed by day, then soldiers scaled the fortified towers on all major roads by sunset, and Ho Chi Minh ruled "by night".

Thailand, another member of the SEATO alliance, had an area of 200,000 square miles, a population of 18 million and an army of five thousand soldiers. Its 24-year-old King at that time had been out of Thailand for eighteen years as much for reasons of security as for education. His illustrious father, King Ananda, had been found mysteriously dead one morning in

<sup>5</sup>In 1953



1946 The explanation "an overdose of castor oil" His Majesty King Phumiphon had shown keen interest in "hot" music, racing cars and photography Some of his jazzy compositions had received top billing in Michael Todd's show in Broadway "Bangkok swing", one of his "groovy" numbers, had become the rage among jazz lovers Even though "democratic" constitutions had been in the making from time to time, the man in dictatorial control was the Prime Minister, Marshal Pibul Songram Having been the victim of treachery and rebellion variously by the army the air force and the navy, he channelled the latest US military aid equipment, including bombers, to the police thereby creating a fourth force to fortify his position as a dictator I asked the Marshall whether his 5,000 Thai soldiers, even if equipped with the most modern American weapons, could resist any serious aggression from the North He graciously smiled and said, "No," and added, "but it pays"!

If SEATO was a make believe, the Baghdad pact was an association of strange bed fellows in distress It ended in a fiction the ineffectiveness of which even Dulles could not explain, back home, to his critics Since he had been rebuffed by India, Pakistan offered to serve as a dual link between a near eastern and a mid western alliance It further offered to the United States vital bases from where American bombers could reach the Russian and Chinese territories, in time of any crisis, and from where U 2 planes could carry out reconnaissance sorties, when needed, in times of peace The nearest Western link Dulles could forge with Pakistan was Turkey Turkey was the end outpost of the NATO alliance Having established a link between Pakistan and Turkey, Dulles started to fill in the gap Syria, a neighbour of Turkey, had just emerged out of French tutelage but was hovering between one army dictatorship and another In Egypt, King Farouk and the aristocracy of the corrupt Pashas were on the way out A military regime under General Naguib was on its way in Naguib was later replaced by Nasser In Iraq, the Hashimite dynasty was ruling through Nuri Pasha and a feudal junta,

subsidised by foreign oil interests. The monarchy in Jordan was in a state of permanent instability virtually reduced to a puppet. In Saudi Arabia, King Saud and Prince Faisal were playing musical chairs. In Iran, Premier Mosaddaq had nationalized foreign oil companies, and between him and the King a tussle for power was at its height.

In this whirlpool of unstable dictatorships and decadent feudalism, Dulles steamrolled himself in search for allies willing to join his chain of collective security. He succeeded in roping in Iraq. The Baghdad Pact was signed with Turkey, Iraq and Pakistan as members. Before the ink was dry Nuri Pasha was murdered and the leftists came into power in Iraq. The "Baghdad Pact" was left without "Baghdad".

While in public speeches in India and abroad Nehru preserved an element of dignity and restraint, in private he made no secret of his anger and of his hostility towards Dulles. He felt Dulles was not only a danger to world peace, but also a menace to the freedom of colonial people. Dulles on his part continued the pretence of treating India as a friendly "aid-receiving free country". But he spared no opportunity for making India's position more and more irksome. Apart from giving mammoth economic and military aid to Pakistan, he used all his influence to secure support for Pakistan in the dispute over Kashmir. He manoeuvred so well that at one time it seemed to many in the UN as if India was the aggressor and usurper, and Pakistan an aggrieved party. Outraged by these antics, Nehru declared, "I feel like Alice in Wonderland. The world is becoming curioseer and curioseer."

When Portugal became a member of NATO, Nehru protested. Dulles not only ignored this protest, but did something which he knew would deeply outrage India. The Foreign Minister of Portugal, Monseur Nogueira, was specially invited to pay an "official" visit to Washington. Everyone knew that India had been insisting on the vacation of Goa the last colonial possession on Indian soil. It was also well known that Portugal had adopted the Machiavellian device of designating its colonies as "provinces", thereby claiming them as part of

Portugal Dulles was too well informed a person, having not only been actually engaged in international affairs since the Versailles Treaty, but having physically travelled more than a million miles all over the globe to know that Portugal was a despotic colonial power and Goa was one among its several colonial territories awaiting liberation. And yet he issued a joint statement with the Portuguese Foreign Minister in which he pointedly declared Goa "to be a Portuguese province". Considering the inanities that filled the rest of the statement it seemed as if the entire visit was engineered only to endorse Portugal's untenable position in Goa.

Having practically "ordered" the NATO countries to collaborate in a joint command for "collective security", Dulles felt that the Eastern nations need not even expect to be ordered. They should deem it a "privilege" to join the pacts. Finding Nehru stubborn, he thought that by shopping in Karachi, he could bully or blackmail India into joining the Dulles bandwagon in due course. Meanwhile, Russia had exploded an atom bomb, and had perfected the still more dangerous hydrogen bomb. Russia had launched a sputnik in space—Khrushchev declared that rockets and ballistic missiles were on the way. China was still dependent on Russia for modern military equipment, but was wasting no time mobilising and training its manpower. The danger was that soon it would have the largest army in the world. Its target was ten million men under arms. In the face of these challenges, the Dulles threat of "massive retaliation" through such pigmy allies as South Korea, Formosa, Thailand or even such fan weather friends as Turkey, Iran or Pakistan, lost its meaning. Dulles played with "Brinkmanship" as a game of bluff.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> Three times (wrote LIFE in January 1956) Dulles had brought the world to the brink of war in his pursuit of peace. Adlai Stevenson pictured him as playing Russian roulette. Actually it was poker with high stakes. Dulles' own interpretation of the Art of Brinkmanship was given in the same article: "You have to take chances for peace just as you must take chances in war," he said. "The ability to get to the verge without getting into the war is the necessary art. If you cannot master it you inevitably get into war. If you try to run away from it if you are scared

Nehru, like many others, feared that any time in this mad gamble of brinkmanship Dulles might go too far, or miscalculate the opponent's strength, mood or temper. If this happened it would not be an international war but an indiscriminate destruction of belligerents and neutrals alike. This sense of danger to peace, apart from the danger from Pakistan, through its conversion into a NATO arsenal, provoked Nehru into powerful counteraction. This search for counteraction gave a new purpose to India's foreign policy. Nehru realized that not only was world peace in danger, but India's very safety was in peril. He had to do something effective and spectacular to save both.

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to go to the brink, you are lost. We've had to look it squarely in the face—on the question of enlarging the Korea war, on the question of getting into the Indo China war, on the question of Formosa. We walked up to the brink and looked it into the face. We took strong action."

## Menon's "Jericho"

Tall, lean and lanky, he stood out conspicuously among the thousand odd delegates to the United Nations, being the only one carrying a walking stick, and the only one wearing his curly, pepper-and-gray hair long enough to be mistaken for an off-Broadway actor, an artist from Greenwich village or a visiting Yogi. His deep set, dark, hypnotic eyes emphasised the Yogi in him, although the manner in which he spiralled his lanky frame against his walking stick while standing, or dragging his legs in slow motion, suggested more of an actor than of the Yogi.

When I started the first<sup>1</sup> of my five years as a delegate to the United Nations, V. K. Krishna Menon had ceased to be a personality—he had become an institution. India, Asia, anti-colonialism, 'tea'-totalism, disarmament, Fabian-Maoism, anti-Dullesism, all rolled into one. He was a man of many complexes, with an abundant capacity to invite controversies around himself, and a rare knack for doing and saying the unpredictable. He delighted in hurting some people, just as much as he tried hard to please others. He could be boorish in his arrogance, and yet he could be as humble as the "Admirable Mr Crichton" in politeness. In the United Nations, while officially he was only the Head of the Indian delegation, he was looked upon as the alter ego of Nehru, in the same manner as Dulles was looked upon as the alter ego of Dwight

<sup>1</sup> 1957

Eisenhower.<sup>2</sup> But the two were completely different personalities. Unlike Dulles who rose rapidly in the profession attracting fabulous fees in Wall Street, Krishna Menon preferred the advocacy of the penniless in the forums of the common people—Hyde Park Corner, Caxton Hall, and St Pancras. From the late 'twenties onwards the hobboes of Hyde Park, the student audiences in Caxton Hall, the underfed and undernourished workers of St Pancras had become familiar with the hoarse, rasping voice of a lanky Hindu youth with long curly hair, wearing loose but elegantly tailored clothes, almost threadbare through constant use, advocating freedom for India, Ireland and all colonial peoples, a better life for the British worker and an end to Capitalism in the world. Very few knew where Krishna Menon lived. But all his friends knew that he mostly lived on tea, pintfuls of it, day and night, with a little bread, a few buns, or a couple of biscuits added at indifferent intervals. On hot scones he could make a banquet.

In later life he added several dozen well tailored, costly suits to his wardrobe. He purchased neckties from the best haberdashers in London, Paris and New York. But he retained the habit of strewing biscuit crumbs all over his clothes, and carrying on his sleeves, coat lapels and neckties the tell-tale smudges of good Indian tea. Having "slummed" in London for more than twenty years, Krishna became anti Capitalist. His "Socialism" became anti racialism, anti-colonialism and anti-

<sup>2</sup> I met V K K. first in the 'twenties when he visited India with two Labour Members of Parliament Fenner Brockway and Leonard Matters. He then agreed to write for my paper *Vengalil Krishnan Kunji Krishna Menon* was born on May 3, 1896 at Pissirikudi in the city of Calicut in Kerala. This was eight years after Dulles. While the father of Dulles was a parson the father of Menon was a lawyer. His was a family of eight. There were six sisters and two brothers. Menon was the third but the eldest son of the family. Menon lost his mother when he was still an infant. He grew up under the care of his eldest sister till he left for England on a scholarship from the Theosophical Society founded by Mrs Annie Besant. In England he took his B.Sc. degree with honours from the London School of Economics and derived his socialistic ideas from its distinguished head a scholar of international repute Professor Harold Laski. He also qualified for the Bar.

West-End snobbery. His "Socialism" later continued, but his way of life evened up with West-End standards.

Just like his views, Menon's physical appearance was also a matter of controversy. Several of his feminine admirers deemed him handsome, not only because he was tall, but also because he had sharp, chiselled features, a striking nose, dark, deep-set hypnotic eyes, a well-shaped head, and the most effeminate hands with long, tapering fingers. His detractors, especially in the United States, viewing him in television appearances, considered his dark face demonic, and his grin the smile of Lucifer. About his long hair there is an interesting story. In High School, Krishna Menon was chosen to play a woman's role (Gubha) in *Alfred and the Cakes*. Krishna allowed his hair to grow long to be able to play his feminine part more realistically. Everybody admired the curly locks. The rehearsals were almost over, when the headmaster learnt that a boy was playing the part of a woman in the play. He refused to allow a boy to "masquerade" in woman's clothes in public.<sup>3</sup> Not to be put out, Krishna argued that the headmaster's objection was not to a woman being in the play, but to a "boy masquerading as a woman". Menon appeared in his long curls but in men's trousers and a jacket, repeating his part in a sleek woman's voice. He faced the jeers and catcalls with courage, then as in later life.

Unlike Dulles, Menon was not a brilliant student. But they both shared the habit of reading thrillers and detective stories between periods of tense activity. Dulles liked fishing, rowing, whist, poker, and bridge. Menon liked toys—all kinds of toys, and when alone played with them. He had also learnt a few tricks. The vanishing match box, balancing the stick, the handkerchief mystery, etc. with which he not only kept children engaged, but also attracted grown-ups who preferred magic tricks to controversial speeches. Both had abstemious habits. Dulles munched peanuts all times and any time. Krishna drank tepid tea any time and all the time. Menon remained a bachelor, but delighted in feminine company. He was prone to

<sup>3</sup> TJS George, *Krishna Menon*, p. 27.

capitulate more easily to a pretty woman's charms than to a brilliant man's arguments. Dulles was very much of a married man. He was too serious-minded to indulge in any flippant diversions. Looking at him one could not imagine him pretending love even as a passing make-believe.

Krishna Menon, as the first Indian High Commissioner in London, had been an overall disappointment to Nehru, though he did not admit it. Krishna spent public funds lavishly, buying nothing less than Rolls Royce cars, the best furniture, Wedgewood china, the most expensive carpets and drapery. Not having been an administrator, Menon also got himself involved in several unexplainable deals, which made him the vulnerable target of censorious criticism in India and abroad.

Besides being the Prime Minister of India, Nehru had been Foreign Minister and even a stop-gap Defence Minister and Finance Minister at times. He found the load heavy. Although he did not wish to give up the glamour and the glory of being Foreign Minister, Nehru soon felt the need for someone who could take away from him the burden of detail and who could travel to world capitals and to world conferences, and project India's thinking on international matters. No one in the party was well informed enough to take up this task. His senior party colleagues had been more concerned with national affairs than with international matters. Only a few of them had even travelled abroad. The need for the troubleshooter became urgent, after Dulles started fishing in Asian waters and brought the danger of war to India's backdoor. It was at this critical juncture that Krishna Menon was named Ambassador at large with the rank of Minister.

Khrushchev and Bulganin now headed the new team of rulers in Moscow. They tried calling a summit of East-West leaders but were rebuffed by Dulles. They however found Nehru receptive to a friendly gesture, partly because he sincerely desired to reduce cold war tensions before it became a hot war, and partly because he also wanted some kind of a breakthrough to counteract the malevolent designs of Dulles. They invited Nehru to visit Russia. The Russians accorded him an



unprecedented reception. They made him realize that the new rulers of Russia, while militantly more than prepared to accept any Western challenge, wanted peace. Besides peace, they were willing to consider an agreed programme of general disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons. They also wanted to break away from Stalinism. They had no desire to encourage Comintern activities, or to force Communism on other people or countries. Nehru came back deeply impressed. He always had a bias for Marxism. He had many stories to tell, how Russia had marshalled its economy through successive plans, and how Russia was rapidly advancing in scientific research. It had not only developed a nuclear arsenal, he said, but was about to make spectacular experiments in space.

Soon after, Nehru visited China. Nehru had been a great personal friend of Marshal Chiang Kai-shek, and an ardent admirer of Madame Chiang. When the communist revolution took place, Nehru was not entirely happy. But he soon reconciled himself to the inevitable. The Indian ambassador to China during the change over was a personal friend of Nehru.<sup>4</sup> It was as much due to his remarkable ability as to his extraordinary adaptability, that the new Communist rulers of China, Mao Tse tung, Chen Yi and Chou En-lai found Panikkar as acceptable as did the pro American dictator Marshal Chiang Kai shek. With them he shifted from Kunming to Peking, the new Capital. Panikkar arranged an invitation for Nehru. Nehru spent ten days in China. Millions of flag waving Chinese lined the routes along which he passed. He had gone suspicious of the international objectives of the new Chinese rulers, especially after the forcible entry of Chinese troops into Tibet in 1950. Whether it was the very flattering reception accorded to him that influenced his judgment, or because he was in a mood to develop a better understanding in the East,

<sup>4</sup> K. M. Panikkar M.A. (Oxon) had started life as a Professor. He was a scholar and an author. He joined the Congress movement in the early twenties. After a brief adventure in journalism (he was my predecessor as Editor of *The Hindustan Times*) and the national struggle he served as a Minister in several Indian States. He was one among the old friends chosen by Nehru for an ambassadorial post.

to counteract the puppet-seeking policies of Dulles, Nehru returned full of admiration for the new rulers of China, and shorn of suspicions, which he had earlier shared with Vallabhbhai Patel.

Convinced in the belief that China like Russia had no expansionist designs, and believing that something positive and spectacular should be done to mobilise the uncommitted people of Asia and Africa to assert their collective strength on the side of peace, Nehru and a few others took the initiative to call a conference of Afro Asian countries at Bandung. Ever since his first visit to Indonesia, Nehru had developed a great liking for the Indonesian people, and great personal regard for Soekarno.<sup>5</sup> Indonesia was predominantly Muslim. Nehru came away with the impression that the Muslims of Indonesia were more secular-minded than the Pakistanis and seemed inclined if not determined to keep religion out of national and international politics. For this reason, and because of a common colonial background, Indonesia was chosen as the site of the conference. The picturesque city of Bandung, ensconced in volcanic hills, with its large hotels abounding in mammoth Conference Halls, was chosen for the gathering. More than twenty nine Afro Asian countries and many observers attended the meet. Soekarno's Government spent lavishly to lend splendour to the Conference, partly because it put Indonesia on the world map and more so because it threw the spectacular personality of Dr Soekarno in the international limelight. Menon did all the negotiating, the drafting and the spadework. Nehru emerged as the architect of the grand plan. From this it was hoped would emerge a collective effort towards lessening of world tensions, if not also a movement designed to counteract colonialism and Dullesism.

After almost a week of negotiations and deliberations the Conference produced a declaration, which was in reality no more than a paraphrase of the Charter of the United Nations.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> This was short lived

<sup>6</sup> The declaration was hammered into five major heads to harmonise with the five peace principles of the Buddha the dominant law giver of the East

In India, Bandung was trumpeted as a great achievement, a sort of landmark in the history of Afro Asian relations, and the initiator of some kind of an international movement to promote peace. In reality, apart from offering Nehru, Chou En lai, Mohammed Nasser and Mohammed Soekarno an international forum to preach their ideas and to project their distinctly different personalities, the "Five Pillars" of the Bandung declaration were as much sand built as the Manila and Baghdad Pacts were a house of cards.

Communist China's presence for the first time at such an international meet was heralded as a great achievement. Every body including Nehru and Menon boosted Chou En lai as a "promoter of peace and non alignment". It was strangely not realized that China was not "unaligned" or "peace minded". China had already a military alliance with Russia. China had only recently fought the United Nations in Korea and had occupied Tibet by force. One could not understand how Chou En lai could be a signatory to the "Five Principles", unless the leopard had suddenly decided to change its spots. Among Asians, Philippines, Thailand and Pakistan, were members of SEATO and their presence obviously meant that they were willing to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds. Nehru through his spell binding capacity to gild illusion with reality, however, convinced India and some of the Asian people that the foundations on which unalignment was based were solid and that Bandung marked the beginning of a grand movement towards peace and co-existence in the world. Nehru sincerely believed that Bandung had sabotaged the Dulles concept of collective security by specifically laying down that "there should be no external pressures on nations, and that collective defence should not be used to serve the particular interests of the Big Powers".<sup>7</sup> Later events proved that weak and dependent African and Asian nations soon forgot the com-

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The Indonesian Constitution was already based on Panch Shila—five pillars. By the time the formula reached India linguistic experts changed it into Panch Sheel—the five principles of peaceful co-existence.

<sup>7</sup>Speech in the Lok Sabha April 30 1955

mitments of Bandung The Big Powers could get "yes men" for the asking As an Asian Prime Minister later remarked<sup>8</sup> "There is a revulsion from the lengthening queue of those who shuffle cap in hand up to the American pay desk, and from the divisions for dollars deals in exchange for massive United States economic assistance"

Though the achievements at Bandung had been illusory, Nehru's international stature rose very high The voice of India began to command considerable respect and attention in world Capitals and in the United Nations Russian leaders began relying on Nehru to remove the fears and suspicions of some of the Asian and African countries regarding Communist expansion They looked upon him as a useful channel of communication between Russia and the Western world Though China had designs of its own, Chou En lai found in Nehru a powerful supporter for its admission to the UN and a pliant neighbour so far as its plans about Tibet were concerned Though Dulles remained grumpy and hostile, many American policymakers gradually began to appreciate the stand India had taken and the manner in which Nehru had been trying to hold the balance between the Communist and anti-Communist countries India was not among those who had agreed to trade gun fodder for dollars Even then when India reluctantly lined up "cap in hand" for economic aid, it was treated as a VIP Some Americans even saw an unexpected virtue in extending military aid to Pakistan and economic aid to India Whether Pakistan was an opportunist or an unreliable ally, Pakistan was certainly in no position to equip its Army with the latest armour and to build up an effective Navy and Air Force without American aid But because of Pakistan, India, they speculated would feel compelled to seek modern weapons and equipment for its Army Navy and Air Force If it ever came to a showdown with China or Russia on the basis of Communism versus Democracy India could not remain neutral Thus by equipping Pakistan with military

<sup>8</sup>Interview with Lee Kuan Yew (Singapore) *The Hindustan Times* 17th December 1967 p 9

equipment, and by giving generous economic aid to India, whereby it could divert some of its own funds to buy modern weapons, they would have on their side two well-equipped armies instead of one!

## A Festival of Celebrities

Nehru had now been Prime Minister for more than thirteen years. He had dominated Indian public life and politics as no man had done in living memory in any democratic country of the world since Roosevelt and Churchill. He was not a "dictator". Did not aspire to be one. But no dictator during the last half a century had enjoyed so much power, swayed so completely the minds and thinking of so many people, and received so much willing homage from so many millions of his countrymen.

Internationally, Nehru's credit stood very high. Whether he was visiting the United States, Russia, China, or Egypt, millions of common citizens came out to receive and cheer him as if he were their own leader rather than merely a visiting foreign dignitary. In Indonesia Dr Soekarno said to me, "So great was popular enthusiasm for your Prime Minister that at times I felt jealous of him myself." His visit to Bali, remarked Dr Soekarno with a mischievous smile, was most costly. The whole population turned up to cheer him. Balinese women normally wear "topless". But on this occasion thousands of yards of cloth was consumed in one day, because someone spread the idea that the sight of so many Balinese in natural abandon may make "Nehru blush". Frankly, in Madison, Wisconsin, Nehru did blush. We had made a night's halt in the University Inn. At an informal dinner the Security Chief accompanying him disclosed that he had found two guls hiding behind curtains. Suspicious of their movements he

asked them why they were hiding "Do you think he will terribly mind if we held him and kissed him" The story brought embarrassing blushes to Nehru Even though he was past sixty, pretty women everywhere still crowded around him, not only because he was a hero and an international celebrity, but also because they deemed him "very handsome" Dr Einstein to the end of his life looked forward to a visit from Nehru every time he was in the States I visited Einstein at Princeton quite a few times He was a great admirer of Gandhi and Nehru "Any country that can produce Tagore, Gandhi and Nehru in one generation has nothing to fear," he said once Referring particularly to Nehru he said, "He combines Tagore's love for beauty, and Gandhi's spiritualism, with a dynamic scientific mind of his own" Nehru was a proclaimed 'Socialist' He was even inclined to be a Marxist And yet among his private hosts in the United Kingdom were some notable Dukes and Earls In the United States the Rockefellers, the Fords and the Duponts felt proud of having him as a guest

The 1960 Session of the General Assembly was unusual and unique in UN history In early September Khrushchev left for Paris to attend the Summit Conference with President Charles De Gaulle, President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Harold Macmillan On the very day Khrushchev left for Paris a young American pilot Col Powers flew out from the American base near Peshawar in Pakistan in a U 2 jet on a routine reconnaissance expedition over Soviet territory Reaching Soviet territory, the U 2 lost height and was forced by Soviet fighters to land in Russia Khrushchev was mad He wanted an assurance that such secret intrusions into Soviet territory should stop Eisenhower could not give such an assurance Khrushchev filibustered the Summit Having created a crisis, Khrushchev appealed to all Heads of State to attend the forthcoming UN General Assembly to seek ways and means to stop "the arms race and the stock piling of destructive nuclear arms"

It was the year of the Presidential elections in the U.S.A. Eisenhower was still in office, Kennedy and Nixon were cam-

paigning. The polling was in November. Having invited all Heads of State, Khrushchev left for New York by sea, taking with him the heads of Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Poland and Rumania. He could not be communicated with till his boat reached New York, on the day the Assembly was fixed to meet. Nehru, like many others in different countries, felt not only that such a collection of top leaders of the world, soon after the failure of the Summit in the midst of the Presidential campaign in the United States, was ill timed, but would also be purposeless. He was completely disinclined. Then reports came that the heads of NATO countries, including Mr Harold Macmillan, Mr Menzies, etc. were leaving for New York to match up with Khrushchev's leftist contingent. Seeing that the two blocs would be fully represented, the Afro Asians decided to attend. It seemed as if Khrushchev had set in motion a chain reaction.

When Khrushchev's boat finally arrived at the "Battery" on a rainy day, Manhattan was echoing to the mad medley of police sirens, the horn tooting of outriders, conveying a galaxy of international celebrities to and fro between the UN and their respective places of residence. Never had so many world celebrities attended an international gathering at any time in history. Apart from the occasion being unique, it enabled one to get intimate close ups of some of the great men who were shaping the destiny of the world at the time, and to measure their stature against each other.

Eisenhower made only one appearance at the UN. While he still retained the "father image" for many Americans, he had lost the glamour attaching to a successful General, or even to a man who had served as American President for two terms. He was gradually, though gracefully, revealing the signs of mature mediocrity. He represented a type of greatness which comes and goes with office. Yet he did represent a style of dignity which qualified him for respect, even without office or position. Intellectually the two contenders for Presidential office had outshone him. Kennedy, particularly in trying to expose the reactionary and militant policies of the Republicans,



had smothered Eisenhower under a spate of vituperative censure. He was himself emerging, at the same time, as a leader with a global concept, the dynamic, lustrous, fiery symbol of a new age in the United States. Nixon by contrast sounded mediocre.

Harold Macmillan of England had a Scotsman's pragmatic approach to political problems. He was typical of post-war British politicians who aimed at a status quo rather than at high heaven. He spoke with deliberation, employed the precise word, avoided the hyperbolic or the spectacular, and presented his case with a brevity and clarity few could excel. Harold Macmillan was not of the stature of an Asquith, a Lloyd George or a Churchill. Men like Menzies of Australia, Thomas Holland of New Zealand, Couve de Murville of France, or other Prime Ministers and Foreign Ministers from European and most Latin American countries represented the "play safe" type whose primary concern after the war was to recoup the losses of war and extend the period of peace. Not one of them had qualities which could qualify him to an outstanding place in history.

In Eastern Europe there was something really outstanding about Marshal Tito of Yugoslavia and Khrushchev of Russia. Khrushchev represented a departure from the personality cult of Stalin: Stalin's rigid approach to the cold war, and Stalin's coercive, repressive and barbarous measures to enforce his supreme dictatorship. I had met Khrushchev earlier when he visited India with Marshal Bulganin. This was their first great breakthrough as Communist leaders. Bulganin looked almost Pickwickian. Roly-poly Nikita, his bullet head covered by an ill-fitting hat, moving among the crowds with rustic simplicity, shaking hands with presidential guards and hobnobbing with wayside policemen offered to Indian crowds a refreshing departure from the distant formalism of foreign celebrities. In their ill-tailored suits they looked like "Gallagher and Sheen" in an Ed Sullivan show. In Calcutta when a flat tyre brought their open car to a halt, they got mixed up with the crowds and were still enjoying hand shakes when Security Guards rushed in an armoured car to rescue them from a fatal *méléc*. Although Khrushchev did say many nasty and violent things, and even

adopted many threatening postures, as over Berlin, over Cuba, over Vietnam, to preserve his popularity and position at home, he sincerely wanted a better understanding with America. The UN had witnessed a lot of clapping of hands, and even a little thumping of tables to emphasise applause, or to register opposition. Khrushchev, however, broke new ground during this session. When Harold Macmillan was addressing the Assembly, and saying something about the Summit meeting at Paris which Khrushchev considered wrong, like a village urchin he unlaced his shoes, and began to thump the table so violently that even his own colleagues looked embarrassed.

The American Government had restricted his movements by pleading that they could not make security arrangements out of New York. Khrushchev protested and told the Press that the only place he wanted to visit out of New York was Disney Land, the grand creation of a phantom world by Walt Disney on the West Coast. That Khrushchev did not deem anything more valuable or worthwhile in USA except Disney Land was the greatest "satire" on American civilization. Khrushchev carried his emotions on his coat lapels. Even his "make believe" seemed genuine. His face would blaze with anger one minute and in the next he would be laughing genially like a school boy. His laughter was as hilarious as his indignation was spontaneous, unrestricted and righteous. But his moods had nothing sinister about them. His written speeches were well prepared, but his extempore interventions always had a rustic touch. In trying to illustrate what he meant by "teaching a lesson", he referred to his peasant aunt, and the cat which had licked off a lot of her cream. "My aunt", he said, "got hold of the cat and rubbed its nose in the empty vessel till the cat squealed. The cat never stole the cream again."

1 'Khrushchev' I wrote at the time behaves almost like a child when moved by emotion and tears tuck down his eyes in response to the least sentimental impulse. He loves to break down the barriers of protocol and to offend against convention. He once deliberately mistook a UN attendant standing by the King of Jordan who always appeared in a military uniform for a VIP and saluted him. He never hesitated to return insult for insult or a good act by a better one.

Nehru gave a dinner to the Heads of State attending the UN at the "Cayle" <sup>2</sup> The dinner was unique not only in respect of the controversial personalities who attended but also in respect of the magic Nehru touch whereby known political opponents sat side by side in an atmosphere of social co existence At one table at one time or the other sat President Nasser of the U A R, Golda Meir of Israel, Couve de Murville of France At another sat Wilcox of the U S A, Casto of Cuba, Sir Peason Dixon of the U K, and the Prime Minister of Hungary. At Nehru's table Khrushchev sat to his right and Tito to his left <sup>3</sup> At a large side table a number of specially prepared Indian and Western dishes were laid Everyone was allowed a generous helping of drinks of his choice whisky, vodka or rare wines After guests had settled down with a selected first course, there was no movement at our table Catching a hint from the Prime Minister I took away Tito's plate and returned with one full of selected Indian dishes Nehru took Khrushchev's and brought back a fair selection for both, with some extras for the rest "Your Excellency," said Khrushchev, overwhelmed at this gesture, "you know what this hospitality means for me when I get back? For every pound I put on I will have to live on boiled cabbage for two days" And yet, deeming that what the Prime Minister had brought had to be consumed, he ate away even the "extras" A little later, as everyone moved away for the next course Khrushchev was missing His interpreter had no explanation to offer While some were standing and some had returned to their seats, one noticed a large, fruitladen basket moving from the buffet table towards the host's seat From under the basket emerged the bullet head of Khrushchev wearing the broad smile of a gargoyle "At your service, Your Excellency" It was his way of reciprocating Nehru's gesture

Tito, unlike Khrushchev conducted himself with feudal dig-

<sup>2</sup> One of the most aristocratic hotels in New York

<sup>3</sup> I sat next to Tito and Krishna Menon next to Khrushchev Gromyko sat next to Menon followed by Ambassador Ali Yavar Jung Next to me sat Dr Soekarno followed by Ambassador B K Nehru

nity, and even though he wore civilian clothes at the UN, he maintained a martial bearing. Jose Bros Tito was the first foreign dignitary to be invited by Nehru to India in the early 'fifties. I had read a great deal about Tito. His break from Russia, his setting up a separate Communist state, his receiving a large quantum of aid from the U.S.A. to rehabilitate Yugoslavia, and his wizardry in steering clear of political pressures from Russia on the one hand and the U.S.A. on the other. Even then I could not understand why of all the world celebrities Nehru should have given such high priority to Tito. It was only when I met the Yugoslav President that I realized his unrivalled, uncanny ability for analysing and assessing current world problems with the precision of an expert doctor, and devising a line of approach for like-minded nations to bypass rival power alignments and still contribute to peace. Tito was a man of courage, a statesman of rare ability, and a champion of the weak, the underdeveloped and needy. But unlike Khrushchev, even though risen from humble beginnings himself, he liked feudal splendour. He was a man of epicurean tastes, with a discerning eye for the best.<sup>4</sup> He was the Western counterpart of Nehru in this, and in representing the brain-trust of unalignment.

Nasser was outstanding among Arab leaders, just as Nkrumah then stood out among the Africans. Nkrumah however was a small man by comparison with others. Opportunity had temporarily thrown him into the limelight. I had this story from the Prime Minister as an example of his undue sensitiveness. He and Nehru were attending a meeting of the unaligned at Belgrade, to devise steps to persuade nuclear powers to agree to the suspension of nuclear experiments. Nehru had been invited by the Russian Government for an official visit, which followed the Belgrade Conference. The Conference appointed Nehru and Dr Nkrumah to constitute a delegation of two to place the conference's decisions before the Russian Government and later before the American President. Nkrumah flew to

<sup>4</sup> His favourite fruit was the melon. Every time he came to breakfast Nehru collected the best for him.

Moscow with Nehru in the same plane. In order to insure a proper reception to Nkrumah,<sup>5</sup> Nehru asked one of his aides to lead him down the gangway first, so that he could be informally but appropriately received by Russian leaders and conveyed to the hotel. Nehru took this precaution lest the President of Ghana should feel slighted, if he followed in the Prime Minister of India's entourage. Dr Nkrumah deemed this an insult and never excused Nehru for the "slight." President Nasser gave one the impression of dignity and dedication. He was not subtle, but dynamic, unlike General Naguib before him who was subtle but ineffective. He carried himself like a soldier, and spoke as an Arab. He insisted on making his speech at the UN in Arabic, thus breaking new ground for Arab countries. What he lacked in subtlety, he made up in courage.

Dr Soekarno was glamorous. When I met him in Jakarta in 1951, he stood out as a resolute fighter for his country's independence, and a leader of his people. But when I met him at the UN, he seemed to have suddenly dwarfed. His colourful uniforms contrasted unfavourably with the sober dignity of dark suits around him. Baton in hand, he almost looked like a prosperous band leader. There was something grotesque and amusing about his exhibitionism. Before making his formal speech from the rostrum he sent an official request to Dag Hammarskjöld to permit him to station two aides around him, one to hold the manuscript and the other to hold the pages after they had been read. The King of Jordan was the only other one to make a similar request. In his case he wanted his six foot two hundred and forty pound chief bodyguard to be stationed behind him when he made his speech. Both requests were refused.

Referring to bodyguards, almost all heads of State had brought with them security men from their own countries. When Nehru arrived the Federal security chief went into the plane and asked if the Prime Minister had brought any bodyguards. "Frankly no," said Nehru smiling. "I have brought

<sup>5</sup> Nehru's visit was formal and official.

the body. Now you can supply the guard if you like," he added. At one of the parties I told Dr Soekarno that he had not changed at all since I met him ten years earlier. "That is not a compliment," he said in his improvised English, "An Indonesian is happy only when he is told that he is looking ten years younger to what he looked ten years ago." Saying this he went down on one knee, spread his other leg and pirouetted, attracting some lady guests who looked amused and enchanted. Events had helped Soekarno to achieve greatness but he did not have the capacity or the ability to sustain that greatness.

There is one thing which Latin American politicians shared in common with their Indian counterparts—an endless capacity for speech-making. Once a Latin American took the floor at the U.N., you could go out, take lunch, and come back, to find the same speaker holding the floor, and also perhaps elaborating the same argument. Dr Castro of Cuba, however, was different. Dressed in the same uniform he wore in the Bay of Pigs, standing six feet and more in his jack boots, his beard lending roughness to his soft, almost feminine features, he looked like a Robin Hood or a Robinson Crusoe striding into the World Assembly. He had already become a legendary personality. His companions had many stories to tell of his fortitude, daring and dedication. Castro and his entourage had reserved two floors in my hotel. When he arrived, thousands lined the footpaths—his admirers yelling "Fidel! Give them Hell! 1" and his opponents taking up the refrain "Fi-Del, go to Hell!"

One day my Committee had adjourned a little late in the evening. As I was entering the delegates' lounge I found Dr Castro sitting astride a mountain of air bags and suit cases. "They have turned me out of the hotel," he said plaintively. "I propose to stay here, till Hammeiskjold or someone settles the dispute." He later moved to Hotel Theresa in Harlem. When some Pressmen asked him why Nehru, an elder statesman, should have gone to meet Castro in Harlem, Nehru with characteristic nonchalance remarked, "I will travel round the

would, if need be, to shake the hands of a brave man" From then onwards Castro regarded Nehru as "Uncle" The dramatic tantrums of a hero and his spartan austerity apart, Castro had no equal in oratory even among Latin Americans His major speech lasted four hours In Cuba, his speeches lasted six to seven hours I could attend only one The audiences ran into hundreds of thousands In between pauses he bent his head, closed his eyes and when the audience thought he was asleep, he would suddenly rise and roar like a lion His words spelt lightning and thunder

Living in New York in the early 'sixties gave one just a faint, if also a realistic, concept of what life under the threat of an atomic war could mean—leave aside atomic war as such All over the city several thousand feet deep underground shelters had been built, supposedly proof against nuclear "fall out" and radiation The shelters had to have sufficient supplies of oxygen, and large quantities of preserved food to last the occupants several days, till whatever was left of the outside world was clear of atomic radiation and fall out The Civil defence authorities had circulated elaborate precautions against atomic radiation The description of what could happen under atomic radiation made one's skin creep Sprawled all over the countryside, instead of auto junk yards, one now saw on display atomic shelters for private homes of various sizes and prices with anti radiation containers for water and foodstuffs, anti radiation garments and what not Each shelter looked like a rat hole by human dimensions

Nehru like many others at the time realized that, by reducing tensions by enlarging the area of understanding between nations and by building up if possible a bridge of understanding between the Eastern and Western countries war could be avoided, or at least deferred The great silent part Nehru played in 1960 to prevent hostilities breaking out between USA and the USSR over Cuba is hitherto little known One purpose Khrushchev had in travelling by boat to New York was to proceed later to Cuba after his mission in the USA was over It was well known at the time that IBM

missile sights had been built in Cuba, and anti-ballistic missiles had been sighted on their way to Havana. Castro meanwhile had called upon the U.S.A. to remove all military personnel and military installations from the Quantano base in Cuba. Russia had supported that demand. A year earlier Eisenhower during a visit to the Middle East, at Nehru's request, had paid a brief unexpected visit to India. India was then having trouble with the Chinese. This timely gesture had a great effect on Nehru. In 1960, even though the relations between Eisenhower and Khrushchev were strained, Nehru successfully persuaded Khrushchev to withdraw the anti-ballistic missiles from Cuba, and also to cancel his visit to Havana. It was almost midnight when this decision was communicated to Castro. Castro, a terribly emotional man, broke into tears. "They will destroy me. They will destroy Cuba," he said, holding fast to Nehru and Khrushchev, addressing them as Uncles. "Promise me that you will both come to Cuba's help if this happens. Promise—Promise," he said. They both promised and assured him that America had no intention of destroying him or Cuba.



## Goa and the "Bay of Pigs"

John F. Kennedy, like Nehru, was born rich, and like him had lived ever since childhood close to the whirlwind of politics. Referring to his father's wealth during his election campaign for Presidentship, Kennedy said he had received an SOS from his father—"Dear Jack: Don't buy a single vote more than is necessary. I will be damned if I am going to pay for a landslide." Like Nehru, greatness came to him at a very young age. He was elected President of the United States almost at the very age at which Nehru was first elected President of the Indian National Congress. Like Nehru, Kennedy was an expert actor, a man of many moods, many smiles, and many grimaces. While both delighted in making speeches, against Nehru's slow-motion, wayward style Kennedy fired off facts, figures, quotations and a lot of condensed brilliance with the speed of a machine gun. Both had the reputation of patronising the arts. But their tastes were not in the "high brow" category. One could chance to hear Schubert and Frank Sinatra in the White House as much as Ravi Shankar and the Bhangra in Tin Munt. It was not unexpected that Nehru and Kennedy should have felt like kindred spirits.

If Kennedy had been President when he first met Nehru,<sup>1</sup> or Nehru been a younger man, or if both had been destined to live longer than they did after their historic meeting,<sup>2</sup> their joint contribution to the solution of some of the perplexing

<sup>1</sup>In 1951

<sup>2</sup>In 1961

international problems would have been momentous. Destiny had however dictated otherwise. When they met, Kennedy did not remind Nehru, although he had not forgotten, how the latter in 1951 had treated him with the indifference one shows to an inquisitive schoolboy. Before the interview had entered the tenth minute,<sup>3</sup> Nehru started looking at the roof, his eyes mystically half open and half closed, indicating to the visitor that he was not interested in what was being said. In 1961, friendly words coming from "President Kennedy" acted like a balm, after all the arrogance of Dulles and the impertinences of Hester his successor. It was not merely what Kennedy did or said that changed completely Nehru's attitude to the United States, but also the way he said or did things without giving one the impression either of being pushed or being patronised. Jacqueline Kennedy left a deep impression on Nehru. He was particularly touched by the keen interest she displayed in his daughter, Indira Gandhi who accompanied him on this occasion. She even offered Indira the services of her own French hair dresser, whose magic touch took away ten years from her looks and made her at the time a press sensation in Washington. The French in Jacqueline only added to her charms. When Kennedy pleaded lack of time to visit India, Nehru extended a cordial invitation to Jacqueline. Jacqueline's brief informal visit cemented further the understanding that had developed between Nehru and Kennedy. Nehru allowed her the informality of staying in a small cottage near the house of Galbraith, the American Ambassador, in my neighbourhood. He gave her a great deal of time and attention. As one of the writers observed, "Nehru was much more himself than he had been in Newport or Washington." In fact he made a more telling impression on her than the pompous Ayub Khan of Pakistan. As for Kennedy, the fact that the Indian Prime Minister occasionally dozed off in the midst of conversation, or through an opera number, or gave a look of philosophic blankness when discussing subjects like

<sup>3</sup> Schlesinger

Congo or Cuba, left Kennedy with the sad feeling that Nehru was a spent force

We who spoke to Nehru after their meetings carried the impression that in Kennedy, Nehru had found an understanding friend. Kennedy, however, was disappointed. The Nehru of ten years ago, the neutral force he had hoped to win over to the positive defense of "new frontiers", he confided to friends, had lost his dynamism and vitality. He seemed to him now more aggressive in speech than in action.

Nehru avoided controversial subjects, but Indira probed the President about Krishna Menon. Kennedy considered Menon the "Dulles of neutralism". What hurt Americans, he said, was not whether he was a Socialist or a Communist, but the anti-American slant in the views he expressed. What Kennedy said during these intimate meetings about Krishna Menon had a great effect on Nehru. Krishna Menon had been excluded from these talks. On arrival in New York after the meetings, and before he left for Mexico on his next official visit, Nehru was manifestly cold towards V.K.K. Krishna Menon stood at the airport aloof. I remarked that while in America this show of estrangement could help, in India this may adversely affect Menon's election, which was in the offing. "But what can I do?" Nehru replied. "He is hopeless sometimes. At times he does not even behave like a grown up." Before leaving, and after having shaken hands with all who had collected, in the grand manner of which Nehru alone was capable, the Prime Minister swept up to Menon, put his arm around him, and proceeded with him up the gangway, whispering inanities, but in "confidence". "My enemies have been slinging mud," Menon said to me soon after Nehru's departure. "This happens to everyone of whom people get jealous," I remarked in return. "Yes, but a lot of this mud sticks." As later events showed, a lot of this mud did stick and Menon's apprehensions were correct.

Kennedy soon after becoming President burnt his fingers in a mad adventure against Castro in the "Bay of Pigs". It was an ill conceived and grossly mismanaged operation. When

I visited Cuba for the anniversary celebrations of Castro's Government, one haunting fear was shared by everyone in the towns, in the farms and even at the deserted seaside beaches—the fear of an imminent military coup sponsored by the United States. The much feared and much talked of attack finally came, not in December, but in April. The architect of the attack was Allan Dulles, head of the F.B.I., probably ghost-guided by his deceased brother, John Foster Dulles. At the Bay of Pigs a motley expeditionary force consisting of Batistados, Cuban deserters, exiled professors and doctors, notorious criminals and mercenaries got into landing crafts and made for the beach heads, buoyed by the fervent hope that, soon after landing, American air attacks would clear the way for them, para-troops would rain from the sky, and many fifth-column uprisings behind the Castro lines will start all over the country. Instead Castro, who had been keeping careful watch, moved in with twenty thousand Fidelesters, tanks and artillery encircling the invaders. The American air attack did not materialize. Castro's Russian MIGs rained terror on the beachhead. The fifth columns never showed up. "Even if you by any chance fail, you can always move into the nearby mountains, and later start guerilla attacks," the C.I.A. experts had counselled. Evidently no one had carefully scanned the maps. Between the mountains and the Bay of Pigs there lay eighty miles of marshy death traps. Thus the last Dulles enterprise and the first Kennedy adventure ended in dismal disaster.

The other incident occurred on the West Coast of India. On the night of December 17-18, 1961, three columns of the Indian Army, under air cover and with artillery support moved into Goa. On the morning of the 18th the report reached New York. The report led to conflicting responses and varying moods—of elation, commotion and confusion—among the different delegations, including our own. The NATO experts freely declared that India had taken a great risk. The Portuguese army, they had been informed, was equipped with the latest weapons, had the support of a powerful Navy and a

competent Au Force, and that for "every single Portuguese, India will have to lose ten men. This took no account of the hundreds of thousands of Goans who supported Portugal to a man" The most depressed and doubt-ridden amongst us was our own permanent representative. He felt that before such an action was taken, he should at least have been informed and properly briefed. He even shared the view that a military and diplomatic blunder had been committed. One of our own delegates, an M.P., suggested our sending to Nehru a joint cable protesting against the military action which was "opposed to Gandhi's teachings and in violation of the principles of non-violence". Like all sanctimonious humbugs, when convinced of a spiritual approach he seemed to be in a frenzy. I told him to shut up. It was different, however, when I entered the fourth Committee.<sup>4</sup> One by one, representatives of almost all the Afro-Asian countries and of the Soviet bloc walked up and offered their heartiest congratulations. Some even jubilantly suggested that the Committee be adjourned to celebrate "Goa Day". The infection spread.

An urgent meeting of the Security Council met at nine in the night. By then it was hoped some news might trickle through and delegates could know "a little more of the disaster" awaiting Indian forces. When Adlai Stevenson was pillorying India for treating the Charter as a scrap of paper and the U.N. with contempt, our Permanent Representative was not in his seat. Millions of Americans heard Stevenson censuring India and saw on television, at the same time, the chair of India's representative empty. As the debate closed there was no one to reply to the American indictment. But Stevenson looked like a fool the day after. It was past midnight that the Prime Minister of India was telling us on long distance "Our forces have gone deep into Goa. They are still

<sup>4</sup>Committee on Colonialism. The head of the Ceylon Mission, Malasekka was a member of the Security Council. He asked me to help him prepare his speech for the evening meeting. I spent a few hours helping to prepare the text. His was the speech of the day. As against the NATO attack, led by Adlai Stevenson, ours was a poor conventional performance: an indictment without life or punch, a defence without conviction.

on the move. This has all been unexpected. We never believed they could go so far in such a short time. They have met very little resistance."

Next day news came through that Goa had fallen to Indian forces. It happened on the same day that I had a long-standing lunch engagement with Toby Duidin, the Editor-in-charge of the Asian desk of *The New York Times*. I found Toby was not alone. He had with him Herbert Mathews, then one of the star writers of *The New York Times*, Freedman, the News Editor, and two others. As I arrived one of the Editors disclosed that according to "Portuguese sources", Indian forces were under heavy fire from Portuguese ships, and were likely to be bottled up. My hosts started sympathising. A quarter of an hour later the news came of the surrender of Goa, practically without casualties. I was the one then to offer drinks. It was Herbert Mathews who did the summing up. "After the ugly bloody mess the British made in the Suez, the French in Algeria, the Russians in Hungary, and we in the Bay of Pigs, India," he said, "is no longer an exception, except that it has done a cleaner and neater job than any of the rest."

In India Nehru declared,<sup>5</sup> "Nothing has happened in India since Independence fourteen and a half years ago which has excited and thrilled India so much as the liberation of Goa." Kennedy had earlier promised to employ <sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub> good offices with the Portuguese. His grievance now was that the action should have taken place within a month of his last meeting with Nehru and a few days after his ambassador in India, Ken Galbraith, had asked for a six-month period for a negotiated departure of the Portuguese. Menon as Defence Minister was intensely happy, as this feather in his cap came a few weeks before the general elections and contributed greatly to his thumping success. Once again,<sup>6</sup> the country voted the Congress into power with an overwhelming majority, and Nehru as the Prime Minister of India. The Congress writ now ran from Kanya Kumari to Kashmir, and from Panaji to Kohima.

<sup>5</sup> Press Conference, December 28, 1961. *Speeches*, vol. 4, p. 35

<sup>6</sup> February, 1962.

## The Vegetarian Tiger

The British attached great importance to equipping and training the Indian Army and building it up according to the best soldierly traditions. The Indian Army under them had built up a grand reputation for discipline, courage and efficiency. Indian officers and soldiers were next to none in the art of war and military manoeuvre.

Nehru and his associates however had their own ideas about defence. "The right approach to defence," he said, "is to avoid having unfriendly relations with other countries." Nehru genuinely believed that no quarrel was so big as to require war to settle it. "To put it differently, war today," he said, "is, and ought to be, out of the question"<sup>1</sup> Nehru and his colleagues therefore concerned themselves more with establishing control over the defence services, in changing their mercenary outlook into a patriotic obligation, than in pampering them or unduly boosting their importance in national life.

In the early years, except for Kashmir and Hyderabad, there was little or no fighting to be done. Civilian conflicts were few and far between. One of the major duties of soldiers was to provide a guard of honour to visiting and local dignitaries. These included ministers and even deputy ministers. The Army arranged and led funerals, provided bands at weddings, or presented colourful parades on national days. If there was a water famine in Rajasthan, the Army provided mobile water

<sup>1</sup> Speech, March 21, 1956.

supply units. Army men were ordered to help in rescue work in floods and earthquakes. They were posted at cinemas during command performances attended by the President and the Prime Minister. They guarded cricket fields and stadiums. Once a General who had been asked to provide soldiers to act as ushers at a show said sarcastically, "Except for caring for the urinals and lavatories, we have soldiers doing every other job."

The leaders had good reason to feel cautious about the Army becoming power-conscious. In many newly freed countries Army officers had, through *coups d'état* or otherwise, established dictatorships which had only the sanction of the sword. In Bangkok, *coups d'état* were being staged periodically like comic operas. In Egypt, King Farouk had been ousted through a military coup. In Burma, Thakin Nu had been replaced by General Ne Win. In Pakistan, the first Prime Minister, Nawabzade Liaquat Ali Khan, had been murdered. General Sikander Mirza, who headed the first military government, was later forced out through an Army coup followed by the dictatorship of another army officer, Col. and later Field Marshal Ayub Khan.<sup>2</sup>

The first Indian to assume charge as Commander-in-Chief of the Army was General Cariappa. He was a forthright, hard-boiled soldier, brought up in the best British Army traditions. There was nothing conspiratorial or dictatorial about him. He was respected by the officers and his men. He resented interference by civilians in matters relating to the services. Cariappa did not react cordially to the political domination of the "dhotie". He felt some of the new sartorial conventions unsavoury, and in discord with British-fostered traditions. In a mood of frustration, addressing a Rotary Club in Madras, he expressed himself critically of the Government.<sup>3</sup> This was enough to emphasise the already existing suspicions about the Army. The post of Commander-in-Chief was abolished. To

<sup>2</sup> In 1969 Ayub Khan was replaced by General Yahya Khan.

<sup>3</sup> He suggested in 1970 the take over of the government by parliamentary consent by the Army, to restore law and order. This, again, created a commotion.



neutralize the three wings, the Army, the Air Force and the Navy were put on an equal status

Baldev Singh, the first Defence Minister, was an easy-going, playful individual. He was chosen Defence Minister more for communal reasons than because of any special aptitude for the job. After the death of Baldev Singh, one Defence Minister followed another. They were chosen more to plug a political hole than because of their training, experience or aptitude. Pandit Katju had been an eminent lawyer, but with age he had lost the capacity for making decisions. He was by nature inclined to be soft. He would not harm a fly. Fortunately, his stay as Defence Minister was brief. He was followed by Gopalaswamy Iyengar. Gopalaswami, a vegetarian Brahmin from the South, was a competent civil servant, but not of the stuff of which Army leaders are made. Even then he would have done well if he had stayed longer, or at his age if he had not to divide his time between Defence, Home, Communications and Railways. In fact he directed Defence affairs only in absentia. Nehru himself became Defence Minister twice for short intervals. This again only to fill up temporary vacancies.

V. K. Krishna Menon served as Defence Minister the longest. He was, by all standards, a square peg in a round hole. He was like a peacock being employed to hunt a panther. Although ferocious in speech, defiant in controversy and obstinate by nature, he was a sort of vegetarian tiger who could snarl at the meek but tremble at the sight of blood. Besides he divided his time between Defence, Foreign Affairs and the United Nations, Defence being third in priority. He preferred foreign assignments more than a static life in Delhi. Even then Krishna Menon was the first one to give to the department a lot of his brain and energies. He did some wonderful things. But he also did a great deal of damage. He introduced for the first time politics and the personal equation in the ranks of the defence services.<sup>4</sup> It was bad enough that in the two decades

<sup>4</sup>General Cariappa, the first Indian Commander-in-Chief, explaining some of the reverses suffered by the Indian Army against the Chinese in NEFA in 1963, remarked, "I am afraid a certain amount of 'politics' was allowed

following Independence there should have been as many as ten Defence Ministers and most of them on a part time basis. It was worse for the army to lose through normal retirement and otherwise, in the same period, as many as three dozen top Commanders, some of whom could serve as Army Chiefs only for short periods and some who would have made excellent chiefs, but for their early retirement. Krishna Menon loved intrigue and preferred favourites. Thimmayya, who succeeded Rajendra Singh, found that junior men were being promoted to senior positions and favourites were being offered prize jobs. Even the political leanings of officers were taken into account in choosing them for certain appointments. Thimmayya offered to resign.<sup>5</sup>

The Department of Defence was controlling nearly twelve large ordnance factories. Some of these were more than a hundred years old. Under Menon the Defence Ministry took in hand the renovation of these factories. To the existing twelve were added four more with the latest and more sophisticated machinery for the production of medium tanks, small arms, rifles, high explosives, ammunition shells, gun carriages etc. If Menon had left their management to experts, and had kept his personality, his preferences and prejudices strictly out of the picture, the achievements would have been miraculous. If again he had not sought favourites even among experts, but sought the most capable talent, the success would have been more diversified.

I was in London in 1958 on my way to New York. Menon

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to get into the Army which did a great deal of harm to the spirit of loyalty and discipline amongst some of the higher ranks. This should not have been allowed to happen at all. (Organizer Nov 4 1963)

<sup>5</sup>I had known a large number of senior and junior Army Officers during my professional life. I never met anyone who proclaimed himself either to be a 'rightist' or a 'leftist'. During the Defence Ministership of Menon, there was a rash of leftist talk among officers and open avowal of leftist beliefs. One of these became a General without commanding a regiment or without any active war experience. His great achievements were building army homes in record time, arranging stage plays and entertainment for the troops or otherwise conspicuously engaging himself in literary activities.

very kindly asked me to accompany him to the Farnborough Air Show. With us were a Major General and an Air Vice Marshal.<sup>6</sup> They and Vice-Admiral Shankar then constituted the triumvirate of top technical talent in the Defence Services. I learnt that these experts were going specially to study the performance of the AVRO, which it was proposed to manufacture in India. At Farnborough we saw some of the most modern jet fighters, heavy bombers, etc etc We also saw the AVRO. To me it seemed intended more for civilian purposes than for defence "That is exactly the idea," remarked the Air Vice Marshal. "If we decide on the AVRO, it will be as useful for the internal air services as for the army" Menon not only endorsed this view, but disclosed that the IAC were thinking of buying Fokker Friendships from Holland, which would be a wasteful investment if the AVRO could be manufactured in India. I however learnt from other experts that the AVRO on display was a lighter and more capacious plane. What British collaborators wanted to manufacture in India was the AVRO 643, which had become obsolete. I also learnt that the "Fokker Friendship" was any day a better passenger plane. "But," said the second expert, "if we succeed in obtaining sanction for the AVRO then the Fokker scheme goes" The tragedy was that for reasons of their own, the Army decided to manufacture the AVRO, and IAC invested funds in importing Fokker Friendships. As we were driving back to our hotel, the experts were proudly detailing the several items they had succeeded in manufacturing—such as coolers, stoves, thermos flasks, coffee percolators, flashlight batteries, radio sets, etc. These they claimed could sell at very competitive prices in the open market. I later queried Menon "Why, instead of coffee percolators, can't the factories produce more modern, sophisticated arms, or is it that they have produced enough?" Menon evaded a clear answer and merely remarked "Don't you worry about our defence needs. We are manufacturing many more items than ever before. What we

<sup>6</sup> Maj Gen. Partap Naram Air Vice Marshal Harjinder Singh

are manufacturing for the common consumer is only to occupy idle capacity"

If these men had concentrated more on modernizing army equipment, in manufacturing armour and ammunition, rather than stoves and radio sets, and in thinking less of the consumer and more of the soldier and his needs, they would have later saved the country from disaster. They were not solely to blame. They were guided by the Cabinet's general assumption that India had no enemies and that the Army at best could be required for internal purposes or for unforeseen emergencies. Then there was the Cabinet's political apprehension that a large, unduly well equipped defence force could encourage fascist tendencies and become a danger to democracy. It was never fully realised, till it became too late, that India had not only one, but two formidable and unscrupulous enemies, that India had an exposed land frontier of three thousand miles vulnerable to these enemies, and more than four thousand miles of undefended seashore. The Cabinet, more than even the Defence Ministry, did not take into account the fact that the two belligerent neighbours, while employing cunning and diplomacy to camouflage their sinister designs, were building up a massive striking force, equipping themselves with the most sophisticated modern arms including the latest bombers and fighters. They were preparing for a zero hour of their choice.

Pakistan made no secret of its faith in violence or of the fact that India alone was the enemy against whom its military strength had to be measured. Its earlier aggression against Kashmir was repulsed, resulting in an unstable cease fire. But in the bargain it occupied one third of the territory of Kashmir, and was still in its illegal occupation. Far from feeling repentant, its first Prime Minister Liaquat Ali Khan openly and defiantly declared that Pakistan had adopted the "mukka" the big fist, as its national symbol and proposed to pursue the policy of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth" towards India. Pakistan had entered into a military pact with the United States and its allies, offering strategic bases in exchange

for arms,<sup>7</sup> only to strengthen its fighting power against India.

Red China's regular army in 1955 was estimated at 170 divisions of 12,000 men each. This was backed by a doctinated militia estimated at ten millions. It had acquired from the Soviet Union a large number of tanks, jet fighters and bombers. China was then in the process of manufacturing large quantities of its own small arms. Chinese nuclear scientists who had received training in the United States were known to be engaged in manufacturing nuclear arms, and their experiments in the preparation of an atom bomb had reached an advanced stage.<sup>8</sup> While at one time Indian Generals claimed that one Indian soldier was equal to ten Chinese, the Korean conflict had shown the average Chinese to be a hardy, adaptable and resourceful soldier. The Chinese Generals, besides, now excelled in the new tactics of massive troop deployment and quick manoeuvre. Unlike the Indian soldiers who had inherited British traditions, the Chinese had learnt to fight light, even to supplement daily needs locally, and to dispense with elaborate supplies.

Those in charge of Indian defence had not made any serious assessment of the joint fighting potential of Pakistan and China. They never even dreamt that India would have to confront them as her joint enemies. It was all along felt by policy-shapers at the top that, although Pakistan was being supplied with millions of dollars of the latest and most sophisticated arms as part of America's military aid, these arms would never be allowed to be used against India. They had received solemn assurances on paper, from as high an authority as the President, that if ever Pakistan attacked India, America would

<sup>7</sup> In the course of a decade or more, Pakistan had received more than Rs. 750 crores worth of military equipment, which included more than 400 Patton Tanks, the best in the world, more than two hundred fighters and bombers including canbarras, F-106 A Starfighters, Sabre jets, C-130 B Hercules, a large number of troop carriers and reconnaissance planes, etc.

<sup>8</sup> China actually exploded its first atom bomb in 1965 and reportedly its hydrogen bomb in 1967. In 1968, according to an estimate given by experts, it could manufacture up to 40 bombs a year and other weapons with nuclear warheads.

not permit the use of these arms "under any circumstances".

As for China, despite her growing military strength, Indian policy-makers looked upon it ever since Bandung as a friend and not as a potential enemy. Even after China's occupation of Tibet, they hoped to settle any likely disputes by friendly discussion. Speaking in the General Assembly,<sup>9</sup> Krishna Menon said, "We have been happy in our relations with China.... We have a long 3000 miles frontier with China and we have no armies on that frontier.... We have waged no wars, so far as we know, in the whole of history. If we who are on the frontiers of China, and who would therefore have the most to lose, felt that we were bringing into the comity of nations a country that would be likely to break the law, we would be the first to stand up and say so." It was not he alone, but the whole Cabinet<sup>10</sup> that had misjudged events. They did not show even the common man's awareness of the menace which Pakistan and China posed to India's frontiers till danger knocked at the very door.

<sup>9</sup> In support of a motion asking for the admission of China to the UN (UN Records, November 16, 1957)

<sup>10</sup> With the solitary exception of Vallabhbhai Patel who had given many warnings about China's expansionist designs and had expressed deep distrust of China

## The Purge

Funda, a member of the primitive tribes, came from his village, Neemkada, with an application for the allotment of cultivable land. Underneath the application was hidden a one-rupee note. The Deputy Minister for Revenue asked the meaning of it all. Funda offered another fifty naye paise to the Minister explaining that he had been told that he could not get anything done unless he was prepared to offer a bribe.<sup>1</sup> Soon after becoming Prime Minister, Nehru had threatened "to hang hoarders, profiteers and black-marketeers by the nearest lamp-post".<sup>2</sup> Time had shown that Nehru was as unrealistic in his threats as he was over-optimistic in his promises. In fact, no man saw corruption grow around him so helplessly as Nehru did. A congress Chief Minister at this time publicly boasted that with fifty lakhs one could become a Chief Minister, and with a crore one could buy one's way to Prime Ministership!

Nehru's confidence was rudely shaken when the first bomb exploded virtually under his own desk. M. O. Mathai was his trusted Secretary. He knew more secrets than members of the Cabinet. As a result of an inquiry it was revealed that "friends" had donated "several lakhs" to a "trust" Mathai had founded in the name of his "revered mother". A big house in a fashionable quarter in the capital and an orchard in the hills had been offered as gifts to keep the memory of the pious lady alive and evergreen. Mathai had to resign. At this very

<sup>1</sup> UNF Report, September 6, 1966

<sup>2</sup> Organizer, December 16, 1963.

time the adventures of one Mundra led to the resignation of T. T. Krishnamachari.

As time passed, Nehru had more shocks in store for him. Keshav Dev Malaviya was a friend of half a century. He was a confirmed leftist. He was gifted with more than average intelligence. He was Minister for Mines. Some of the most paying mines were in Orissa. Serajuddin, an Orissa merchant, was interested in manganese. Manganese was very much in demand abroad, especially in the U.S.A. Since manganese mines were Government-controlled, the more concessions one got, the more manganese one could exploit. Serajuddin started establishing a Manganese lobby both at the Centre and in Orissa. Serajuddin himself was a short, unassuming, carelessly dressed individual. Serajuddin did not keep his official records carefully, but he recorded in his private diary, with meticulous care, all that he spent on gifts, presents and cash offerings to his various benefactors with their names and addresses. When the Police made surprise raids at different places, quite a few of the entries in the Serajuddin diary found corroboration. They found the cars, the refrigerators, the whisky bottles and other items as listed by Serajuddin with the recipients. S. K. Das, a Judge of the Supreme Court, held an inquiry. He could "not clear K.D.". Malaviya resigned.

Whispers became louder and louder about the adventures of the Kairon family. After years of trial and error with mediocrities in the Punjab, Nehru had for the first time found in Kairon<sup>3</sup> a "progressive, capable, dynamic Chief Minister". Under Kairon Punjab made rapid progress, industrially, educationally and in agriculture. While Kairon had done wonders as an administrator, his sons, it was alleged, had achieved miracles in amassing wealth through questionable means. They had also become a terror for officials who would not toe their line. Justice S. K. Das held Pratap Singh Kairon responsible for conniving at the doings of his sons, relatives and government officials, and for having abused his influence and powers to

<sup>3</sup> Pratap Singh Kairon



help the members of his family, acquire and dispose of vast properties and businesses.<sup>4</sup>

Up to 1947, in the top leadership of the Congress there were only a few with affluent means, or with children possessing extraordinary talent. By 1957 it was difficult to meet a Congressman of influence or standing who was still poor. Most had become affluent. As for the children, those who had not succeeded in setting up lucrative businesses had secured prize jobs out of the reach of some of the ablest young men of obscure parentage. If a census was taken, it would have been found that birth had played a very important part in the choice of candidates for top jobs in government and business, and family pulls were given priority over ability and experience. Pretty women exercised more influence than intelligent women, and whether it was a favour, a job, a contract or a licence, a captivating feminine face could achieve sometimes even more than money.

As reports of graft and corruption began to multiply, Nehru felt more and more concerned. As an Opposition Member of Parliament, referring to allegations of corruption, suggestively said, "Congress leaders once had the gift of the gab. Now they have developed the gift of the grab."<sup>5</sup> Every enquiry showed that illicit wealth amassed by several Ministers and their families ran not into lakhs but into crores. In one State it was discovered that some of the top Ministers and their wives had

<sup>4</sup>The Das Report was a five-hundred-page document which detailed the adventures of Kairon's sons, who built cinemas, acquired control of brick kilns, exchanged properties, infringed the law with impunity, and became millionaires, while Kairon strove hard, in loose pyjamas, badly tailored shirts and slovenly jackets to make the Punjab a show-piece among the States of India.

<sup>5</sup>Kripalani, a former president of the Indian National Congress, warned that "corruption at all levels jeopardised democracy in India." He said further, "Corruption which had formed a place for itself deep in the hearts and minds of Congressmen is telling on our national character." Referring to some recent disclosures, he said, "The charges of corruption against the Ministers in Kerala, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh by Congressmen themselves has shown that the extent of corruption was far greater than was the case in the Punjab." Finally, Kripalani "accused the Congress of debasing public character" (Press Report, September 19, 1954).

been operating jointly, treating the administration as a corporation.

After months of sober thinking, Nehru finally acted. In the process he immortalized another honest but comparatively obscure colleague, Shri Kamaraj Nadai, the popular Chief Minister of Madras. I set eyes on Shri Kamaraj for the first time in a fashionable restaurant. His rough and robust demeanour, his homely dress, his unconventional way of eating rice, somehow did not fit in with the *décolleté* environment. But nonetheless anyone meeting him could feel that he was forthright, honest and had the tenacity and the purity of an uncut diamond. He struck me as a man of few words, but possessed of a lot of action.

When Nehru disclosed to Kamaraj his dilemma and his feeling that something drastic, something spectacular and something spontaneous required to be done, Kamaraj suggested a major surgical operation. While Nehru later generously attributed to Kamaraj the authorship of the final plan, it was the subtle mind of Nehru himself which gave to the proposed operation the noble appearance of a grand "renunciation". The operation affected many top Congressmen who had lingered in positions of power too long. Some of them were being openly accused of corruption. Others had a fine record of service.

In November 1963, the Congress Working Committee and the A.I.C.C. met to implement the so-called "Kamaraj Plan". Nehru told his colleagues that since many of the best men had been occupied too long with ministerial duties, party work had suffered, and the hold of the Congress on the people had weakened. The time, he said, had therefore come for some of them to volunteer to renounce office and take up party work "to clean up the Congress and prepare it for achieving its great national objectives". Nehru offered to be the first to relinquish office, since he had "borne the burden of office" the longest. This plea, as planned, was unanimously rejected. In order that people may not be able to distinguish between the "black sheep and the white sheep", the two to follow next were

reputed to be the most honest of the lot, Shri Karamaj and Lal Bahadur Shastri.

Modest and unassuming, Lal Bahadur had spent most of his adult life in the service of the country. For several years he had served as a Minister in the United Provinces, and had made a name for himself for integrity, robust commonsense, and sound judgment. When he was Minister for Railways in the Union Cabinet, one serious accident followed another. He was so conscientious about his responsibilities that he immediately resigned. This had never happened before, or for that matter afterwards, although railway accidents have been and continue to be a periodic feature.

After these two, followed others, some willingly, others reluctantly and quite a few under powerful private pressure. It seemed like King Arthur was presiding over the voluntary dissolution of the "Knights of the Round Table." The "black sheep" and the "white sheep" were bundled together. The whole thing was made to look like an act of grand sacrifice.<sup>1</sup> To ensure that those who were quitting made no attempt to return, Shastri announced "one thing is fairly certain. None of us who quit office is going to resume office soon."<sup>2</sup>

As a result of this "purge", Gulzari Lal Nanda, who was fairly junior in the Cabinet, became Home Minister. He unexpectedly jumped up to the seniormost position in Nehru's Cabinet. To Nanda as Home Minister fell the task of waging war against corruption.

It was at this time that I received a summons from Nanda to meet him and a few others to help in making a success of his crusade.<sup>3</sup> In utmost sincerity but in the language of indiscreet bravado, Nanda had solemnly pledged, in one of his

<sup>1</sup> Morarji Desai soon after quitting office addressing the Congress Councilors in Delhi (Dec. 19, 1963) said "The Congress would die if Congress men did not mend their ways. Corruption, nepotism and favouritism had brought the organisation into disrepute and the evil was spreading. If this was not checked in time the Congress would perish and the coming generations would spit at our name for our misdeeds."

<sup>2</sup> We met in a small room adjoining the northwing of the Central Secretariat and set up a sort of Council of War to implement Nanda's

broadcasts, that if he did not eradicate corruption in two years, he would quit office. It was evident that most of the evils that at that time debased public life and fouled the administration were traceable to political wire pulling at top levels. If Nandaji could make an example of some of the top politicians, I told him, took severe action against a few of the corrupt Secretariat officials in high places, and dealt strongly with some of the big hoarders, profiteers and black marketeers, "the battle would be won".

Nandaji assured us that more than thirty cases of corruption had already been completed by the C B I against top Ministers and several against Secretaries and departmental heads. Seeing how earnest Nandaji was in carrying out his pledge, we all decided to carry the holy grail with him. Our mushroom organization attracted more attention than it deserved. Complaints about graft against politicians and officials began pouring in. Enthused by the remarkable public response, Nandaji decided to set up a "complaints and grievances" wing at his own residence so that cases could be dealt with "expeditiously". In specially pitched tents and spacious marquees, officials of the Home Ministry, and members of the Samiti sat together screening complaints, hearing grievances, and passing them on for "quick action". Such was the extent of corruption all round and so small was our organization that we even evoked ridicule. Nandaji was likened to Don Quixote tilting against the windmills of corruption and we as the faithful Sancho Panzas helping in the effort. One paper published the story of an aggrieved businessman who had gone to the Home Minister's house to complain about some officers who were asking for bribes. Finding the queue very long, and his patience exhausted, he went up to a seemingly influential "babu",<sup>8</sup> pulled out a ten rupee note, pushed it into his shirt pocket and said, "I will give you ten rupees more if you can get me to see

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pledge. This body was later named rather pompously 'Samyukt Sadachar Samiti'. The Home Ministry set up Vigilance Commissions. The Samiti was to mobilise non-official support.

<sup>8</sup> Official

Nandaji alone." The unconventionally dressed "babu" happened to be Nandaji himself.

Soon ridicule turned into admiration. Inquiries into allegations of corruption against three Chief Ministers and some junior Ministers led to astounding disclosures. The police discovered smuggling rackets involving high customs officials, influential politicians and diplomats. They netted foreigners who had employed a fleet of private planes and sea-boats to smuggle gold and foreign liquor and merchandise. The amount involved ran into crores. Nandaji became a hero. His political stock rocketed high. He became closest to the Prime Minister. Nandaji felt so confident at the grand impact his war against corruption was making that at a national convention<sup>9</sup> he solemnly declared that his pledge to eradicate corruption from public life would be achieved not in two years but within six months!

Those among his political colleagues who had first ridiculed his pledge, and had later sniffed at his efforts, now began to feel concerned about his activities. His colleagues now started accusing him in private of trying to pave his way to Nehru's successorship by posing as the only saint among sinners. A few like Mrs Gandhi declared that while his insane campaign might net a few guilty ones, it was sure to disfigure and damage the public image of the Congress. "Stop this character assassination", many of the concerned ones pleaded with Nehru. By the end of 1964 Nandaji was a sadder but a wiser man. Corruption had reacted back and overpowered him. The whispering campaign spread faster than one would have expected. Ridicule gave place to hostility. Nandaji started getting cold feet. The summary proceedings at his house stopped.

Meanwhile the Samiti found itself without funds. Nandaji made it a practice to commence all meetings over which he presided with a two minutes' "stand-up" silent prayer. The two minutes were sometimes extended to five if the number of sadhus present was larger, and one or two of them decided to go into an indeterminate trance. A colleague at this stage of

<sup>9</sup> July 19, 1962

our regressive paralysis remarked that the prayer-time at Samiti meetings was getting longer and longer and business briefer and briefer. Finally the party dropped Nandaji from the Cabinet before the two-year period was over. The Party had fulfilled his "pledge"

## Grand Betrayal

Destiny played the cheat! In May 1962 after the third general elections had placed Nehru and the Congress Party once again in full and undisputed control of the administration, a 'flu virus compelled Nehru to lie prostrate for a week. Convalescence took another fortnight. This was the very time when Nehru needed all his strength and vitality to meet some of the most adverse challenges of his life. There is something in the old adage which says "misfortunes never come alone, but in battallions"! When I met him, soon after his convalescence, the youthful Nehru had suddenly aged. One saw a definite stoop of the shoulders, a tell-tale puffiness under the eyes, inflated blood vessels under the eye lids, a noticeable lump in the legs. He had, however, made a fast recovery much to the relief of the people and disappointment of many in and outside the party. Some had even hurriedly commissioned expert astrologers to find out the future their stars foretold, in a possible race for "succession". The recovery had been spectacular but, in between conversation, he was prone to dose off into a spell of waking sleep, suddenly bestirring himself with the remark, "Damn these anti-biotics! I have never taken so many opiates and poisons in forty years as in these forty days! Evidently it was a race for survival—the virus against myself."

During his convalescence he had been reading most of the inspired Press speculations about the likelihood of his taking long leave, retirement from active life or worse, and the possibility of his naming, or the party wanting to name, a stop-gap

or a successor. Nehru had taken the position that in a democracy no leader could or should name a successor. The man who must succeed him, when the time came, should have worked up to the position the hard way rather than be helped by his benedictions. Among the aspirants in the party, Nehru had great personal regard for Morarji. But he found him too inflexible for a bigger role, and too self-conscious of his "righteousness" which sometimes veined on arrogance. Nehru could not easily forget Morarji's statement at a Press conference during his first visit to Washington, where he had bracketed himself with Gandhi as "Men of God", and regretted that the only thing that stood between greatness and Nehru was that "he was not a man of God". "Damn it, he is not even modest about his virtues," Nehru had said.

Nehru had no illusions about Krishna Menon either. Once, returning from New York, I halted in London, and had a long, frank, intimate talk with our High Commissioner, Vijayalaxmi Pandit.<sup>1</sup> She told many ugly stories about Menon's tenure as High Commissioner, and asked me, in the "national interest", to convey these to her brother. I dutifully did. To my surprise, Nehru told me half a dozen other stories which had been brought to him by T. T. Krishnamachari and others who had visited New York, and added, "but these do not complete the list". "Do you consider all these stories false," I asked, taken aback! "No," said Nehru. "But I know of some even worse ones that are going the rounds about myself." Despite these reports, he considered Krishna Menon, as I did, one of the most well-informed men in his Cabinet, and a dedicated trustworthy "friend". At the same time he was fully aware of the fact that, in America, Menon was considered a "professional anti-American". At home Menon had as many admirers as he had enemies. He was one man who could not live without intrigue, or act without creating a controversy.

Three persons now seemed closest to Nehru: his own daughter, Indira Gandhi, on whom he practically doted; Dr Radhakrishnan, the philosopher-statesman who had succeeded

<sup>1</sup> The sister of Nehru



Rajendra Prasad as President, and the lean, dwarf-sized friend of "all seasons", Lal Bahadur Shastri, then Minister for Home Affairs. He once referred to him in terms of size and quality as the "Gem Dictionary".<sup>2</sup> Years earlier, when India was canvassed to accept the Presidentship of the Indian National Congress (in 1959), Nehru did not encourage the move, partly because of her delicate health and partly because he knew more than anyone else what a "crown of thorns" the presidentship could be. The interests of party harmony and smooth implementation of politics, however, required that the person elected should be least controversial and should have his fullest confidence. His daughter was the only such person conveniently available at the time. After she had been elected, he felt proud of the mature manner in which she had discharged her great responsibilities. According to him, she had brought discipline into the Congress. She had taken many firm decisions to streamline the body. "She even called me to order twice in the AICC. She asked me to sit down and wait my turn in the Working Committee," he said. Even though she had been a "discovery" to an affectionate father, he did not think she had fully ripened for major ministerial burdens. "In due course, perhaps!" To Dr Radhakrishnan he often turned for advice and consultation. He was closer to him than Rajen Babu. If things went wrong, Radhakrishnan was inclined to be understanding rather than critical. He neither claimed to be a practical politician nor a party man. He never gave the impression of being a rival. I then felt that if the unexpected happened, Nehru would be more inclined to nominate Lal Bahadur Shastri as successor than anyone else. "There is something modest and self-effacing about Lal Bahadur," Nehru had said. "The more you know him the more you like him."

Besides the rumblings of rebellion in his own court, others who had been jealous of Nehru's position started building hopes on snatching power from the Congress during the battle of succession. Gandhi's was still a very great name. But the unknown "Gandhi Peace Foundation" suddenly sprouted into

<sup>2</sup> Mid 1962. A pocket edition English dictionary.

prominence. It called an "International Convention" to consider a ban on nuclear weapons. It met in June 1962. It staged one of the most solemn farces I have witnessed. It traded on great names and lofty ideals as a facade to a psychological dagger-play, hoping that some of the sharp, pointed, wordy weapons would hit their target. The target was Nehru.

I was one of the seventy odd Indian delegates invited to the Convention. The Convention achieved little beyond deciding to send a delegation of "three", almost as representative of world opinion as the proverbial "Three Tailors of Tooley", to plead with Khrushchev in Moscow and Kennedy in Washington, "in the name of humanity", to stop further nuclear tests. The manner in which Gandhi's name was bandied about by the speakers, the patent lack of realism with which lofty and noble principles were advocated with blatant righteousness, the solemn manner in which impractical proposals were put forward, created an atmosphere of melodramatic unreality with an undercurrent of dirty political intrigue.

The Convention seemed to have offered a common platform to many who had worked together in the great national struggle, but in time had broken off into different political camps, and had developed different complexes about Nehru and his government. Some of them had at one time or the other been esteemed colleagues in the Congress. They, unlike the party aspirants in the race for succession, seemed concerned more with "what after Nehru?" Though they were men of different views and convictions, even hostile to each other in the past, the feeling that Nehru had lasted long enough and had dominated the national scene too long, made them strange bed fellows, for the time being.

The session was inaugurated by Rajendra Prasad. As President of India, one assumed he must have been more than aware of the mounting hostility against India by China and Pakistan. And yet the focal point in his speech, which was otherwise replete with long quotations and righteous manimes, was that India should set an example and "disarm" unilaterally at once to make her appeal to world opinion for "disarma-

ment' effective Acharya Kripalani, a former Congress President, one of Nehru's oldest colleagues, indulged in even more unrealistic heroics. Supporting Rajen Babu, he said, "My love, therefore, of nationalism, or my idea of nationalism, is that my country may become free, that if need be the whole country may die, so that the human race may live." Lord Bertrand Russell had at the time written to Nehru to send a ship to Christmas Islands where Americans had planned "atomic tests", with some people in it. No proposal could have been more impractical and patently unrealistic. Rajagopalachari had a jab at Nehru for not conceding to Lord Bertrand Russell's request. Raising his voice in righteous indignation, he regretted that "our Government should not have taken a definite step. We have lost time and it may even be said now it is too late to do anything." Another old timer but a younger man was Jaiprakash Narayan. When Jaiprakash spoke, Nehru might well have said "*et tu Brute*". He considered the sending of a protest ship to nuclear testing areas "still worth giving careful consideration", and supported unilateral disarmament. He solemnly condemned the use of 'force' by India in Goa.

Nehru sat through silently and patiently listening to these and other similar harangues for six long sessions spread over three days. He had never given so much time to any convention, nor ever sat through so patiently. Finally he lashed back against these glib provenders of sham nonviolence. "Some of us have talked of nonviolence," he said, but sometimes "the most violent of men call themselves Gandhian." He went on "We forget that the worst violence has been practised in the name of Christ. So I have been wondering," he said sarcastically, "whether it was only a tournament of talk for three days or whether we have achieved anything worthwhile." In India, he said, "we have the habit of talking in the highest terms, but not acting up to them." To profess one thing and do something entirely opposite "is hypocrisy and cowardice. It is a grave danger—nothing good can come from people who are afraid, who are cowards, or from their kind of non-violence." Speaking for himself he said, "I prefer any

amount of violence to that type of thing." Addressing those around him at the speakers' table, he said, "But the fact is that nuclear bombs are all the time being planted in our minds and hearts" It is "the dagger and the sword, the evil in our hearts, the violence in our hearts which comes out" with everything we do."

Far from feeling irritated, Nehru for the first time in many years was in an impish mood. He sat through three days of righteous bunkum, partly to meet the challenge implicit in this vocal tournament, and partly as an exercise in physical endurance. Behind all this lay the shadow of "succession". Rajen Babu, who sought physical aid to be lifted to the platform, was laid up with asthma after the inauguration. Other leaders disappeared at intervals for a siesta or rest. A couple of them dozed off even in their seats. Nehru sat through, and—what he had never done before—participated in every meal arranged for the delegates. On the last day, after dinner, he joined the delegates to witness two films, one British and one Japanese, on the atom bomb, at Rashtriapati Bhavan. Quite a few of those aspiring for succession inside and outside the party were present. The films ended near midnight. When the lights went on, I saw the Prime Minister and his daughter sitting at the rear. Half a dozen of the tired audience were asleep. Most others had disappeared after the first interval. I went up to him and said, "As a feat of endurance it was marvellous, but don't you think you have been needlessly straining yourself." He confessed to a feeling of fatigue, but bursting into a big laugh and pointing to one or two who were still asleep, said, "They are the answer to 'After Nehru Who?'. The question now is who out of these will be there when the time comes."

While Nehru had regained his self-confidence, what perturbed him was not as to who would succeed him when the time came, but as to how many of the problems, internal or external, that were gathering around him like dark clouds on the national horizon he could solve while he was still alive. Nehru could almost have said what Kennedy, with less

foreboding of the future, had once remarked: "I had plenty of problems when I came in, but wait until the fellow who follows me will see what he will inherit!"<sup>3</sup>

Nehru realized now, more than ever before, that the Party had progressively become a dead weight around his neck, that the more power he had brought to it, the less scrupulous some of the chosen ones had been in exploiting it for personal gain and self-aggrandisement. The taller he had grown, the more had those around him shrunk through the years.

Meanwhile on October 20, 1962, China launched a massive attack against India. The politicians, the services, the people were not only all caught unawares, but also in a state of utter unpreparedness. India's whole policy towards China had been a series of illusions, hopes and assumptions spread over more than ten years. It has been said that Nehru was betrayed by Chou En-lai. In fact, in retrospect, one feels that Nehru was betrayed by Nehru. He refused to see what was becoming obvious to lesser people, because he had an exaggerated opinion about his capacity to succeed diplomatically, where guns and more guns seemed the obvious answer.

Chiang Kai-shek went out of his way to extend a hand of friendship to nationalist leaders like Nehru, before independence. At the same time it was he who double-crossed and authorised publication of maps which showed Tibet, Nepal, Bhutan, Sikkim and large areas in Assam and NEFA along the Brahmaputra river as Chinese territory. Despite later Indian protests, Mao Tse-tung never repudiated these maps or these claims. In 1950, seeing India embroiled in some of its own troubles, Chinese armies invaded Tibet, thus forcibly establishing claim to Tibet. In a speech<sup>4</sup> at the time Nehru emphasised, "Please note that I have used the word 'suzerainty' and not 'sovereignty'." Later, K. M. Panikkar, the Indian Ambassador to Peking, informed China that the Prime Minister had used the word "sovereignty" and not "suzerainty". This created a lot of bewilderment in India. Sir Girja Shankar Bajpai,

<sup>3</sup> Schlesinger on Kennedy.

<sup>4</sup> December 7, 1950.

the then Secretary-General, was the first to draw Nehru's attention to this egregious blunder and to its dangerous implications, in respect of India's 2,000 miles long northern frontier with Tibet. Instead of correcting the Indian Ambassador and reprimanding him for this gratuitous amendment, and boldly informing the Chinese government as to what the Prime Minister had actually said, when a clarification was later sought in Parliament, Nehru forgot what he said earlier and naively tried to equate the two expressions, as if the two terms had all the time seemed to him synonymous. "Some criticism has been made," he said referring to the Sino-Indian Treaty of 1954, "that this is a recognition of Chinese sovereignty over Tibet. I am not aware of any time during the last few hundred years when Chinese sovereignty or, if you like, suzerainty was challenged by any outside country." If China was sovereign in Tibet, Nehru did not explain how the British were able to maintain military contingents with the Dalai Lama's permission, and without Chinese assent or consent, in Yatung and Gyantse. How, again, when the Dalai Lama visited India twice at the invitation of the Prime Minister, the flags of Tibet were flown along the routes of his reception. Or why, again, he was in all respects treated as a Head of State and not as the chieftain of an autonomous territory.

If India had been weak in conceding Chinese "sovereignty" so easily, India was more than careless in concluding the Sino-Indian treaty of 1954. In ceding Tibet to China it should at least have made it a pre-condition that China accept the conventional and hitherto undisputed boundary between India and Tibet. China then would have gladly agreed to substantial concessions, and to a clearer and more effective demarcation. China at the time was under international pressures in the East, was having serious economic difficulties at home, and was fast losing the friendship of Russia. Besides, it was badly in need of Indian goodwill to rehabilitate itself as a peace-loving country in the eyes of other Asiatic and African countries. Above all, for the first time, it was getting under India's imprimatur the undisputed gift of a thinly inhabited

territory as large as the whole of South-East Asia put together. Krishna Menon and Panikkar, the chief formulators of the China policy at the time, were the two most well-informed persons in the Government. They, more than anyone else, knew what a gift India was making. They also knew that for centuries the boundaries between India and Tibet had remained conventional, and at best loosely defined. For more than two thousand years India and Tibet had lived in peace and in a spirit of good neighbourliness, with only a few police posts here and there to regulate the incoming and outgoing of caravans on the frontiers. To have suddenly surrendered such a doubtfully demarcated buffer area to the sovereign control of an expansionist militaristic regime, whose predecessor government had even laid claims to vast areas of Indian territory, was a fatal, inexcusable blunder, if it was not also an act of infantile carelessness.

Soon after China's invasion of Tibet, the Chinese started building a road through Indian territory connecting Sinkiang with Tibet. They had no direct road-link with Tibet. A major roadway through such difficult terrain as the Himalayas, passing through long tunnels, over bridges, precipices and difficult viaducts and culverts, rising from three to fifteen thousand feet, even in advanced countries would have been a gigantic venture. In the case of China it involved thousands of labourers all along the route working day and night. And yet Indian espionage remained blind for three years. India knew nothing about this highway till in 1958 a small party "was sent" to find out the facts. Actually the first alert came from China itself when one of the Peking newspapers proudly announced that a highway connecting Sinkiang with Lhasa in Tibet had been constructed in three years, and claimed it as a unique feat of engineering. Even after this disclosure, India remained silent, hoping, said Nehru, "that it might be easier for us to deal with the Chinese Government without too much publicity for this incident."

I had occasion to meet Chou En-lai in 1956. By a curious

coincidence he and the two Lamas,<sup>5</sup> who were also visiting India but were supposed to have left Delhi, met in the same party.<sup>6</sup> Talking to Chou En-lai, I made a few pleasant observations, as is conventional in such parties, and hoped to move on. But both to my surprise and embarrassment, the Chinese Foreign Minister went on prolonging the conversation, changing from one innocent topic to the other. Soon I saw the two Lamas standing behind him, and the Prime Minister waiting to break into the conversation. I moved away to the host, the Ambassador of Nepal. I found Chou also moving up to the host and engaging in a long conversation. Clearly he was avoiding a meeting with the Dalai Lama. Although he maintained a calm, smiling, cheerful demeanour, one could notice that his large dark eyes, unusual for a Chinese, looked figuratively like burning coals. In the course of my contacts with hundreds of national and international personalities, I could not recollect anyone who could cover his anger with such a convincing smile. I found later that he did not expect to see the Dalai Lama at the party. He now threatened not to attend a banquet the same night in his honour if the Lamas were present. The Lamas were entertained that night by another Ambassador. For any good judge of human behaviour it should not have been difficult to see through the dual personality of Chou En-lai. He seemed to be perennially wearing a mask.

During this visit, according to Nehru, Chou En-lai had assured him that China "would respect the autonomy of Tibet". A year later the forces of "liberation" were let loose on Tibet by China. It was a miracle that the Dalai Lama escaped unharmed, followed by thousands of refugees, and took asylum in India. At this very time, shocking reports were received of Chinese military intrusions into Indian territory but were kept a secret.

Nehru now realized that he had been fooled by Chou En-lai, that before signing the Sino-Indian Treaty recognising Chinese

<sup>5</sup> Dalai and Pancham

<sup>6</sup> The Dalai Lama's plane developed engine trouble, and he had to return to Delhi.



control of Tibet, he should have at the same time insisted on a clear acceptance and even demarcation of the erstwhile boundary between India and Tibet. According to him Chou En-lai had said (in 1956) that "they had agreed to recognise the McMahon Line in so far as the Burmese frontier was concerned and the Sino-Indian frontier was concerned. That would take care of the whole of the McMahon Line". He said further, "When I heard it, I wanted to be quite sure that I had not misunderstood him. Therefore I went back to the subject three times and made him repeat it. And because the matter was of such importance to me, I put it down in writing when I came away." A shrewd person like Nehru should have realized that the words spoken by politicians have no value, and that China most of all had treated even solemn-written commitments as scraps of paper! A seasoned diplomat himself, he should have obtained these assurances in writing, if they could not be made part of a solemn treaty.

Having occupied 12,000 miles of Indian territory, Chou En-lai arrived in New Delhi in 1960, to inquire, as it were, what all the commotion Nehru had created was about. He looked calm, and even seemed offended at the "misbehaviour" of some of the Indian pickets who had challenged the right of Chinese soldiers to establish posts in what China considered within "its own boundaries". At a Press conference, he felt surprised at the talk about "aggression". No one, he said, even till the day previous, and not at least the Prime Minister, had talked of any "aggression". He solemnly denied that he had ever accepted the McMahon Line as the boundary between India, Tibet and China. China, he innocently pleaded, was all the time trying to act like a good neighbour, always willing to consider any territorial dispute in a spirit of brotherly accommodation. He then suggested with fox-like cunning that since there now existed a line of "actual control" between the two countries, pending "settlement of the boundary question through discussions", let both sides keep to this line of control. Furthermore, during this period, he said, both sides should stop patrolling all sectors of the boundary.

To this last suggestion, Nehru said, he had agreed. We were all surprised! As regards his repudiation of aggression, Nehru plaintively remarked, "I had repeatedly referred to something having been done which should be undone." This seemed the most passive way of protesting against what in many official notes had been characterised as wanton intrusion and naked aggression. To Nehru's complaint that "they had entered a large area of our territory", Chou En-lai brazenly said that "they had always been there". This soft, pliant, almost cowardly attitude in the presence of Chou En-lai was in depressing contrast to the bristling sense of outrage India had expressed only a few months earlier at the attitude of China. Speaking about a letter received by him from Chou En-lai,<sup>7</sup> Nehru said, "There can be no mediation, conciliation or arbitration about the demands of the Chinese for large chunks of our territory. It is fantastic and absurd for them to base their demands on what happened in past centuries." He accused the Chinese leaders of "the pride and arrogance of might". "I have a feeling", he said, "that just as there is a certain paranoia in individuals, sometimes there is a paranoia in nations. . . . It is the yard of territory that counts, but it makes a great deal of difference if that is done in an insulting aggressive, offensive violent manner. . . ."

When asked why government was not taking stronger action, and only exchanging notes, Nehru replied, "One takes strong action when all other actions are precluded, and only when one is prepared for strong action." This was the crux of the whole situation. India at this time, alone and unaided, perhaps signally unprepared for strong action. In fact, during all these years of mounting hostility, India had not even thought of strong action. Worse! Even though India was one of the accepted leaders of the unaligned countries, was a friend of Russia and a friend of the United States, and had a distinctive place in the Commonwealth, in its dispute with China it stood pathetically isolated. Most of the unaligned countries and some of the Communist countries were not prepared

<sup>7</sup> Lok Sabha, September 12, 1959

offend China. Some influenced by Chinese propaganda even believed that India, not China, was behaving like an expansionist. The antagonism between Russia and China was increasing. But Russia was still debating whether to appease China or to confront it. England and France were smarting under India's trade against their action in Suez. Dulles had died. America was now keen about building a close intimate relationship with India. But Nehru had accepted the proffered hand of Kennedy with "a cold sweat". Among several nations in the Pacific and South-East Asia, there was both a mounting fear of and hostility towards China. Instead of befriending them, India had castigated them in the past as puppets of NATO. Now that India was in trouble, they looked askance.

Internally, India had slipped from strength to weakness. The Third Five Year Plan had run into difficulties. Foreign exchange resources had seriously dwindled. The food situation was becoming more and more grim. Allegations of graft and corruption against ministers and officials were on the increase. The administration had become clogged at various levels. The defence services which had hitherto preserved a high standard of efficiency, and had maintained certain fine traditions of discipline and dedication to duty, had suddenly been riddled with intrigues. China was fully aware of these external setbacks to our policy and internal difficulties. It also knew that the means of communication between border points on the three-thousand-mile India-Tibet boundary were still of a primitive character. In any surprise action these points could be easily isolated. "It is a territory," Nehru said,<sup>8</sup> "where not even a blade of grass grows." Longju, referring to one of posts later occupied by the Chinese, said Nehru,<sup>9</sup> "is five days' march from a bigger post called Limaking. Limaking, twelve days' march from the next place". The last place another five days from the "road head".

In July, 1962, the Indian Defence Minister went to Geneva. Here he met the Chinese Defence Minister, Marshall Chen Yi.

<sup>8</sup> Rajya Sabha, September 10, 1959.

<sup>9</sup> Lok Sabha, August 28, 1959

The two defence Ministers cordially embraced and proposed each other's toasts. When someone asked Menon if he had read newspaper reports of a massive Chinese concentration on India's frontiers, he dismissed the report with "Menomite" contempt and remarked, "Would I be here if such a development were likely?" On return from Geneva, when more reports appeared about Chinese intrusions into Indian territory, Menon complacently assured the people that the army was strong enough to meet any threat from China. He however felt that at the time the danger to India "was more from Pakistan than from China." Nehru shared Menon's complacency. On October 12, before leaving for Ceylon on an official visit, Nehru declared at Madras that the army had been instructed to "throw the Chinese out." On October 20 the Chinese did cross over. They crossed over in massive waves from several points along the two thousand-mile border stretching from Ladakh in the North to Walong in the East. To say that India was taken unawares would be an understatement. India was rudely shaken out of a deep stupor of complacency. Few even in the government realized what had happened. Like human cataracts, the Chinese armies began to pour down the mountain ridges, through various passes, capturing one post after another, throwing bewildered Indian defenders into confusion. "Comrades, friends and fellow countrymen" wailed a shocked and disillusioned Nehru, *a la* Mark Antony,<sup>10</sup> "I must speak to you about the grave situation which has arisen on our frontiers, on account of continuing and unabashed aggression by the Chinese forces. We have to meet a powerful and unscrupulous opponent." He appealed to the citizens to muster strength and courage to meet the "menace".

Be it said to Nehru's credit that now when he realized he had been betrayed, he had lost his sense of fear. He became what he had always been, a man of fearless courage. "We have to fight with all our might this menace" he said, boiling with a sense of outrage.<sup>11</sup> "No self-respecting country which

<sup>10</sup> On October 22 1962 over the All India Radio

<sup>11</sup> Lok Sabha November 8 1962

loves its freedom and its integrity can possibly submit to this challenge. . . . We accept the challenge in all its consequences" Though Nehru still spoke about the virtues of nonalignment, he took, for once, some realistic decisions. "In this task," he said, "in defending our frontiers and our motherland, we have sought help from all friendly countries." These countries naturally included, among others, the United States, the United Kingdom, the Soviet Union and France. China did not expect this of Nehru, the saint of nonalignment. At this very time, more through the logic of circumstances than through any deliberate choice, another decision was forced upon Nehru. Krishna Menon, as Defence Minister, was made to resign.

While many thought that the exit of Menon from the Cabinet was a painful decision for Nehru, I for one knew that it was not. Nehru was feeling for sometime that Menon was becoming more a liability than an asset<sup>12</sup> Much happened during the days that followed—a lot to add to our shame, to humble, overpower and disgrace India, and still a lot more—grand acts of heroism, courage and dedication to duty, enough to restore one's faith in our people's capacity not only to defend freedom but also to die for it

<sup>12</sup>Chen Yi had his own story to tell about his meeting with Menon at Geneva. According to Malcolm Macdonald, the British High Commissioner who was in Peking at the time of the Chinese invasion, Chen Yi, the military genius of China, told him that during their talks in Geneva Krishna Menon gave him the impression that India would be willing to "explore a realistic settlement of the border dispute" Chen was hence surprised at the later threatening speeches of the Prime Minister and Menon

Menon himself told me after his resignation that within the inner circle around Nehru he had become suddenly unpopular even before the October attack. Indira Gandhi, the Prime Minister's daughter, and Dr Radhakrishnan, the President, had been advising Nehru to get rid of Menon. They had made it impossible for him to see Nehru privately. In these days Krishna Menon kept a man posted on the roof of his house to watch when the Prime Minister left for a particular engagement. This enabled Krishna Menon to arrive along with the Prime Minister which gave the impression to the people of his still being in the confidence of Nehru. Some of us knew what effort Krishna Menon was putting in to keep up appearances

## Chinese Retreat : Nehru Dies

It may not have been as destructive as Hitler's panzer inroads into Poland, France and the countries of Western Europe in 1939, but the Chinese invasion of India, was as wanton, as unprovoked and as massive.<sup>1</sup> It lasted exactly thirty-two days. It started unilaterally, ended in a dictated cease-fire, with the withdrawal of Chinese forces to positions of their own choosing. Whatever their territorial claims, the Chinese were determined to have this showdown with India at this and no other time, for three vital reasons. They feared that the Dalai Lama who had taken asylum in India may mobilise foreign military aid for the local Khampas<sup>2</sup> who were employing guerrilla tactics, and who with sufficient outside aid could become a formidable fifth column within unsettled Tibet. The Chinese had transported by air and road a large, well-trained, mobile army. The maintenance of that army, for a long period, unless supplies could be freely available locally, was sure to become a problem, if by any chance India in a belligerent mood cut off the disputed Aksai Chin Road.<sup>3</sup>

The Chinese saw that Nehru unlike Menon the Defence Minister was becoming restive and suspicious. He might in despair turn to the United States and other countries for military aid to improve India's defence potential against the

<sup>1</sup> October 20, 1962

<sup>2</sup> A warlike sect in Tibet

<sup>3</sup> The only major land route for supplies of food, arms, ammunition and troops

Chinese. Besides, Menon was losing in popularity. Just as they did not know what plans the Dalai Lama had to mobilise support for the Khampas, they had no means of discovering what secret understanding had been reached between President Kennedy and Nehru when they met alone<sup>4</sup> in the autumn of 1961 and whether this secret understanding was to materialise in due course, in any large-scale military aid, or any guarantees for joint defence, or something even more effective, to contain China. If such a guarantee, or collusion, meant at any time the cutting off of the Aksai Chin Road, the Chinese felt, this would be like cutting off China's jugular vein. It may even involve the loss of Tibet.

China further felt that even though it had collected a formidable force in the plateau of Tibet, it was in a hostile country and had to operate in a difficult terrain. If India's patience was exhausted, and if perchance Indian leadership changed, or if, in despair, Nehru through collusive efforts obtained large-scale supplies of modern military equipment and an air armada from countries hostile to China, India may become intractable. India had vastly greater trained and untrained human resources to overwhelm the isolated Chinese force in Tibet. The Chinese had still not outlived the dread of a Sikh, Gurkha or Rajput soldier. Keeping these factors in view, the Chinese felt that a mass attack at this time would serve many purposes. It would overawe the Tibetans, expose India's military weakness, humble India in the eyes of Afro-Asians, and frustrate any anticipatory move by the Dalai Lama or Indian leaders to seek foreign aid to repel China. Autumn was well chosen for the attack, although the weather even at this time permitted no more than sixty days for any free movement of troops in regions likely to be bogged by rain, sleet and snow.

The Chinese invasion therefore was well-timed and carefully planned. If words could be any substitute for weapons, Indian leaders were not wanting. Soon after the massive intrusions started they began indulging in wild outbursts of oratory, as

<sup>4</sup>Mr Krishna Menon had been kept out of the talks

if thereby they could repel the Chinese. Krishna Menon, who had earlier attempted appeasement and had toasted the Chinese Defence Minister in Geneva, now declared that "India would fight the Chinese to the last man and last gun". As one military reverse followed another, annoyance and complacency gave place to bravado. In imitation of Churchill, Menon declared, "If we have to fall back, we will fall back, but still we will continue to fight." Members of Parliament like Kripalani and leading politicians like Rajaji, who had earlier urged India to undertake unilateral disarmament, who had considered the building up of a large army as un-Gandhian, now turned their guns against the Government, accusing it of unpreparedness, and of cowtowing to the Chinese.

The first part of the Chinese invasion started on the morning of October 22, and abated on the 1st of November. The Chinese occupied "threatening positions at points of strategic advantage all over the Indian frontier". At this stage, to confound India's friends, the Chinese offered to "withdraw 20 kilometers behind the line of actual control". Nehru spurned the offer with dignified contempt. He demanded that if the Chinese meant peace, they should go back to the boundary obtaining prior to September 8, when their aggression had first commenced.

Meanwhile, the Chinese had been preparing for their next aggressive thrust which in cunning, surprise and strategy was a match even for some of Rommel's performances in World War II. Instead of concentrating India's main fighting strength in the lower reaches, where logistics would have been against the Chinese, and the terrain very much in favour of the Indian forces enabling them to employ tanks and heavy armour, a politico-military decision was taken to concentrate a large military force and heavy equipment at Se La, which stood four thousand feet above. The Indian position in Se La seemed manifestly unassailable to "experts", because even if the Chinese captured Tawang they would have to face a thousand-foot drop to reach Se La exposing themselves to a severe artillery barrage.



These experts however had miscalculated Se La's impregnability. They also completely misjudged Chinese capacity for improvisation. It was then presumption that unless the Chinese constructed a road into NEFA, which might take months, they could not bring heavy equipment beyond Bum La. In the absence of heavy equipment, the Indian army, from its strategic position in Se La, could overpower the Chinese even though superior in numbers.

Indian Intelligence failed as completely as the experts. The Chinese by-passed the tricky terrain between Tawang and Se La. They improvised a route through the lower ranges, completing it surreptitiously in fifteen days. They attacked Indian forces from the rear, throwing the entire holding force in utter confusion. They captured both Bomdi La and Se La.

The Indian army, outnumbered and outmanoeuvred, was routed before staging even a retreat. Those who did not fall in enemy hands took to the jungles, and with great difficulty reached places of safety.

On November 19 after the tragic fall of Bom La and Se La, Nehru, in his second major broadcast to the nation, asked his people not to be dismayed at the initial successes of the Chinese "This is war," he said in a bold, challenging voice, "and in a war successes come and failures come also.... We shall see this matter to the end: the end will have to be a victory for India." After expressing his grateful thanks to countries like the U.S.A. and the U.K. which had sent expeditious help, he said, "We shall require more help... because it is a matter of survival for us"

One wished Nehru had spoken and acted like this when the Chinese after overrunning Tibet (in 1951) had forcibly cut through 12,000 square miles of Indian territory to build the Aksai Chin highway. By then Chinese intentions had become clear. Later, with Kennedy presiding in the White House, if Nehru had made such a call, China would have desisted from aggression. Even if China did for any mad reason or other invade India, the Indian forces with modern equipment, supported by an air armada, could have not only overpowered the

Chinese, but would have even made their position in Tibet difficult.

Three days after the speech, even though India's rich oil fields lay at their feet, and the deserted city of Tezpur offering free entry into the Brahmaputra Valley and Assam lay practically undefended and partly deserted, the Chinese declared a cease-fire and beat a hurried retreat to chosen strategic positions. They carried with them, apart from weapons and supplies, everything that they could, to supplement their depleted resources. They removed doors and windows, took away kitchenware, sanitary ware, even commodes and service pots, pipes, girders and beams, as a part of their booty.

There has been a lot of mud-slinging between generals and politicians, since this disaster. Efforts have been made to find scapegoats responsible for failures and blunders which led to this grave tragedy. Very few among politicians within and without parliament, irrespective of parties, showed at any time the necessary concern for India's security and a fuller awareness of Chinese designs on Indian territory. While the Government was loudly criticised on different occasions, China was treated more as a political weapon to attack Nehru and his Government, rather than as a real and dangerous enemy. Until the time Nehru decided to cast off all inhibitions, and to go all out for foreign aid, he and all those in supreme authority had blundered diplomatically, administratively and militarily. Krishna Menon had perhaps blundered the most, both on the diplomatic and the defence front. He was rightly made a scapegoat for these joint blunders, and thrown out of the Central Cabinet. General Thapar, the Chief of Staff, and Lieutenant-General Kaul, a young, inexperienced but enthusiastic officer, were also made scapegoats for the army reverses. Except a few generals who got cold feet in an unforeseen situation, it was more a question of unpreparedness than individual blunders that accounted for the military disasters. Even for these the politicians were to blame more than any set of military men. At the eleventh hour the Government took amateurish military decisions over the heads of experienced

army Commanders,<sup>5</sup> thereby adding to the confusion that the Chinese by their surprise tactics had already created.

Reacting to the courage and heroism of the Army, men, women and children all over the country soon rose as one man behind the Jawans and Nehru. People from all walks of life—farmers, labourers, workmen and city folk—showed rare enthusiasm for doing something, anything, for the defence of the country, and to keep up the morale and spirit of the Jawans at the front. Since units of the improvised 4th infantry division under Gen. Kaul had to be rushed up to the chilly snow-peaks of NEFA from the plains in summer outfit, a call was sent round for blankets, sweaters, pullovers, windcheaters, etc. Blankets and quilts came in their thousands from cities and villages all over the country. While most sweaters and pullovers followed a standard size and pattern, one did come across many which enthusiastic village women had woven: sometimes big enough to fit a beer barrel, and sometimes so small that even a teenager would have to squeeze into. But behind them was the effort and devotion of common people.

A call was sent to mobilise and train home guards, civil defence personnel, nurses, fire-fighters, etc. Thousands everywhere enlisted. What was lacking was not enthusiasm but trainers. Once the talk of nonviolence had died down, both young and old, even women, volunteered to enlist for active service, or at least to receive training in the use of fire-arms. Several rifle clubs were quickly set up. But it was pathetic that the rifle clubs had few rifles and no ammunition.

The Chinese waged war, not only with weapons, but also through a highly specialised propaganda machinery. They had powerful radio stations working night and day on the Indian border, employing every method to undermine the morale of our troops and confuse the civilian population. Even though the Indian radio system was no less well equipped, very little serious or intelligent effort was made to counter the Chinese

<sup>5</sup> Men like Generals Timmayya, Thorat, Kulwant Singh, Dube and a few more had not only an excellent fighting record, but knew the NEFA region intimately. They were available, but were not even seriously consulted.

propaganda. Even the patriotic songs that were improvised in a hurry seemed infantile.

No convincing explanation has yet been forthcoming for the unilateral declaration of cease-fire by the Chinese on November 22. The question still remains unanswered as to why, having advanced so easily and so far, the Chinese suddenly decided to retreat to their original strongholds with lightening rapidity. If such a dramatic move was not already pre-planned, then it should seem that several factors influenced the Chinese decision. They realized that their high-powered propaganda machinery had utterly failed in terrorising the people or in lending strength to a possible fifth column that they expected would actively mobilize itself around extreme Communist supporters in India. They also realized that, after the first stunning impact, the four hundred and fifty million people of India, by and large, had been roused to a sense of danger, and with the spirit of "do or die" which two decades ago had inspired them to face the bullets and the bayonets of the British. While they gained some easy and spectacular military successes, they were still uncertain whether some of the withdrawals were not part of a bigger strategy to draw them further from their supply lines, before engaging them in a major encounter near the plains. Added to this was the fear that in a few days heavy seasonal rains and snow in the higher altitudes may not only cut off supplies but make even retreat difficult. Above all, they saw that, in response to Nehru's appeal, foreign military aid had started pouring in. The nature and quantity of this they had no means to assess. They knew full well that India was not short of trained man-power, but only of sophisticated modern equipment. According to one report Kennedy had already alerted the Pacific fleet, and one of the aircraft carriers was reported within easy reach of Calcutta. The Chinese had not commissioned their own Air Force. Nor had India. But the Chinese with their bases in unsettled if not hostile Tibet, with the Aksai Chin route vulnerable to air damage, were more afraid of air operations than India. Before

such operations started with American help, they decided to return to zones of safety.

While Nehru's critics rightly accused him and his top colleagues of diplomatic, political and military blunders in dealing with China, of choosing square pegs to fill round holes and for imposing amateurish decisions through incompetent favourites, in the final stage of the disaster, his personality once again emerged, grand, lusty and inspiring. In this dark, bewildering hour of defeat, he saw his whole concept of *Panch Sheel* turn into an illusion. He rose to giant heights of leadership.<sup>6</sup> On the diplomatic front, he soon got Afro-Asian countries working on cease-fire proposals more in accord with India's position. These India accepted, China did not. In the capitals of the world there was now better appreciation of India's position, and even in Moscow official sympathies were more with India than with China.

Nehru also directed his efforts, towards mending the fences at home. The vacancy created by Menon was filled by Y. B. Chavan, a younger, more realistic and practical minded politician. Chavan suffered from no "isms". Unlike Menon he had no complexes, allergies or inhibitions. He never allowed his confidence to express itself in arrogance. As a very young man he had entered the Congress in the late 'thirties, and had organised some of the many spectacular underground activities in the 1942 movement, at great personal risk. He was a Maharatta by birth, tracing back his ancestry to the martial traditions of Shivaji. As Chief Minister of Bombay he had shown great administrative tact and talent, and had built up a

<sup>6</sup> Nehru expressed special appreciation for the prompt response his appeal for military and other assistance had received from the United States and Great Britain. As regards the United States (article 'Changing India in Foreign Affairs' by Nehru, New York, April 1963) Nehru said "Indo-American relations have never been so close and cordial as they have been now. The deep sympathy and support received from the United States in meeting the Chinese aggression has created a wealth of good feeling and apart from that there is much in common between us on essentials. President Kennedy's vision of a world of free and dependent nations, freely cooperating so as to bring about a worldwide system of interdependence, is entirely in accord with our own ideas."

fine reputation for efficiency. Robust in physique, a man of action and relying less on speeches, realistic and practical, Chavan was in all respects different from Menon. Chavan, in complete reversal of Menon's policy, left military matters in the hands of experts and promotions to considerations of merit. General Chaudhuri who had earlier distinguished himself in the Hyderabad Police action, and in the conquest of Goa, took over as Chief of the Army Staff.

Realising that time was running out, and that his physical capacities could not stand up to the problems that were gathering around him, Nehru tried to create an inner core of associates around Lal Bahadur Shastri, who could take over some of the responsibilities during his life-time, and could lend to his policies continuity, if the worst happened. He saw that while the problems were Herculean, he no longer had a giant's strength. His mood could best be summed up in the verses of Robert Frost he had copied and kept by his bedside:

*The woods are lovely dark and deep  
But I have promises to keep.  
And miles to go before I sleep,  
And miles to go before I sleep.*

If Nehru had lived another few years, he would perhaps have pulled a lot of his own "chestnuts from the fire". His mind was now working in the right direction.

I was in Bangalore sitting in a Newspaper office when the news first came that Nehru was seriously ill. Then followed the tragic report that Nehru was dead.<sup>7</sup> I left in a special plane carrying Chief Ministers and other VIPs for North India. Through thick clouds, lightning, thunder and gales, we practically bumped our way, reaching Delhi before midnight. Despite pouring rain, a few thousand drenched men and women stood in an endless queue to pay their last homage to the great hero.<sup>8</sup> Buried under maunds and maunds of roses, leis of mari-

<sup>7</sup> This happened on the 27th of May, 1964

<sup>8</sup> After I had been held up an hour in the queue, someone recognised me and took me through a side entrance to where the body lay.

golds and jasmynes, his face serene, his eyes closed, lay in eternal rest the man who had suffered many, many years of imprisonment himself to make India free, who for more than two decades had waged a war to his last breath, against poverty, ignorance and human inequalities, and on behalf of peace, international understanding and the setting up of a world order based on justice and friendly co existence. Like all great men who think and act ahead of their times, he failed in eradicating poverty and ignorance among his own people. He failed in insuring peace through the diplomacy of good neighbourliness. But the seeds he had sown were bound to lead India along the path of greatness and the world away from war and strife and towards peace and understanding.

Next day millions lined the route, and hundreds of thousands with tear-bummed eyes watched the smoke rise out of the funeral pyre and waft away, like a cloud of many dreams, along the silent course of the eternal Yamuna. As we returned, the question was uppermost on everyone's lips. Who now after Nehru?

## Adventures of "Nanhe"

Nanhe<sup>1</sup> had come from Benares by ferry to the opposite bank of the holy Ganges to witness a big religious festival. It had attracted thousands of pilgrims, Yogis and Sadhus from all over the country. This was the first big festival Nanhe had visited without being chaperoned by members of his family. The few coppers he had saved out of a token pocket money he received from his uncle<sup>2</sup> had soon been spent. When the time came for the party to return to Benares, Nanhe felt worried. He had no money to pay for the ferry. He did not wish to borrow. To confess his predicament would have been humiliating. While the party was moving to the boat, Nanhe disappeared into the milling crowd. After a vain search, the comrades left. As Nanhe stood by the Ganges bank, the sun was setting, the moon was up. Temple bells were chiming.<sup>3</sup> Nanhe bundled his clothes on his head and jumped into the cool deep waters of the holy river. Through superhuman effort he swam through to the other bank. Nanhe was duly spanked for giving an anxious hour to the family. No one appreciated the reasons which had compelled him to risk his life, or the resolve and endurance he had shown in taking that risk. None around him at the time realised that the lean, dwarfish, chubby-faced, angel-eyed Nanhe, whose people could hardly afford sending

<sup>1</sup> A pet name meaning "Tiny".

<sup>2</sup> With whom he lived after the death of his father.

<sup>3</sup> Cremation banks on the Ganges.



him to school, would one day be chosen the Prime Minister of India.

Within a few minutes after Nehru's death, Gulzari Lal Nanda, the Home Minister, was sworn in as Prime Minister. But even before the sandalwood flames to which Nehru's body had been cast, had died out, the succession had become a subject of intrigue, horse-trading and sordid diplomacy. Should the new Prime Minister be from the North or the South, the East or the West? Should he be from the left or the right, or just dead centre? Should he represent "new blood" or the "old guard"? Should he be a Gandhian or a Nehruite? These were a few of the many questions that succession posed.

Initially the leftists wanted Nanda with his Trade Union background. The rightists rallied around Morarji Desai, who combined some demonstrable Gandhian austerities, with the firmness and executive drive of Vallabhbhai Patel. For a time Jagjivan Ram, the leader of the depressed classes, insisted, in the name of all the Harijans, on being chosen.<sup>4</sup> With Vallabhbhai, Rajendra Prasad, Azad, Pant and Nehru dead, the "High Command" ceased to exist. Its place was now taken by the "Syndicate" consisting of S. K. Patil, Atulya Ghosh, D. P. Mishra, etc. The "Syndicate" started taking a hand in the negotiations. Practically all the Chief Ministers who had come for the funeral decided to stay over till the succession was finally settled. For a time it seemed a straight contest between "left" and "right", between Gulzari Lal Nanda and Morarji Desai, both hailing from Gujarat. As a compromise candidate some even suggested the name of Indira Gandhi. It was Kamaraj, the realistic Congress President, who decided that, all things considered, the fittest person to step into Nehru's shoes would be the quiet, unassuming, diligent Lal Bahadur Shastri (Nanhe). Even Leftists worked up last moment alignments with Morarji Desai, considering Lal Bahadur not tall enough, or big enough, for "Nehru's shoes". Finally, Lal Bahadur and Morarji were the only two serious candidates left in the field.

<sup>4</sup>He later transferred his support to Morarji on the promise of being nominated Deputy Prime Minister.

Then some of the influential Chief Ministers took a hand. Chavan, the Defence Minister, returned from the United States and tilted the scales in favour of Lal Bahadur. The syndicate joined Kamaraj. By a process of "consensus", Lal Bahadur was chosen to succeed Nehru.

I had often met Lal Bahadur during the time he was working in the Servants of the People Society<sup>5</sup> when he was Secretary of the Congress, and later when he was Minister in the Central Cabinet. He impressed me deeply but never conveyed the impression of being "important". He had more than nine years of imprisonment to his credit. He had a record of two decades of dedicated service to his people in different spheres. Yet he was modest and unassuming. When he was holding a ministerial post,<sup>6</sup> he preferred to travel incognito. On one occasion a large crowd of admirers was waiting to receive him at the Agra Railway Station. Lal Bahadur quietly alighted from the train and tried to get out by the Third Class exit. An officious Police Officer stopped him, saying, "No one can get out till the Police Minister has left." Someone pulled up the Officer, saying, "But he is the Police Minister." Still in doubt, and feeling it was a leg-pull, the officer remarked, "Jao, jao,"<sup>7</sup> this little man can't be our Police Minister.<sup>8</sup>

After leaving the Kashi Vidyapith,<sup>9</sup> Lal Bahadur became a life member of the Servants of the People Society. He took the "Shastri" diploma in Philosophy. His academic achievements were modest, but he soon qualified in the rich field of experience. Whether in prison or outside, he lived the life of a common

<sup>5</sup> After closing the Taluk School of Politics, Lajpat Rai founded the Servants of the People Society. This was patterned on the "Servants of India Society" started at Poona a decade earlier by Gokhale. Life members of the Society were paid an honorarium to meet their own and family expenses. They were pledged to dedicate their entire life to the service of the people. If at any time called upon to accept political or other office, they were expected to return to the Society any sums received by them over and above such reasonable expenditure they had to incur in office.

<sup>6</sup> Minister for Home Affairs and Police in the United Provinces.

<sup>7</sup> Tell this to the Marines.

<sup>8</sup> D. R. Mankekar, *Lal Bahadur*, p. 63.

<sup>9</sup> A national institute started by those who had left their colleges

man, feeling the pinch of a common man's needs, not just commiserating like some other leaders with poverty.<sup>10</sup> He read a lot when opportunity offered, worked a lot without thinking of recompense. He observed and experienced a lot of the life of his backward people.

Taking into consideration all the circumstances at the time, I for one was still inclined to prefer Morarji Desai, despite all his fads. One felt at the time that what the country needed was a strong man. Apart from being confronted with two enemies, India was faced with many difficult domestic problems, political as well as economic. These needed courage, firmness and resourcefulness—qualities which one associated with Morarji Desai, but of which the quiet, unassuming Lal Bahadur had not given any demonstrable proof.

As a patriot, it was true he had shown great courage, and had not quailed at any physical risk or sacrifice. As a Minister he had shown commendable tact, resourcefulness and administrative ability. But he had all along served as an understudy. If it came to firm action, even a war, it was doubtful if he could meet the challenge.<sup>11</sup> Morarji on the other hand had built up a good reputation as Chief Minister of Bombay, and later on as Minister of Commerce and Finance. My fears were shared by many others. I was not surprised when at his first Press Conference, Lal Bahadur was exposed to rather rude and disparaging questions, both personal and regarding the Party. He cut a sorry figure. He even felt irritated. Later on the Press held a reception in his honour. The manner in which he mixed with Pressmen, the informality of his approach, soon created around him an aura of affability. When I casually asked him if he would like to say a few words, he agreed. None of us

<sup>10</sup> "I know," he once remarked, "what it is to live on Rs 2.50 a month."

<sup>11</sup> About Nanda and Lal Bahadur, some people uncharitably quoted the Persian Proverb which said it makes no difference if an ass goes and a donkey comes. Others satirically remarked about the leadership, "Har shakh par ullu baitha hai, ab hai gulshan kya hoga" (An owl is sitting on every branch. God only knows what will happen to the garden). One poet said: "Guthenge kanton se daman—gule, wahi gulshan chamar hoga." (When cobblers become florists thorns will be used to tie bouquets).

expected a speech. But soon, what started as a brief thanks offering, developed into an informal Press Conference. One could see that by his frankness and candour, his simple direct answers, his suave manner of speech, he had mastered the situation and had won over the Indian and the foreign Press.

As time passed, we of the Press and the people in general realized that Lal Bahadur was by far the best man to fill the post of Prime Minister at that critical juncture. He had no "isms" about him. He had no favourites.<sup>12</sup> He had no fads. His mind neither soared to the skies, nor was it obsessed by preconceived notions or prejudices. He was pliable enough to accept advice from any and every quarter, but when a decision had been made, he had the courage to see it through with firmness, disregarding consequences.

Lal Bahadur as the Home Minister and now as Prime Minister was firm in putting down corruption in high places. The Kamaraj Plan had been a camouflaged purge. But no one knew who among those who retired from public office were the "white sheep" and who the "black sheep". "Corruption and good government cannot go well together," he said, "and if one could make an example of some of the tall poppies, the lesser types of corruption could be weeded out by itself." His own unimpeachable honesty had also a great effect on reducing corruption in high places. Integrity from now onwards was not taken for granted. "It had to be proven," he said. Lal Bahadur did not hesitate to call for proofs T. T. Krishnamachari<sup>13</sup> whom Nehru had invited to a second term as Finance Minister found himself suddenly involved in what came to be known as the "Bainum" scandal. Serious charges were levelled inside and outside the House. Lal Bahadur felt that sufficient *prima facie* material was available to justify an

<sup>12</sup> When a Communist Member accused him of having a "split personality" in the Lok Sabha he felt outraged and declared "I have never had a split personality, I don't believe in saying one thing and doing another. I have never believed in groupism or groups. I belong to no group. I hate provincialism and casteism. Most of all I hate intrigue, and have never indulged in intrigue myself."

<sup>13</sup> Who had earlier resigned after the Mundhra affair.

inquiry<sup>14</sup> He informed T. T. Krishnamachari accordingly. Krishnamachari resigned.

Lal Bahadur did not get much time to tap talent from outside the party. He mostly carried on with the colleagues he had inherited except that he asked Indira Gandhi to take up "Information and Broadcasting" According to him, out of a sense of "loyalty to his erstwhile chief". He hoped in due course, when he had the time, to go in more for quality and integrity rather than creating another party jamboree from all the nit wits who could pull the wires and exert Party pressures without strengthening the administration. As an alternative he did something which placed at his disposal a lot of concentrated, expert knowledge to help him to make intelligent decisions, direct the affairs even of other Ministers, and to solve some of the most difficult problems to an extent it would not have been otherwise possible. Nehru was mostly surrounded by courtiers who took orders, but dared not give advice; who smoothened queered pitches but did not oppose or question decisions. They felt no responsibility for wrong decisions, nor received credit for offering the right advice<sup>15</sup>

Lal Bahadur on the other hand surrounded himself with a few of the best brains in the administrative field. He not only freely consulted these men but encouraged them to offer expert advice on their own. Even in the Cabinet, he believed in consultation and full and free discussion before decisions were taken. In fact he welcomed and encouraged advice from all quarters. When it came to a decision, he and his experts had the final say<sup>16</sup>

<sup>14</sup> As soon as the Prime Minister or the Chief Minister he declared, was satisfied that a *prima facie* case existed against a Minister an inquiry had to be ordered at once.

<sup>15</sup> Speaking at the Jaipur Session of the AICC one of Nehru's close party colleagues summed up this complaint in an Urdu couplet—much to Nehru's annoyance. Mahavir Tyagi said: "Tail bearers have become your best friends. Good advisers seem to be in disgrace. You dislike the faithful and befriend the treacherous. You have forgotten those who offered their heads to make you the headman."

<sup>16</sup> His personal secretary, L. K. Jha, was a distinguished Cambridge graduate, a capable administrator and a fine writer.

The change from Nehru the giant to Lal Bahadur the dwarf had been initially a cause of concern to many. By his unassuming simplicity, his candour and integrity, his willingness to hold consultations even with the Opposition, his down-to-earth approach to national problems, and his courage to enforce decisions, Lal Bahadur soon built up for himself a new image, rising to a high stature in the eyes of his people. "By their fruits ye shall know them." By the sober caution with which he acted, the conscientious manner in which he discharged his difficult and onerous responsibilities, Lal Bahadur began to more than justify his choice as Prime Minister.

Lal Bahadur concentrated on three major sectors of activity—clean, efficient administration, the economic health of the country, and defence. By appointing vigilance officers, by notifying that promotion henceforth could not be a matter of right but in consideration of merit, and that genuine suspicion could be a cause of demotion, if not dismissal, he created a psychology of discipline which had hitherto been absent in the Secretariat. But he could do little to actually check or stem corruption in the services in the short time at his disposal. He laid down a code for politicians in office, and also set down conditions which could call for or justify a probe into private fortunes. Here again he could not achieve much although he did take some daring decisions against influential colleagues.<sup>17</sup>

In the economic field he set himself severely against "gigantism". There were many who wanted a mammoth Fourth Plan, before even the Third Plan had got out of the doldrums. Lal Bahadur mostly concentrated on completion of some of the development schemes in hand.<sup>18</sup> Discussing economic objectives, he said, "I feel the country needs a compromise between the Gandhian concept of reducing wants by renunciation, and the Nehru concept of raising the general standard of living by

<sup>17</sup> To check rising prices, a large number of fair price shops were opened, consumer cooperatives were offered incentives, and the prices of some of the common needs of the people were strictly regulated.

<sup>18</sup> "I do not wish to waste money on paper plans," he said in Parliament. "I want performance. Something that we can achieve with the funds we have to meet the urgent needs of the people."

increasing the productive capacity of the nation. I believe that our aim should be self-reliance, and the building-up of a self-generating economy." "If all the well-to-do," I remarked, "accepted your standard of life as a pattern, there would even now be enough and to spare to fight poverty." With a twinkle in his eyes, he replied, "The life I am now leading is not so simple. You have only to see what the State spends on the Prime Minister. It is scandalous! If I had my way a lot of expenditure on big houses etc. for Ministers could be reduced. We have to set a social pattern consistent with our national traditions. And this still could be no socialism either."

When Lal Bahadur was preparing to go to the Prime Minister's Conference in London, he sought sartorial advice from his Secretaries. They were unanimous that he should at least wear the formal *achkan*, *chudidars*, conventional socks and shoes, etc. during the visit. He still had a rough, *pattu*<sup>19</sup> long-coat. He wore it in real cold weather. He asked why he should not wear that coat, a *kunta*<sup>20</sup> and *dhotie*? "I do not see why I should wear an *achkan* and *chudidars* when Gandhiji could visit Buckingham palace in a loin cloth," he protested. "But then, sir, India had not officially adopted a formal national dress," intervened one of the Advisers. "Besides, when the Queen came to India, you did wear an *achkan* and *chudidars* at the Prime Minister's banquet." Lal Bahadur laughed. "That is true," he said. "My wife got an *achkan* made and the Prime Minister lent me a pair of *churidars*. Wearing it, he insisted, was essential." After an innocent pause he observed, "But you do not know what happened? At one stage the waist band got so entangled, that I left the party in embarrassment without even an apology. I do not want the incident to be repeated again, nor have I improved my knowledge as to how waist bands should be tied." When Lal Bahadur visited Moscow, the Russian hosts seeing him inadequately covered presented him with two top coats. He accepted the gift. Next day his servant was seen wearing the more costly of the two.

<sup>19</sup> Coarse hand spun woollen fabric

<sup>20</sup> Loose shirt falling to the knees

I had heard gossips say that when Lal Bahadur resigned from the Cabinet in response to the Kamraj Plan, an astrologer from Benares had told his wife that whatever may happen, her husband should not leave 10, Moti Lal Nehru Place. It was likely to bring him a lot of luck. It did happen that while all other Ministers who quit the Cabinet shifted to less ostentatious Government bungalows, Lal Bahadur continued to occupy his official residence. A few months later, Nehru suffered a stroke and Lal Bahadur alone out of the ex-Ministers was invited to return to the Cabinet as "Minister Without Portfolio". He stayed on in "No. 10". Later as Prime Minister he chose to continue in the same house. A neighbouring bungalow<sup>21</sup> was vacated to serve as an official appendage for his personal Secretariat, and for Visitors. Lal Bahadur gave a broad smile. "I do not deny that, like other Indian ladies, my wife might be consulting astrologers. But my reasons for still being in No. 10, have nothing to do with astrologers. After I resigned, I wanted to shift to a smaller place. I could no longer afford the upkeep of this house. I was offered several alternative houses. I considered all of them too large for my needs. The change from this large house to a less large bungalow would not have meant any economy in expenditure. Thus a few months passed in this search. Meanwhile I could do no more than cut down the domestic expenditure to a minimum. Thanks to my wife and the cooperation of the children, we cut down a lot. She did the cooking and we did a lot of the domestic washing ourselves. Then came the sudden illness of the Prime Minister, and my return to office. Even then my search for something smaller and more compact continued. After taking office as Prime Minister, I have had to struggle hard wanting to shift to less ostentatious surroundings. In this house, many elaborate changes and extensions were suggested but I disapproved. Frankly, even most of those that have been carried out have been against my wishes."

"May be," I said, "some of your colleagues felt that if the Prime Minister started on a programme of austerity and

<sup>1</sup> Occupied by the New Zealand High Commissioner



simplicity, they may have to follow suit." "That is perhaps true. But sooner or later we who call ourselves the servants of the people, and draw emoluments from the public exchequer, will have to do away with a lot of expensive pomp and show ourselves. Socialism should begin with the privileged adopting a simple pattern of life. In India we can do so, as our necessities are easily met. Once those at the top decide to cut down their needs, the standard of living of the under-privileged will automatically rise even by comparison."

During the conversation a liveried team of underlings appeared with a tea tray, another tray containing some favourite dish of fried potatoes for the Prime Minister, a third tray with snacks and eatables and still another tray with fruits. Before placing the trays they dusted the table and the tea trays giving us a demonstration of the adage, "too many cooks spoil the broth". Pointing at the litter of trays, dishes, snacks, spoons, etc., and the ensemble of liveried underlings who were helping to do everything for us, even deciding on the quantity of sugar or milk we should take, all except eating on our behalf, Lal Bahadur said, "All this, for example, has to go. One should even make his own tea and serve it." I asked in return, reluctantly taking a cold, badly-fried snack, traditional of the standards of expensive government catering, "It has to go, I agree; but why has it been there at all, and so long?" Lal Bahadur smiled and said, "Although the British and the princes have gone, the new rulers (officials) have not changed their way of life. In the places of authority, we still retain the chotta sahib, bara sahib and the lat sahib<sup>22</sup> mentality. The top civil servants have adopted gala bands,<sup>23</sup> sometimes even in khadi, but they struggle hard keeping up to the old ways of life, or the one they say is laid down in the blue books left by the British. Do you know, whenever I have wanted to do something as 'myself', I am told that it would involve more expenditure than if I did it as the bluebooks say, as 'Prime Minister'."

<sup>22</sup> "Lat" used for Governors

<sup>23</sup> Tunics

Starting as a dark horse, Lal Bahadur soon established his claim to national leadership. A few months after his appointment as Prime Minister, the AICC met at Bangalore to decide who should be the next Congress President. The AICC had decided at Jaipur that no Congress President should be elected for the second term. Kamaraj's term of two years had now come to an end. He had served the Congress well and selflessly through a difficult and critical period. Kamaraj himself was willing to be drafted, but was unwilling to contest. Morarji Desai and many others in the Party, whether on principle or for personal reasons, were opposed to any change in the Jaipur resolution. Ironically enough, it was now the turn of Lal Bahadur to employ his influence with the party, not only to alter the Jaipur decision but also to unanimously re-elect Kamaraj as Congress President for the second term.

In the international sphere Lal Bahadur could do very little beyond maintaining a sort of *status quo*. He could not attend the Prime Ministers' Conference in London on account of a serious heart attack. He could not keep a date with President Lyndon Johnson in Washington for the same reason. He did visit Canada. His visit to Moscow was a tremendous success. Even then, one of the matters to which, after his appointment, he gave high priority was to establish some kind of rapport with Pakistan, to see if ways and means could be found to bring the two countries nearer, and to lessen the tensions that were increasing a sense of distrust and hostility on both sides. A couple of Conferences at the official level and between the Foreign Ministers of the two countries had not yielded any substantial results. In fact every effort Lal Bahadur made towards understanding was interpreted as weakness and led to greater intransigence and increasing hostility from Pakistan.

After Jinnah, in less than a decade the Muslim League ceased to be a political power in both wings of Pakistan. This happened partly because of political corruption at the top levels, and partly because the prominent leaders of the League who migrated from India were not able to establish any grass roots in the areas which constituted Pakistan. With time, the

economic disparities and political differences between the Western and Eastern wings of Pakistan, separated by more than a thousand miles of Indian territory, became irreconcilable, generating fissiparous tendencies between the two wings. In order to neutralise some of the disparities, the League decided to eliminate the provinces and to have one State in the West and another in the East. H. S. Suhrawardy, one of the Central Ministers from the East had aspired to rule the whole of Pakistan if democratic institutions could be expanded and if the East could get representation proportionate to its population in the Central Parliament. "I will rule Pakistan from Dacca," he had said.<sup>24</sup> Pakistan was thus confronted with two alternatives. Either to enlarge the sphere of democratic partnership between the two wings, or to silence the voice of opposition by executive action.

At the time of the assassination of Liaquat Ali Khan, the roly-poly Cambridge-educated Khwaja Nazimuddin, a migrant from Calcutta, and once Premier of Bengal, was the Governor-General in succession to Jinnah. By his own decree he installed himself as Prime Minister. He made Finance Minister Ghulam Mohammed the Governor-General. Ghulam Mohammed<sup>25</sup> had a genius for intrigue, as much as he had a flair for the spectacular. So it happened that after a few years he decided to dismiss Nazimuddin, the very man who had appointed him Governor-General. Then followed a grand period of intrigue, instability and corruption in the affairs of Pakistan. Prime Ministers came and went almost on the French pattern after World War II. One stable element and common factor in all these hand-picked Ministers, however, was one Sardar Ayub Khan, Sandhurst-trained and a former Commander-in-Chief. He had been appointed Defence Minister by Nazimuddin. He continued to hold this post till 1958.

<sup>24</sup> Suleri

<sup>25</sup> After retirement from the supplies department, Ghulam Mohammad had occupied important jobs in Travancore and Hyderabad. He left a trail of enquires into his official conduct behind when securing from Jinnah his appointment as Finance Minister in Pakistan.

Having secured a chance he ran in order to get out, but the apartment was closed by the guards who were ignorant that it was the king 318

When he moved towards another door Chudḍa intervening muttered, "Where art thou going?" and smote him with sword strokes. 319

At this time the king saw Bhogasena who standing near the door with his face turned the other way was painting the wall with a wooden brush. 320

The king, as he ran past, exclaimed, "Oh Bhogasena! why do you merely look on?" to which he, shamefast, mumbled something indistinctly. 321

One Rayyāvatta, a lamp bearer, being without arms took part in the fight with his metal lamp and fell wounded by them. 322

One Somapāla, a Rājaputra from Campā, having wounded the assailants was rendered *hors de combat* by his injuries but maintained his conduct free from reproach. 323

The grandson of the illustrious Śūrapāla and son of Rājaka, Ajjaka, melted away, like a dog, hiding his dagger which bore a semblance to the tail. 324

Thereafter, as the king ran and tried to climb the wooden banisters, the Caṇḍālas made passes at his knees and he embraced the earth. 325

A loyal Kāyastha named Śṛiḡāra, who threw his body on the king's back, was hacked by blows and dragged away by the enemies. 326

As the king attempted to rise again, all the assailants attacked him in a body with their arms which served like a wreath of dark blue lotuses presented by Kālī to her chosen one. 327

"Perhaps this rogue though not dead is feigning death"—so saying the villainous Sadda himself cut off his neck. 328

And he exclaimed, "I am the same person who was deprived of office", and further cutting off the fingers he extracted the rows of bejewelled rings. 329

The long-armed king was seen asleep on the floor with one foot retaining a shoe and the visage covered with his locks from which the chaplet of flowers had fallen away. 330

The lack of pity shown to individuals by this mighty king was, in a measure, atoned by his valliant conduct at the end 331

A servant, Śūrata, having come out of the palace bewailing

the treason was felled to the ground outside by the enraged Bhogasena. 332

Having set out for the apartment of his beloved the king, as if through an error of direction, had taken the road to the residence of Kālī. 333

In the flower garden, bees, in rapture with filaments, indulge themselves with different sorts of enjoyments; so kings in their realms in their ardour for enjoyments take a delight in various kinds of raiment. Alas! of a sudden they become visible and disappear, somehow, being upset, the bees by the creeper being stirred by the breeze and those kings through Providence intriguing with their luck. 334

The autocrat of Laikā, conqueror of the three worlds, had suffered a rout from the lower animals, the lord of the Kurus, paramount of kings without exception, had received a kick on the head. Thus everyone might have, in the long run, a mischance stripping him of his exalted rank as if he were a commoner. Who indeed can afford to be high and mighty and, obsessed with oneself, to persist in self-conceit? 335

The lifeless body of the monarch abandoned by the enemies was carried naked, like a pauper, to be consigned to the fire by his parasol bearers. 336

One of them took the king's arms on his neck and another caught the feet with his hands. Thus they carried the king, his hair tousled, the neck hanging down and drenched with blood, his open wounds seemed to be hussing; nude, as if he were a pauper, he was taken from the royal palace to the funeral ground. 337-338

On the site of the islet at the confluence of the Mahāsarit and the Vitastā, they hurriedly consigned him to the sacred flames in their nervousness. 339

Neither when he was slain nor when he was cremated was he seen by any one; as if he had flown away, he suddenly disappeared from men's sight. 340

He had passed the forty-first year when he lost his life in the year eighty-seven on the sixth day of the bright half of Pausa. 341

Thereupon Radḍa, garnished with blood and carrying a sword

335 The reference is to the story in the *Rāmāyana* in which Rāma's allies—the monkeys and the bears—helped him to defeat Rāvana and

to Duryodhana, in the *Mahābhārata* story, who was kicked by Bhīma on the head after the combat.

and armour, stepped on to the lion-throne like a Vetāla sitting on a rock in the crematorium. 342

... 343

When he descended from the lion-throne to fight in the battle that was raging, his relatives and followers doing martial exploits formed a decoration for the battleground. 344

His two relatives named Vatta, and Paṭṭa, who were Tantrins, having fought for a long time and warriors like Kaṭṭasūrya and others fell dead at the lion-gate. 345

Like an actor on the stage of battle, Raḍḍa, armed with sword and shield, danced in the royal quadrangle as he smote his opponents. 346

Having at every moment placed victory in doubt for his opponents and having cut down many by his strokes, he at last fell in the scrimmage. 347

Garga, whom the butchery had caused to abandon the limit of decency, ordered that the punishment for high treason against the person of the sovereign be carried out on the corpse of Saḍḍa. 348

Near the convent of Diddā, Vyadḍa was thrown with his head submerged in the drain of a latrine by the citizens who showered stones and ashes on him. 349

These traitors against the sovereign, when being dragged about from place to place with the ropes tied to their ankles, were received by the people by being immediately spat upon which was what they deserved for their enormity. 350

Haṁsaratha and others, having fled joined Saḍḍa somewhere, to suffer for a time the torment of adversity which is worse than death. 351

Bhogasena, who in his impudence had believed Garga had been crushed after the ruin of his younger brother, now heard this news which came to him like a cataclysm. 352

Having turned back intending to make a stand, he saw the fleeing soldiery and becoming nervous he fled from there to an unknown place with certain of his own men. 353

Thus did Garga accomplish, with the unassisted strength of his

own two arms, the work of slaying and scattering the leaders of the coalition of traitors. 354

The intrepidity and success in a daring adventure such as were displayed by this valiant man, I have not heard of even in history at any time. 355

The traitor Radḍa having reigned for one night and one watch of the day under the designation of Śaṅkharāja went the way of evil doers. 356

These conspirators had claimed descent from the House of Yaśaskara and thus their rule like that of king Varṇata lasted only for a moment. 357

By igniting forest fires, by constructing decoys and traps the Kīrātas slay the lion and other animals, but themselves meet death through sudden landslides in the jungle. Indeed on the same path of death is every individual plunging headlong. I am the slayer and he is the slain—the notion of a difference merely lasts a short while. 358

Those who in transports of delight have hearkened to the festive songs of lovely ladies at their own weddings have to listen helplessly, in their last moments, to the loud wailing of their wives; he who but yesterday exults while slaying his foe at last sees an enemy gloating over him when he himself is about to be killed. How awful! Fie on this illusion which has brought on dim-sightedness! 359

This desperate plot of the conspirators was conceived overnight and bore blossoms the next day; it thus resembled a tree which is the giver of ominous fruit. 360

Then having accomplished that task and cleansed himself from wrath, Garga threw himself with his limp body on to the lion-throne and for a long time wept for the sovereign. 361

While he was mourning, the entire body of citizens, freed from panic, found occasion to bewail the king who had a loving-kindness for his people. 362

The artful Jayamati, who longed for life, gave her treasure to and thus addressed Garga in order to appeal to his compassion. 363

"Brother, make a promise to me." He, however, being simple-minded believed that the words referred to the ceremonies and thought of a funeral pyre for her. 364

Oh these women with their inscrutable hearts! the waviness of the mass of hair, the culminating coquetry of their eyes, the firmness of

their rounded bosom, these lumped together reside in their innermost recess—no one can understand them! 365-366

While she, riding in a palanquin, tarried on the way, Bijjalā passed her and going ahead entered the pyre. 367

Then as she was in the act of ascending the funeral pyre the relic-seekers begging for ornaments looted her and caused hurt to her limbs. 368

Then the whole populace in their turn watching the two queens being consumed together with their parasols and yak-tails made loud lamentation as if it burnt their eyes. 369

At this time Garga, whose worthy conduct was carried to the point of extreme purity, although requested by all did not sit upon the royal throne. 370

With a view to getting the infant son of king Uccala consecrated as king, he strenuously searched for persons being desirous of entrusting him to their lap. 371

The people who know the truth about some of these persons feel amused to-day, for, I know, they do not consider them fit to go even begging for alms. 372

Salhana and others were the three sons of Mallarāja by the queen Svetā, of whom the middle one had already died. 373

Śankharāja had searched for the two surviving ones, the eldest and the youngest, Salhana and Loṭhana, to murder them but they had fled, through terror, to the Navamathia. 374

The shameless Tantrins, cavaliers and councillors who had deserted the defeated conspirators again formed a combination having made common cause and brought in Salhana. When Garga saw this and not finding any one worthy of the throne, he had the eldest immediately consecrated king. 375-376

Alas! in the space of four watches, in one day and night, there came three kings who should have been seen in a man's lifetime. 377

There were to be found royal pages who had served overnight king Uccala, in the morning Radḍa and at mid-day Salhana. 378

Now king Sussala, while in the fortress of Lohara having heard, after the lapse of a day and a half, of the death of his brother became unsettled in his mind. 379

The messenger despatched by Garga threw himself down weeping



on the ground and thus made Sussala, whose doubt had been dispelled, break out in lamentation. 380

From the first messenger of Garga he had not learnt the up-to-date news regarding Salhana but only the death of his brother and of the invitation to himself. 381

For Garga, being diffident about the very arduous task of quickly crushing the enemy, had despatched that messenger to invite Sussala when setting out from his house 382

Having passed that night in lamentation, at the break of dawn, Sussala started on the journey to Kaśmīr although he had not mobilized his forces. 383

Then another emissary of Garga, whom he met *en route*, reported all the news and said, "It is clear you should not come." 384

"Swiftly has treason been killed while in your absence, the younger brother Salhana has been proclaimed king. What is the use of your arrival?" 385

On hearing this message of Garga, the king from wrath became impatient and ridiculing his officers, who were opposed to the advance, he addressed as follows: 386

"With us the kingdom is not an hereditary estate. Even were it so, the next born would be the successor. But the fact is that my elder brother and I conquered it by might and main." 387

"No one presented the crown to the two of us who acquired it ourselves. The procedure by which we formerly wrested it, is it not now available?" 388

Having thus spoken he continued the advance by incessant marches and despatched numerous emissaries to Garga to win him over. 389

He arrived at Kāsthavāṭa while Gargacandra, in support of Salhana's cause, marched and occupied Huṣkapura. 390

At the approach of eventide, the emissaries who had made trips to and fro reported that Garga was hostile although he was prepared for overtures. 391

Nevertheless, the king, at this time being in the midst of the enterprise, despatched his foster brother named Hitāhita to Garga. 392

At this moment, Bhogasena, deluded by fate, presented himself before the king through the intercession of the Khāśakas, natives of Bīlvavana. 393

Having sent the cavalier Karmabhūti to the king, Bhogasena bent his energy to lure him with the message, "I shall vanquish Garga." 394

That he should have waited to avail himself of a suitable opportunity instead of killing the traitor against his brother, nay even temporised with him, was considered by the people as ungentlemanly. 395

Garga, too, remonstrated with him through emissaries with this message and the like, "How can I join you when you harbour that traitor against your brother?" 396

Sussala, however, had delayed thinking that Bhogasena would escape from the road in the dark. At the end of the night he attacked him and killed him with his followers. 397

Karmabhūti falling in the field of battle in the manner worthy of a knight was resplendent; his step-brother Tejahsena was not less distinguished. 398

But Tejahsena, by order of the king, was impaled and so was also Marica, the son of Lavarāja, the master of the horse. 399

It was the king's intrepidity which made him capable of an offensive and defensive, but his force was so small that one could not hope even to maintain one's position with it. 400

Saijapāla, whom the king had sent in advance, when the day was done joined him later on bringing cavalry with him. 401

When these came and his force was to a certain extent strengthened, a general of Garga named Sūrya with a large number of troops arrived at the same time. 402

Seeing that these were hostile, the entourage of the king with difficulty induced him whose mind was duped by his exuberance to don armour and mount his charger. 403

There now fell a shower of arrows from the enemy force, in uninterrupted succession, which made the sky appear as if it were swarming with locusts. 404

As if confessing their treason with their hissing arrows, the irresistible enemy struck down all and sundry in the royal camp with all manner of arms. 405

With his force killed, wounded, or scattered the venture-loving king, having extricated himself single-handed from the midst of the enemy, withdrew in a hurry. 406

Then mounted on his horse, he crossed a roaring river on which

he bridge perpetually swinging up and down was difficult to cross even for birds. 407

Two or three persons, Sañjapāla and others, succeeded in keeping up with him and at various places held up the adversary who were in pursuit; when the valiant man entered the fief of the Khaśas known as Virānaka with thirty or twenty followers, the enemy abandoned the pursuit. 408-409

Although he had only a few men with no food or raiment, it was amazing that he fearlessly attacked and chastised the Khaśas. 410

And, in course of time, having survived disaster on the pass, the crossing of which was difficult owing to heavy falls of snow, once again, through a combination of lucky circumstances, he reached Lohara. 411

At every stride he was in the presence of death but had escaped because there was a reserve in the span of his life; he, nevertheless, continued to concentrate solidly on the conquest of Kaśmīr. 412

Garga, impervious to reason hurled down in anger the poor Hutāhita, bound hand and foot, in the Vitastā from the bridge-head at the frontier. 413

When he was about to be thrown into the waters, a servant of his named Kṣema threw himself in advance; his falling downwards in itself secured for him ascent to a place of honour. 414

When Garga, who had bestowed the crown and destroyed the enemy, joined king Salhana; he acquired an extraordinary sway over him. 415

That king who had neither counsellors nor valour had acquired a kingdom. His mind wandered and he looked upon everything as if it were a revolving illusion. 416

Neither diplomacy nor heroism, neither craftiness nor frankness, neither liberality nor covetousness—he had nothing whatever which could make him distinguished. 417

During his reign, within the very metropolis robbers plundered the people in broad daylight; of other traffic on the highways is a description possible. 418

In the place where a woman, though she was lame, had maintained herself for a long time, he, although a male, had his mind assailed by fear. 419

The woman, whom to-day Salhana enjoyed, was enjoyed the

next day by Loṣṭhana. In common were shared the enjoyments of sovereignty between the two of them. 420

The entire administration of the king, who had no insight into the character of men and who neglected his duties, was laughed at by those who were conversant with affairs of state. 421

The father-in-law of Loṣṭhana, Ūjasūha, who was good enough to gossip with the anchorites, was appointed by him to the office of warden of the marches, which demanded relentless daring. 422

During the confidential discussions he, accepting the task of removing the danger from Sussala, stated that on the latter's approach by muttering his own spell, a hundred thousand times he would achieve success! 423

The king, who lacked moral character, upon the instructions of Garga caused Bimba, the Dāmara of Nilāśva, who was hostile to the latter, to be thrown into the Vistastā tied to a slab. 424

Garga, the king-maker, while killing his various enemies, caused to be murdered many Dāmaras of Hālāha by giving them poisoned food. 425

The king being a puppet, the life and death of all persons depended upon Garga whether they served in the palace or outside, whether they were petty or mighty. 426

It so happened that, on one occasion when Garga had returned to the presence of the king from Lohara, a sensation prevailed in the entire population in the capital who were panic-stricken. 427

For at that time the rumour had spread that Garga growing angered had come to kill all the dependents of the king by impaling them in boats. 428

Causing miscarriages among pregnant women, the rumour of such a reign of terror kept the entire population for two or three days as if in a state of fever. 429

Then Tilakasiniha and others audaciously delivered an attack on the residence of Garga, without waiting for a royal command. 430

The locality seethed with excitement and all rushed out carrying arms, but Gargacandra faced them undismayed. 431

Dilhabhattāraka, Lakkaka and others were observed hovering shamelessly on horse-back in the lanes near Garga's residence. 432

The king did not restrain them; on the contrary, he despatched

Loṭhana to the assailants to instigate them when their energy began to fail. 433

Garga's soldiers having barricaded the road, even Loṭhana did not succeed in investing the house or in burning it down although he set it on fire. 434

An expert Bowman named Keśava, who was superintendent of the Loṭhukāmatha, by killing Garga's soldiers with his arrows was alone able to harass him. 435

By evening when with the disappearance of daylight the royal servants dispersed, Garga, wounded, on his charger made a sortie with his followers. 436

Unobstructed by fighting he, on his way to Lohara, carried off as his prisoner Ūjasūha, who was sojourning in Tripureśvara in ill-health. 437

"What use is this anchorite"? said he and the following day set him free. And because of hostility to Sussala, he did not root out the king either. 438

From this time onwards, throughout the land at every moment the town-folk were in a panic about the return of Garga and kept their houses bolted and barred. 439

Now, on behalf of the king, who was in distress and longed for reconciliation with Garga, the Mahattama Sahela presented himself at Lohara to act as mediator. 440

He somehow induced Garga to consent to give his daughter in marriage, but his retainers did not support the alliance with the phantom king. 441

Thereafter he made peace with king Sussala, but did not enter into the marriage alliance despite urgent requests made subsequently. 442

While the kingdom was thus disintegrating, the king, having secured them through spies, killed Sadda, Hanisaratha and Manoratha. 443

He made them experience horrid torture while life was not yet extinct by causing sparks of fire, needle, etc. to be inserted. 444

That the king allowed Mallā, the wife of Bhogasena, who was living in hiding, to go after her husband was kindly done. 445

Although he had observed his incompetence, the king in the mean-

tendent of the treasury having sacrificed his body on the battle-field rendered his sovereign's favour fruitful. 473

As at sundown a tree, which is full of the flutter of birds that have been attracted to it, upon the entry of a stone is hushed after the flight of the birds, so did the arena, resounding with arms, become as if depicted in a picture being awed by king Sussala mounted on his charger. 474-475

While he was in the quadrangle and had not yet ascended the lion-throne, there arose the shout of "Victorious is Sussala" and the rattle of the kettle-drums became audible. 476

In the House of Mallarāja, no one had been reduced to such straits; such was the disgrace which then befell Salhana and Loṭhana. 477

Both of them wore armour and were mounted on chargers; Sussala having embraced them said, "You are boys", and artfully made them give up their swords. 478

Ordering the two of them to be placed under guard in another hall, the king having gained the realm then entered the Hall of Assembly. 479

Having enjoyed sovereignty for four months less three days, Salhana was taken prisoner on the third day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the year eighty-eight. 480

When Sussala ascended the lion-throne, the entire population in a moment ceased to be agitated like the sea when the sun is in the vault of the sky. 481

Having kept his sword unsheathed from the ever present apprehension of treason, he was like the king of the animals open-mouthed in the midst of hunters. 482

He systematically hunted and destroyed the families of the traitors against his brother and, bent on this policy, he did not let even their children survive. 483

Having realized the depravity of the people, he bore himself with relentlessness and even out of consideration for state affairs, he did not soften into a lenient mood on any occasion. 484

But in reality he was soft-hearted and he assumed an attitude of

476 This form of acclamation with which we are familiar in the Epics and the Samskṛta Drama still survives among the Dogras. The Maharaja and

ruling chiefs are welcomed by each individual soldier lustily shouting 'Maharaj jai!'

apparent cruelty to regulate the people by terrorizing them like a snake in a fresco. 485

He understood the times, was open-handed on the right occasion, daring, original in his ideas, he knew the inwardness of things and was even far-sighted—such as he was there was none other. 486

Although his disposition was the same as his elder brothers, yet as regards merits and demerits it was noticeable that some were stronger, some lacking and others equal to his. 487

Although in his hot temper he resembled the elder, yet his wrath was like the sting of a bee while that of the brother was like the poison of a mad dog. 488

In the matter of court dress, etc. he showed no annoyance; he however, did not tolerate effrontery on the part of his dependents which might be a breach of etiquette, imperilling class distinction. 489

He did not desire the deaths of honourable men through duelling and similar contests, on the contrary, if through rashness such an event happened, he was overcome with compassion. 490

The harshness of speech of the former king had become unbearable because of its disquieting terror but that of Sussala bordered on intimacy and was not accompanied by blood-shed and other sufferings. 491

Being avid for riches he saw to it that there was an ample production of wealth, whereas his liberality, owing to exigency of circumstances, time and the like factors was but moderate. 492

Owing to his love for new structures and for owning large numbers of horses, the artisans as well as horse dealers from the plains shed their poverty. 493

When dire calamities arose, the king showered his riches desirous of overcoming and putting an end to them and there was nothing that he would not part with. 494

The festival of Indradvāḍaṣi, when he bestowed large numbers of costly dresses, was celebrated by this king with splendour such as was not displayed by any other. 495

As formerly king Uccala had been easy of access and fond of his servants, so he, however, was generally difficult of approach by his serving-folk. 496

Than Uccala none was more passionately fond of riding on horse-back, but no one was renowned for skill in it like the king Sussala. 497

No sooner did famine raise its head than Uccala suppressed it, in the reign of king Sussala, however, it was not seen even in a dream. 498

What more need be said? He surpassed his elder brother in all virtues save only open-handedness, non-attachment to riches and easy accessibility. 499

He banished, in anger, Sahasramaṅgala whom Garga had intended for the administration of the realm as the guardian of Uccala's son. 500

While he stayed in Bhadrāvakaśa, his son named Prāsa carried on intrigues with the Dāmaras by bribes of gold 501

At this juncture Garga, too, displayed antagonism by refusing to deliver to the uncle, at his request, the infant son of Uccala. 502

Armed troops despatched by the king were destroyed without number by Garga as if they were blades of grass consumed in a forest conflagration. 503

Also, Garga's brother-in-law, Vijaya, a native of Devasarasa, revolted and massacred the royal forces. 504

Although it was only a month and a few days since he had gained the kingdom, the mind of the intrepid king was not perturbed by this revolt. 505

Sureśvarī, the region of Amareśa and the confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu were made by Garga to look forward to a slaughter of the royal forces. 506

In the grim battle the two ministers, Śṛiḡāra and Kapila were killed as also the two Tantrins Karṇa and Śūdraka, who were brothers. 507

In the midst of the endless host of brave warriors, who were slain, lay undistinguished even such men of rank and no one had the ability to draw them out. 508

Harṣamitra, the commander-in-chief, son of the king's maternal uncle, suffered a reverse at Vijayeśvara at the hands of Vijaya. 509

On that occasion fell the son of Maṅgalarāja, Tilha, who was of aristocratic birth and the Tantrins prominent among whom was Tibbākara. 510

In the royal army, Sañjapāla proved himself the bravest of the brave; he, who had a very small force, could not be vanquished by Garga with his superior numbers. 511

Having rallied by the despatch of Lakkaka and others his scattered



forces at Vijayakṣetra, the resolute king marched against Garga in person. 512

He had a search made on the following day for the bodies of the warriors slain by Garga, who were piled up in large numbers and consigned them to the flames upon innumerable funeral pyres. 513

Thereafter Garga, harassed by the powerful king, gradually turned towards Halāha having set fire to his own residence. 514

Then he took shelter in a hill fort known as Ratnavarṣa; his horses had been captured and he was deserted by his followers and the king, remaining at a distance, had him surrounded. 515

Sanjapāla having pursued him there also besieged him; he surrendered at the feet of the king and handed over the son of Uccala. 516

As the king restrained Mallakoṣṭhaka, the son of Karṇakoṣṭha, in the royal entourage who was hostile to him, Garga soon regained confidence 517

The king accepted Garga's submission and when upon the destruction of Vijaya and others the revolt had been suppressed he, in due course, re-entered Śrīnagara. 518

Thereafter he proceeded to Lohara where he placed in confinement Salhaṇa and Lothana; and receiving the homage of Kalha, Somapāla and other ruling chiefs he gave himself up to revels. 519

Once more entering Kaśmīr he exalted Garga by ever-increasing favours, which surpassed all others, in order to secure his service. 520

While he was the image of the fierce sun of summer, the queen consort and the prince, who delighted all hearts, resembled the deep shade of trees and the sylvan breeze respectively. 521

The two Dāmaras, natives of Devasarasa, agnates of Vijaya, the senior Tikka and the junior Tikka had been marking time. 522

Seeking protection as liegemen the two of them, accompanied by their followers who were raising slogans, stood in front of the king as he made his entry at Lokapunya. 523

Towards Vijaya, owing to his relationship to Garga, the sovereign was amiable but abandoning good manners he had the two beaten by the royal ushers. 524

Those two haughty men and their retainers thereupon drew their

522. Velāṁ pracakratuh—'were marking time.'

swords and falling upon the king's vastly superior force made a daring attack. 525

A Śvapāka called Abhogadeva struck at the king with his dagger and so did the determined Gajjaka from behind with his sword. 526

The enemy blows miscarried—as there still remained a balance of the king's life—but his charger was killed. 527

While screening the king from the enemy blows, Śṛṅgārasīha, a smart cavalry officer of the family of Bāna, was killed on the spot. 528

The soldiers slew the senior Tikka, Abhogadeva and others; the junior Tikka, however, survived and became the cause of a future insurrection. 529

Gajjaka and others who were concerned in the treason were impaled. Thus was the life of the king endangered from having become partial to Garga. 530

Even by a fall of lightning death is not caused unless one's time is up; but in the case of a living being whose duration has expired even a flower may be fatal. 531

In the midst of the ocean, it is said, pearls do not lose their lustre although often touched by the lambent flames of the submarine fire; the same pearls fade on the breasts of lovely women by the mere glow arising from the exuberance of their youth. 532

Forgetting even past services, the king, intolerant of the ascendancy of another, banished from the kingdom Sañjapāla and some others. 533

A relative by marriage of the descendants of Kāka, named Yaśorāja, having been expelled by the king, then joined Sahasramañgala. 534

Possessing material resources, he welcomed him and the others banished from their country and having acquired prestige longed to confront the king. 535

His son, Prāsa, desired to enter Kaśmīr by the Kānda route, but when Yaśorāja was wounded by the king's soldiers turned back in alarm. 536

Now when some other subordinates banished by the king had

531. K. is no doubt referring to the story of the death of Indumatī, in Kālidāsa's *Raghuvaṃśa*, through a garland of flowers which fell on her.

536 Kānda. District between Bhadrāvākṣa (Bhadravār) and Kaśmīr. See VII 590 and VIII 1345.

also joined him, Sahasramaṅgala gained proportionately in prestige. 537

While this fresh insurgence was maturing, three hill chiefs, Jāsata of Campā, Vajradhara, ruler of Babbāpura, and rajah Sahajapāla, overlord of Vartula, and the two heirs apparent of the state of Trigarta and of the ruler of Vallāpura, Balha and Ānandarāja respectively, five in all, met somewhere in conference and having made a pact for the journey paid a visit to Kurukṣetra; Bhikṣācara, whom Āsamatī had brought from Naravarman having provided him with gold for the road, arrived there at the same time. 538-541

He, having been warmly welcomed from regard for his relationship and treated with respect by the other chiefs, thereupon proceeded to Vallāpura. 542

Upon his arrival, with his popularity enhanced by those who had left the country prominent among whom was Bumba, the prestige of Sahasramaṅgala dwindled into insignificance 543

"This one is the grandson of king Harsa; what have such as they to do with the kingdom?" so saying people deserted Sahasramaṅgala and his partizans and took shelter under him alone. 544

Disregarding feelings of gratitude and misled by family affection, the prince Daryaka, too, banished by the king, went over to him. 545

For he being the son of Kumārapāla, who was the father of Bhikṣācara's maternal uncle, had been brought up formerly by king Sussala as his own son. 546

Then Padmaka, the chief of Vallāpura, persuaded by the heir-apparent and by Jāsata, gave his daughter in marriage to Bhikṣu. 547

Thereupon a local Thakkura, known as Gayāpāla, having canvassed all the chiefs planned to place him on his grandfather's seat. 548

While the king on hearing these tidings was feeling agitated, the powerful Gayāpāla was murdered by treachery by his relatives. 549

Padmaka having marched against them Daryaka, too, in the front rank of the force of Bhikṣācara was killed in the thick of the fighting. 550

Thereupon Bhikṣācara having lost his mainstay was reduced to helplessness like a cloud averted by a draught 551

When Āsamatī departed this life and the gold of the expedition dwindled, his father-in-law, too, by degrees turned slack in his cordiality. 552

Then for four years, he abided in the house of Jāsaṭa getting barely food and raiment from him with difficulty. 553

Then, the Ṭhakkura Deṅgapāla, dwelling on the banks of the Candrabhāgā having given his daughter named Bappikā in marriage, conducted him to his own place. 554

There, residing in comfort, and for a time free from peril, this scion of royalty outgrew both penury and boyhood. 555

In the meanwhile the dare devil, Prāsa, son of Sahasramaṅgala, through sheer vitality continued to go to and from Kaśmīr and to cause the king annoyance. 556

Eager to incite an insurrection, he was preparing to enter Kaśmīr by the Siddhapatha route, when he was delivered a prisoner to the king by his own impious servant. 557

During this turmoil the integrity of Sañjapāla became manifest since, although he had been humiliated, he went abroad averting his face from treason. 558

How shall we describe the doings of that valiant man of noble birth in distant lands? It was a wonder, however, that Yaśorāja became renowned abroad for his courage! 559

Then the king removed all the former Mahattamas, Sahela and others, and appointed an official named Gauraka to be premier. 560

He was a relative of a certain anchorite of Vijayeśvara and had won the king's favour while he was at Lohara through devoted services. 561

The king raised him to the rank of prime minister after having gradually removed the former set of officials; Gauraka organised an altogether different system of administration. 562

Having diverted the customary allowances of the dependents of the king from unnumerable state departments, he brought about a permanent increase in the royal treasury. 563

The cruel nature of this impious man was not discovered by the people owing to his unctuous ways, just as the power of death-dealing poison is not known because of its sweetness. 564

The wealth of misers which he deposited in the clean coffers of the king, like combs of snow from a cloud on a snow-field, was destructive of the previously collected treasure. 565

For, if the treasury of kings is tainted by the admission of misers' hordes, it becomes the prey of burglars or else of the enemy. 566

Through cupidity, the king as was his wont continued to collect funds daily and he transmitted all kinds of treasure to the hill fort of Lohara. 567

Gauraka's subordinates Vatta, Pañjaka and others deprived the land of its substance as if they were dire scourges. 568

Since the passing of king Uccala, who was like a stone mounted on their heads, the officials had again commenced harassing the people like hunters. 569

Upon the death of Praśastakalāśa, his brother's son, an official named Kanaka had, however, made a commendable use of wealth by founding a permanent beneficence for food distribution whereby famine-stricken people arriving from various distant lands were relieved from their sufferings. 570-571

The vigilant king appointed only those as his officers, whose integrity had been put to the test after the demise of Uccala. 572

Such a one was Tilakasinha, who was appointed warden of the frontier and his brother Janaka, the one-eyed, to be chief justice. 573

This warden of the frontier, through the great glory of the king, having overrun the territory of Ūrāsā accepted tribute from the vanquished ruler. 574

Tilaka, too, of the family of Kāka appointed by the king to be commander-in-chief, made the enemies quake as the storm gust shakes the trees. 575

The enemies were vanquished, through the rising power of the king, even by Sajjaka, a soldier of rustic origin who was a functionary of the Śeḍa office. 576

Through the support of the Kāka family, their esteemed retainer, the sagacious Atṭamelaka, too, having secured access to the sovereign attained to the rank of minister. 577

Then it took sometime for Sussala to make appointments of ministers of superior and inferior rank, whose distinctive merit was that they were free from vanity. 578

On the Vitastā strand he now commenced to build after his own

name and those of his mother-in-law and his wife three lofty shrines.

579

By expending untold wealth, he had the Diddā Vihāra renovated which had been burnt down by an accidental fire.

580

Once when he had journeyed to the township of Attālikā, the intimates Kalha and others of his entourage incited him to root out Garga.

581

For the son of Garga, named Kalyāṇacandra, full of life having surpassed them in the chase and other sports had made them jealous.

582

Alleging that as a person who had become all powerful it was necessary to tether him, they, by their daily whispering, induced bitterness in the king towards Garga.

583

"The king desires to arrest and throw you in prison at Lohara", being thus warned by a servant and one of the rajahs Garga became alarmed.

584

Thereafter he fled on this occasion with his son to his own estate; and after some days the king, too, started and entered his own territory of Kaśmīr.

585

When mutual distrust had caused a cleavage between the king and Garga, the intriguers who went to and fro superadded to the enmity.

586

Under the influence of a lingering attachment for Vijaya, wife's brother of Garga, the king who had let him go from his entourage was touched by self-reproach.

587

Garga's enemy, who had formerly been incarcerated by the king, the notorious Mallakoṣṭhaka was enlarged at this time from imprisonment.

588

Having got him to form relationships by marriage with the other Dāmaras, the king, in a dudgeon, raised him to a position of power.

589

When in due course the royal army eventually advanced to give battle, Garga, as in the past, massacred the troops at Amareśvara.

590

Only Pṛthvihara, a Dāmara of Śamālā, a partizan of the king, achieved glory by his surpassing knightly role.

591

While Tilakasīmha, the warden of the frontier, by his courage in flight after having been routed by Garga in the battle-field made every one laugh!

592

A few of his soldiers, who survived the slaughter and were wounded, were given protection by Gargacandra from compassion but were deprived of their arms, uniforms and the rest of it. 593

When on all sides the bodies of the brave were being consigned to the flames, there was no reckoning of the funeral pyres in the royal army. 594

When the king came up with reinforcements, Garga, whose residence had been burnt, abandoning Lohara marched to the mountain known as Dhudāvana. 595

He was continually engaged in skirmishes in those mountain passes with the troops of the king, who was encamped at the foot of the mountain. 596

Night after night, by surprise attacks he harried the royal camp and in the encounters he slew prominent Tantrins such as Trailokyarāja. 597

In the month of Phālguna which was terrible with a heavy fall of snow, the doughty Garga with a limited number of followers did not lose heart though he had the king himself for his foe. 598

The determined Tilaka alone of the family of Kāka, who was the commander-in-chief, was able to get on the run Garga, who had taken up his position on the summit of the mountain. 599

When hard pressed, Garga won sympathy by sending his wife and daughter to appear before the king, who by a favourable reception camouflaged his resentment. 600

The king who had concealed his bitter resentment, after peace had been concluded, marched away from there and helped Mallakosthaka to ascendant position. 601

Then for two or three months, Garga put up in Lohara with the unendurable rivalry of Mallakosthaka, whom he regarded as an upstart, while the king's intentions were obscure. 602

In the meanwhile, by secretly promoting dissensions in his force, the king won over to himself his retainers Karna and others. 603

He felt humiliated that he should have been treated on a level with the mischievous kinsmen and urged by those retainers, he presented himself before the king with his wife and sons. 604

Thus it happened that on one occasion when the king was about

to bathe and was standing in the bath tub, he taunted Garga who was close by and made him surrender his sword. 605

What other man proud of his personal bravery could trust his courage when even such as he became faint of heart, like a timid fellow, while being insulted! 606

What a difference between that proud position which deposed and installed kings and this attitude of funk resembling that of the common crowd! It may be that in this world a living being is helplessly made to dance in public, at the sole pleasure of Fate, as if pulled by an apparatus with a row of strings. 607

And then, some of the king's favourites, who in battle would not have dared even to set eyes on him, held fast his arms with a rope-knot. 608

Kalyāṇa and others who were inside the sanctuary of the holy Saṁgrāmamaṭha ceased fighting when the king in person entered the courtyard. 609

The son of Garga, Vidha, having heard that his father was alive, upon being pacified by the sovereign himself, was induced to surrender his sword with difficulty. 610

Garga, with his wife and sons, was kept in the royal palace itself and was hospitably treated by the king who generously gave the prisoner all comforts worthy of his own kindred. 611

The son of Garga, Catuska, though he had escaped by flight from his own residence was observed and delivered to the king by Karna whose action was unworthy of his clan. 612

There is no certitude about a king, whose wrath though hidden is deep-seated, nor about a wound the inside of which has not ceased to fester. 613

When the king left the capital for the reception of Maṇḍhara, ruler of the Dards, who had come to seek an audience, he had Garga murdered by his retainers. 614

Having suffered incarceration for two or three months, he with his three sons was strangled one night by ropes tied round their necks. 615

Bimba and others had been reduced by him to such a plight; he,

612. It is not clear why Karna's action was unworthy. Perhaps because

it was a breach of the rule relating to asylum



too, with his sons was, in turn, thrown by the royal retainers into the waters in the same fashion with stones tied to the neck. 616

In the month of Bhādrapada of the year ninety-four having murdered Garga, the king had hoped for repose but, on the contrary, unforeseen uprisings brought him misery. 617

By the death of Kalha, the rajah of Kālīñjar, and of Mallā, the mother of the queen consort, he, at this time, became exceedingly sad. 618

Meanwhile Nāgapāla, the womb-brother of Somapāla, when the latter had his elder step-brother named Pratāpapāla assassinated had left his own country and come for asylum to king Sussala, having through fear taken to flight after killing the minister who had been the murderer. 619-620

Growing angered at this, the king rejecting overtures of amity from Somapāla, who was ready to comply by obedience, resolved upon an invasion. 621

Having come to the conclusion after trying all remedies that the king's enmity was incurable, he invited the latter's foe Bhikṣācara. 622

Having learnt that he had brought in his kinsmen, the king was upset and fell into a mighty fury and then he made an attack on Rājapurī, which he entered with lightning speed. 623

Somapāla having taken to flight, he bestowed the principality on Nāgapāla, and stayed there for seven months terrorising his various enemies. 624

The king, who was comparable to Indra, reluctantly showed favour towards Vajradhara and other chiefs because of their submission and opportune presents. 625

Everywhere his forces marched on the banks of the Candrabhāgā and other rivers, but the enemy did not dare even to look them in the face 626

In advance of the king marched Tilaka, the commander-in-chief, and the Dāmara Pṛthvihara was entrusted with the protection of the route. 627

The pious king, by securing from harm Brahmapurī and the temples of the gods in the enemy territory, obtained the merit of the original benefice. 628

How can the military resources of this king whose affluence was

comparable to Indra's be described! Even the grass for his cavalry was brought to his camp from his own kingdom. 629

\* At this juncture having gained an opportunity Sujanavardhana, who had succeeded in becoming intimate with the king, roused him to deep anger against Gauraka who was far away. 630

The king, whose mind was prejudiced by calumny, believed that Gauraka, whom he had himself appointed to take charge of the state in order to protect the kingdom, was appropriating the entire revenue. 631

In this connection when he blamed the prefect of the capital Janaka, he lashed into fury his brother Tilakasimha. 632

Whereupon the king waxing wroth deprived the latter of office and appointed a native of Parnotsa named Ānanda, son of Ananta, to be warden of the frontier. 633

The subjects of Somapāla deserved to be praised since they did not, although the king was in such complete occupation of their territory, go over to his side. 634

Then in the month of Vaiśākha of the year ninety-five he returned to his own kingdom and Nāgapāla, too, having been deprived of the realm followed in his tracks. 635

Thereafter, excited by greed which is the harbinger of dire calamities, he levied fines from the inhabitants and reduced expenditure to the minimum. 636

When having relieved Gauraka from office, the king began to punish the officials who were his subordinates, all the ministers became disaffected. 637

By the sudden reversal in the administrative measures, the king suffered heavy financial loss through the lack of experience of the new ministers. 638

To the citadel of Lohara he despatched gold in the form of bricks; the mass of gold which he transported resembled the mountain of gold. 639

Then in order to chastise the vassals of Garga, he appointed as superintendent of police in Lohara an adviser of Garga, named Gajjaka. 640

Thereupon the retainers of Garga fearing repression took shelter under Mallakosthaka and the enraged king killed the unsuspecting Gajjaka by treachery. 641

Rebellion broke out in Lohara and the king thereupon arrested an elder stepbrother of Mallakoṣṭhaka named Arjuna, who was in his entourage. 642

Having imprisoned Hasta, son of Saḍḍacandra, who was his agnate, as also his brother, the king turned Biddaka into a co-operator. 643

That he should have imprisoned, recollecting former hostility, Sūrya together with his sons and certain strangers, Ānanda and others, was an act which transgressed the limits of circumspection. 644

The king marched in to Lohara, whereupon Mallakoṣṭhaka vanished from there; in his fury he had Arjunakoṣṭha killed by impalement. 645

Having posted troops there, he re-entered the capital when all the Dāmaras became hostile to him as a slayer of those who trusted him. 646

Being angry with even Pṛthvīhara, who had rendered services, the commander-in-chief and other counsellors were ordered to make a surprise attack upon him. 647

He, however, somehow slipped away and entered the manor of a relative named Kṣīra, whose residence was in the district of Jayanti. 648

This rebel moved freely inside Avantipura and other towns in broad daylight and none of his enemies dared to harm him. 649

The stirring up of this antagonism through the king's imprudence, proved disastrous to his subjects and was like an invocation to a furious Vetāla. 650

Then Kṣīra who though old was quick-witted, together with Pṛthvīhara, collected eighteen Dāmaras in Śamāṅgāsā. 651

The king in alarm left the capital for Vijayaśvara and to defeat them, who had formed an inseverable league, he appointed the commander-in-chief Tilaka. 652

This man of matchless valour broke them by impetuous onslaughts and dispersed them as the east wind does the clouds. 653

At a time when he should have been received with honour having

643. Hasta=sympathetic worker, cooperator.

arrived after defeating the Dāmaras, the king, on the contrary, refused him an audience which was an insult. 654

When the king re-entered the capital, Tilaka, down-hearted that his honour had been wrecked, remained at home and did not exert himself for the cause of the sovereign. 655

Officers are touched by disaffection and soon desert the sovereign, just as householders leave a house infested with serpents, when they are reduced to the same level as their inferior, their rise along with their equals is hindered, they are placed in the front rank only during hostilities with the enemy, but are kept out during negotiations for peace, and upon the conclusion of the task their wonderful skill in handling affairs is ignored. 656

While he neglected his duty of inspection, the Dāmaras everywhere caused the destruction of stores as the clouds of annihilation destroy agriculture. 657

A fearful scandal arose, as the Brahmans, who suffered in the disorders, sacrificed themselves in the flames in every town having observed a solemn fast. 658

Horses and camels perished by epidemic disease and this forbode for the kingdom an impending dire calamity. 659

At this impending misfortune, the populace trembled in alarm just as an avenue of trees is astir with a puff of air at the nearness of the fall of lightning. 660

Now in the beginning of the year ninety-six, the Dāmara horde was ready to swoop down like a glacier at the touch of heat. 661

The insurrection first spread from Devasarasa and it was there that it came to a head, like a painful abscess revealing suppuration. 662

Having got his agnates Tikka and others to arrive at a common decision, the powerful Vijaya marched and surrounded the royal army which was in barracks. 663

There in that fight, the commanding officer of the troops in the camp, one Nāgavaṭṭa, notwithstanding that he was the son of a Kāyastha, withstood for a long time his furious attack. 664

It was then that being inspired by the king, the commander in-

660 Apparently the trees referred to are Poplars

664 Here the word Kāyastha shows

that Nāgavaṭṭa was originally a civilian and not a military man.

chief, whose ardour was damped by the recollection of his master's base-mindedness, was induced to set out for the campaign. 665

In the campaign against Vijaya, who was firmly rooted, his very life as well as the glory of victory were equally in doubt more than once. 666

When Mallakoṣṭhaka, too, obtained an ascendancy in the interior of Lohara, the king marched out in the month of Vaiśākha to the village of Thalyoraka. 667

There his troops, being scared during the night by the enemy, came to lose their morale like persons on their death-bed by horrid dreams. 668

The chosen one among the all powerful, when a rebel, aided solely by his own arms had dislodged even the king Harṣa—he who had many times conquered by his valour this land and of the number of whose exploits there could be no count any more than that of Paraśurāma—he, owing to the power of the Divine Spirit, found his military strength circumscribed in that place and his army being routed was deserted all of a sudden by the goddess of victory. 669-671

After his flight from there Pṛthvīhara, who had taken up a position at Hādigrāma, suddenly advanced against the brave Sajjaka and caused a rout. 672

In close pursuit of Sajjaka who had taken to flight, this brutal though brave man burnt Nāgamaṭṭa in the precincts of Śrīnagara and retired. 673

Thereafter he and other savage Dāmaras everywhere began to lift from the grazing grounds the horses of the king and of the royal partisans. 674

The hot-tempered king then became relentless and relied on a course of vile conduct befitting those who have fallen on evil days. 675

Thus having killed the Dāmara who was with him as a hostage for Pṛthvīhara and placing lotus roots on his back, as if he were a dish dressed for dinner, the king had him sent at night. 676

676 Lotus roots is a favourite dish of the Kāśmīrī Brahmans. In the plains of India the dried roots from the homeland are imported as a delicacy. Seeds of the lotus (*Nelumbium speciosum*) are also eaten. Sir E. Tennant writes: "In China and some parts of India the black seeds of these plants,

which are not unlike little Acorns in shape, are served at table in place of Almonds, which they are said to resemble, but with a superior delicacy of flavour. I tasted the seeds in Ceylon and found them delicately flavoured, not unlike the kernel of the Pine cone of the Apennines."

In the same fashion he sent to Biddaka his brother Hamba and waxing wroth he sent to the others likewise their brothers and sons. 677

The mother of one Jayyaka of the village of Siphunnāgrāma was sent to him, after her ears and nose had been amputated. 678

With his sons Sūryaka was impaled in the capital; many other persons, whether they deserved death or not, were deprived of life by him who had been overborne by passion. 679

Then as he seethed with rage like the god of destruction, he frightened everybody and the officials of the inner as well as of the outer court became disaffected. 680

The same unstatesmanlike course whereby king Harṣa had lost, he adopted during his own administration although he had declaimed against it. 681

The bystander, who being himself faultless has never in practice committed an error, would alone be qualified to criticize the errors of those who are on active service in war, of those who are amateurs of the subtle art of poetic composition, of those who cling to the hazard of the die, or of those who sportively bear the yoke of kingship. 682

With vigorous efforts the king, even in those circumstances, strove assiduously and compelled Mallakoṣṭha and others to relax their offensive to a certain extent. 683

Consequently Vijaya, in course of time, invited the grandson of king Harṣa, Bhikṣācara, by the route of Viśalātā. 684

As he was about to enter Devasarasa, he was routed from there by the commander-in-chief and in his flight he fell down the verge of a precipice to the earth. 685

He was identified and slain and the victor sent his head to the sovereign as the fruit from the tree of victory. 686

Even with this very surprising achievement, the king was not pleased and did not praise it nor did he confer any honour. 687

In derision the king sent him the message, "The commander-in-chief called 'Precipice' killed that man; in the circumstances where is the reason for your bravado?" 688

When Tilaka realized in full measure that the king was an ungrateful person, disaffection welled up in him and he became interested in treason. 689

He might have escaped condemnation on the part of the righteous

if he had resorted only to a policy of unconcern. But that plan of treachery on his part has made his name unmentionable. 690

Let those who love diplomacy recommend for different occasions either subserviency or, when expedient, the discharge of duty; on the other hand, the righteous who have a high sense of honour work for the good of others even at the cost of their lives. For this those who are grateful appreciate them by eulogies. 691

Raiment set on flames by contact with fire, the skin bitten by a serpent, a secret plan revealed to the enemy, a dilapidated dwelling which may fall at any moment, a king who does not appreciate services and a pal who turns away in adversity—by failing to abandon these even a brave man will fall short of happiness and miss glory just when he is about to rise. 692

Yet they, who rejecting this justifiable course turn traitors towards the sovereign in anger, who else if not these can be mentioned in the forefront of sinners? 693

In giving birth parents confer the sole act of favour but the sovereign on all occasions. They who are guilty of lese-majesty are greater sinners than parricides. 694

After Vijaya had been killed while yet others survived, whose power it was necessary to destroy, knowledgeable persons perceived that nobody felt secure in his inmost heart. 695

The course of the insurrection, which for a while receded and anon delivered assaults, was felt by all to be like an infuriated ram. 696

Then Mallakostha who desired to bring back Bhikṣācara despatched his own force to him at Viśālātā 697

When the commander-in-chief, although disaffected, reported that his arrival was expected, the king restrained him and in his resentment sent the following message. 698

"Leave him alone with unobstructed passage so that I may slay him like a fox which having gone ahead from the midst of the hunt is overtaken by the horses." 699

Although thoroughly conversant with the ways and means for a civil war the king, urged by destiny, became a dupe on this occasion. 700

Having thus got his opportunity through the royal command, the traitor Tilaka allowed the Dāmaras facility for the arrival of Bhikṣācara over the mountain passes. 701

Thereafter at every place there spread among the people, whispered from ear to ear, tidings which became the foundation of Bhikṣu's renown and caused apprehension to the king. 702

"He says nothing which is not refined, with one arrow he splinters ten rocks, without fatigue he walks to and fro one hundred Yojanas." Even ripe old men with long beards excited the curiosity of everyone, by praise of this kind and by similar tales of Bhikṣu's greatness. 703-704

As if he was about to become the owner of a half and half share of the kingdom every single individual, although unconnected with the administration, discussed the news about Bhikṣu or sought for it. 705

Old men, superseded state officials who are habitués of the bath houses on the river, the countless soi-disant sons of the king in the royal palace, among the warriors a few, who are by nature malign and anxious to ride the high horse; also the school masters who make the pupils scratch their buttocks with the nails, the superannuated dancing women of the temples of the gods, merchants who would misappropriate safe custody deposits but are ever ready to attend the recital of Scripture, Brahman members of the priests' conclave who are experts in hungerstrikes, the Dāmaras from the outskirts of the capital who bear arms but are like tillers of the soil; those persons who regale themselves and others, too, anyhow, with sensational news—these for the most part, in this country, take a delight in the upheavals against the king. 706-710

When the news of the approach of Bhikṣācara began to grow in volume, the people were set aquiver and the king became anxious. 711

Prthvīhara, now, with incomparable valour routed the royal army in an encounter by emerging from a mountain ridge, where he had lain in wait concealed by trees. 712

He put to flight three ministers, the two Ānandas, descendants respectively of Ananta and Kāka, who had been wardens of the frontier and also Tilakasīma. 713

Vijaya had been killed in Jyeṣṭha, but having suffered this reverse on the bright sixth of Āśādhā, the king again became despondent. 714

As the approach of the monsoon is known by the frisky bucking of the heifers, by the ascent to the tree-tops of the serpents, by the transport of their eggs by families of ants, so now the king considering



through evil portents that disaster was close at hand, set about preparing for adequate measures. 715-16

Then on the bright third day of Āsāḍha, the shrewd king sent away the prince, the queen consort and the rest of the family to the fortress of Lohara. 717

As he was following them, Loṣṭha and other Brahmans of foreign parts, fell down by the collapse of the bridge and perished in the Vitastā. 718

Depressed by this evil omen, he followed the route up to Huṣkapura and after two or three days re-entered the city. 719

In the absence of the prince and the queen consort, he then seemed to have changed as if he were deserted by valour as well as royal splendour. 720

It was, however, a happy idea which had occurred to him in his misfortune—thanks thereto he was yet to enjoy an all-round prosperity despite the frenzied state of internal affairs. 721

Owing to that prudent step he, to this day through his dynasty, remains in enjoyment of imperial sovereignty, although he had like king Harṣa himself raised a crisis. 722

Now in the month of Śrāvaṇa, the fighting men of Lohara, who had escorted Bhikṣu, made him over to the powerful Dāmaras of Madavarājya 723

The latter, however, brought him back to Lohara escorting him with their soldiers, like persons in a wedding party who escort the bridegroom to the house of the father-in-law. 724

Mallakoṣṭha and others having hospitably treated these men of high rank sent them back to their own territory to harry the commander-in-chief. 725

Now, when he was being encircled by the enemy from all sides, the king started to recruit men for the infantry at an unprecedented cost. 726

In that dire calamity, when the king was showering gold all round even artisans and carters took up arms. 727

In the capital, on every road the commanding officers spoiling for a fight exercised the horses which carried protective armour. 728

While Bhikṣu remained at Mayagrāma, the Lohara rebels having

advanced engaged in battle with the royal forces which were posted at Amareśvara. 729

In the neighbourhood of Hīranyapura, having commenced the offensive according to plan, they slew the illustrious Vināyakadeva and other officers of the royal army. 730

In the very commencement of the battle, when the rebels secured a thorough-bred mare which came from the royal camp, they considered that the royal fortune had come over to them. 731

Close to the royal palace in an action on the bank of the stream known as Kṣiptikā, Pṛthvihara caused the destruction of innumerable brave soldiers. 732

Although Tilaka was posted at Vijayeśvara, the Dāmaras of Khaduvī and Holadā advanced and gave battle on the bank of the Mahāsarit. 733

They laid siege to the city and shouting day and night in some places, they caused fires and in others carried on the plunder of the citizens. 734

What with the regiments marching out with music, the entry of those who were wounded by weapons of war, the crowds bewailing the relatives who were killed, the soldiers fleeing after a rout, the rushing throngs of spectators, the carriers bearing loads of arrows, the transport of armour, horses being dragged along, the perpetual dust raised by the multitude in the processions of the dead—day after day, the metropolitan roads became congested through lack of control. 735-737

Since the enemy attacked early every morning with all their strength, "To-day, surely, the king will have lost"—such was the thought which recurred day after day. Who could have been as resolute as Sussala in counter-attacks? Even the sorry plight of his own country failed to act as a drag on his fortitude. 738-739

He was observed arranging ceaselessly for the bandaging of the wounds, the removal of arrow-heads, and grants of money for the invalids' diet. 740

The expenditure of wealth by the king for the men under arms was measureless, comprising allowances for the campaign, grace payments and donations for medicines. 741

Those who were killed in battle and the wounded who died in their own houses—there were thousands of them men and horses who perished daily. 742

Then massacred by the royal forces which had numerous cavalry, Mallakoṣṭha and other rebels of Lohara had to slow down their arrogant career.

743

By the secret advice of the very courtiers of the inner court who had been bought, the rebels conducted Bhikṣu by a narrow passage to Sureśvarī.

744

They were for the most part archers and in the fighting on the narrow embankment of the lake, being free from the peril of a cavalry charge, they came off successful.

745

Meanwhile the perfidious commander-in-chief, remaining at Vijayeśvara allowed the Dāmaras to gain in strength by carrying on the campaign with slackened ardour.

746

"The Lavanya clan must not discern my weakness and when I march they must not fall on my rear and cause harassment"—thinking inwardly in this wise, he turned back having set out against the force of Ajjarāja, who had approached Vijayeśvara to make a demonstration of his might.

747-748

Although he had slain two hundred and fifty of Ajjarāja's soldiers, the traitor retreated from Vijayakṣetra and marched towards Śrīnagara.

749

En route nowhere was he followed by the Dāmaras who feared him; in their fright they yelped having run up to the crests of the hills and left all the roads open.

750

Having left Maḍavarājya when he entered the city, the king, beset with difficulties, received him with honour whereupon he laughed recollecting the former conduct.

751

Then although like the other ministers he was present in the camp, he did not cut a figure in any way worthy of himself; he stood by as if he were a sight-seer.

752

Then all the Dāmaras from Maḍavarājya rushed up and took possession of the Mahāsarit bank.

753

Diplomatic measures such as overtures for negotiations, sowing dissensions and the like to which the king had recourse in the enemy camp became fruitless, having been published broadcast by his confidants.

754

This king had been able to overrun principalities of various ruling princes yet to his defence of the capital, the guerdon of his martial exploits, belongs the place of honour.

755

At Amareśvara the warden of the frontier together with the royal princes had taken up his post and on the outskirts of Rājānavātikā were the ministers of the Rājasthāna. 756

They possessed themselves of a large sum in travelling allowances from the king as if they had proceeded to another continent far away but they fought nowhere. 757

All the rebel contingents, in turn, had their victories and reverses; Pṛthvīhara, however, had nothing but success at any time. 758

In the fight shrieking like a Vetāla maddened with liquor, he snapped up mostly the very best among the warriors in the royal army. 759

In one of those fights, however, there became famous the heroism of one Udayana, sprung from the clan of Icchaṭi, who was yet in his teens. 760

Challenging him to a duelling bout, he struck Pṛthvīhara and dragging him by the beard wrested the sword blade from his grasp. 761

While the battle was taking place in the environs of the capital, struck by arrows at random even women, children and others perished. 762

While in this fashion the ghastly slaughter of the people was on the increase, some inexplicable thing happened and the king found himself unable through mental lassitude to stir out of his very apartment. 763

While the king's movements were cut off Somapāla, in the meantime, having got his opportunity plundered Aṭṭālikā and set fire to it. 764

What other opportunity for a courageous display is there for the village jackal to approach the entrance of the lion's den save when the latter is at grips in his encounter with the elephant? 765

By this unparalleled devastation of the two realms, the king was overwhelmed with shame and could not bear to even look at his own image. 766

For him, this was an extraordinary period abounding in all manner of undesirable experiences, unbearable because of every kind of disaster and painful in the extreme. 767

Even in such circumstances the king did not falter. Yet the Brahman anchorites of Rājānavātikā commenced a hunger-strike

professedly in his interest but which turned out to be the reverse. 768

They prayed, "Your ministers are bystanders in the struggle, demand from them hostages and send them to the hill of Lohara" 769

"Otherwise if the disorders extend and, as it were, become chronic, the autumn crop which is about to be ready, will be carried off by the enemy and what then will become of us?" 770

The king, as he had been temporising, had not accused the ministers of unconcern, they all felt alarmed when it was thus pointed out by these persons. 771

Then the Brahman knaves, who had not the power even to bend a straw of his, as his suppliants at that time—they reduced the strands of government to a tangled skein. 772

The employes of the departments of state, proud members of the assembly of priests and others who having risen to power had thronged to his side, were like another army of the enemy. 773

In the endeavour to placate them various errors were committed, whereby the country was disturbed, fell into disorders, and extensive looting took place. 774

These impostors, who had never set eyes on a royal assembly and knew naught of affairs of state, spoke to the woe-begone king all manner of bitter things, while he tried to placate them. 775

Worse than the uprising of the Lavanyas did this rebellion prove for the king, as a disease of the throat is more agonising than a disease of the foot 776

By giving bribes of gold to some of the principal intriguers among them he won them over and with difficulty induced them to desist from the fast. 777

Vijaya, a troop leader of Bhikṣu's, belonging to the family of Varnasoma and other professional soldiers forcibly entered the capital and got killed by the horsemen. 778

As he entered the city with tremendous impetuosity having broken open a passage he, at that time, well-nigh succeeded in upsetting the throne. 779

Among the Lavanyas, too, Prthvīhara, whose martial ardour had

768-777 An instance of a hunger-strike by the Brahmans for purging the

state of corrupt ministers.

somewhat slackened, announced a desire for peace to the king who had been longing for a rift. 780

When he, who was in the forefront of the aspirants for victory, was prepared to negotiate for peace with the king, the soldiers on both sides believed that the insurrection was as good as finished. 781

The king, in order to conduct him to the vicinity of the Nāgamatha, thereupon, sent three very confidential ministers whom he attacked and killed by treachery. 782

By their side fell three retainers of Tilakasinha, his foster-brother Mammaka, the Brahman Guṅga, also Rāma, the orderly. 783

Gauraka, who had been given as a hostage, was nevertheless killed while meditating on the lord of created beings and the enemy who had abandoned mercy smote his friends who were bewailing him. 784

Upon the news of this outrage becoming known, the whole country felt indignant and in the palace of the king people were loud-mouthed in malediction. 785

The bright fourteenth of Āśvina when this news shocked the kingdom, the king found it hard to pass the day. 786

For the moment, being upset and inwardly thinking that he could find no way, the king asked advice, as to what should be done, of even unworthy persons. 787

While he was in such sore straits there was no one who did not laugh in his sleeves . . . or who did not rejoice. 788

Then while he bore even this assault of misfortune, his subordinates one after another began to espouse the rebel cause. 789

The step-brother of the commander-in-chief named Bimba joined the rebels and accepted their offer of the command of the frontier. 790

Janakasinha, who was constantly sending emissaries in secret, arranged the betrothal of his brother's daughter to Bhikṣu. 791

The troopers were seen, day after day, deserting to Bhiksācara taking with them their swords, horses, armour and the rest of it. 792

What more? those who were openly in attendance upon the sovereign by day, were observed shamelessly standing in front of Bhikṣu during the night. 793

When the king's authority was thus weakened and people could pass

783. Kataka-vārika=literally a military guard, an orderly. See below 861 and VI. 345

788 Antar-jahāsa=literally 'laughed inwardly.' There is a slight lacuna in the text.

to and fro openly and without hindrance, an extraordinary terror opened its jaws. 794

Then as the Dāmaras began plundering the autumn crops, the entire population bolted in every available direction abandoning their goods and dependents. 795

"If king Sussala were to go away Bhikṣu would replenish this land with gold"—such, in vain, became the people's persistent belief. 796

Had any one witnessed the liberality of this mendicant or what possible source of riches he could have? but the common people who are in the habit of following the lead of others would of course not pause to think of it 797

The new moon is seen for a little while during which she is herself garbed by the sky; to her the people, in the hope of getting raiment, render obeisance. Fie on selfishness which leads judgment astray regarding what is reasonable and unreasonable. 798

At the victory of the royal partisans, the people felt as if their necks were wrung; at the success of Bhikṣu they gave themselves up to unbridled rejoicings. 799

Then came a time when the royalist and the Dāmara parties, through mutual fear of one another, dropped their hostilities on the principle of the parable of the Brahman and the dog. 800

The king from fear of treachery in the palace and the rebels because of the determined stand of the king were preparing for flight, neither of them being aware of the other's plan. 801

Believing that his relatives, too, were traitors, in his distrust the king was not sure, whether in staying behind or in flight lay the safety of his own life. 802

In this big crisis, the men-at-arms who accepted largesses from him who was showering apparel, gold, jewels and the like, did not praise him but on the contrary criticized him. 803

"He is finished, he will not now survive"—hearing such remarks from people who jabbered fearlessly, he chafed like a patient abandoned by his physicians. 804

While at his behest they would attend to matters of immediate

800 The reference is to the parable of the Brahman who was carrying a sheep. Three rogues met him and each separately asked him why he

was carrying a dog and the Brahman was perplexed, fell into doubt, and dropped the sheep.

business, the crowd of attendants eyed him with amusement and impudence. 805

It was amazing that he who was a dare-devil should, at this juncture, have become a totally different person—since overcome by nervousness he was unable to step out of his own apartments. 806

While the Dāmara hordes were planning to retreat, owing to dissensions in their league just at this time, the king's affairs were reduced to a tangled skein by his own soldiers. 807

They, having blocked the entrances in front of the royal palace with drawn swords, held hunger-strikes at every step clamouring for the allowance for the campaign which had accrued due. 808

The king did not become popular with them for they had desired to humiliate him although he had paid cash; they thought thus—"the king should give still more as he is opulent like the god of wealth." 809

Just as an invalid desirous of proceeding on a holy pilgrimage to die is held up by his creditors so, too, the king was then blocked and compelled to pay up the dues by all those persons who had lost their sense of shame. 810

The unbridled guardians of sacred places, also, who having observed hunger-strikes had made an onset, compelled him to part with treasure by melting gold vessels and the like. 811

Thereafter in the capital, where the young and old were seething with excitement and which was like the surging ocean, he became incapable of restoring quiet. 812

One morning at an early hour when the portals were blocked by some of his own armed forces, he saw that on all sides the city was rising in revolution. 813

Then in order to allay the excitement, he ordered Janaka, the city prefect, to patrol the city and awaited an opportunity to depart. 814

Getting rid of those armed men with difficulty by largesses and courteous behaviour, he sallied from the palace, clad in armour, together with his ladies. 815

Hardly had he mounted his horse and gone out of the courtyard than the harpies inside the royal palace, commenced looting. 816

807. Visūtratām ninye=reduced to a tangled skein See below 880—Visūtra-vyavahāra.

808 For Hunger-strike of soldiers see Taraṅga VII. 1156-57



While he was departing having abdicated the throne some of the men-at-arms wept, some raised slogans, while others plundered his retainers. 817

Five or six thousand of the men-at-arms full of shame, resentment and apprehension followed on the road the king who, untrammelled, had passed out. 818

In the year ninety-six on the dark sixth Mārgaśīrṣa when only one watch of the day had remained that the king, disheartened by treason, took the road and marched forth with his retainers 819

At every step his followers were deserting taking with them horses and other things; at Pratāpapura, which he reached at night, he had few soldiers. 820

When Tilaka who had gone ahead appeared before him, he treated him like a relative and on that occasion, ebullient with grief, he shed tears for a long time. 821

"He might commit treason against me"—thinking in this wise the king, of his own accord, entered his house the next day at Huṣkapura without delay. 822

After taking his bath etc the king intent on victory planned to enter Kramarājya to muster an army with his influence. 823

Having secretly summoned the rebel Dāmaras such as Kalyāṇavāḍa and others to oppose him, Tilaka caused him to falter in his resolution. 824

By this artful dodge he got rid of the king from his house who thereafter passed on winning over by gifts of gold the Dāmara freebooters who were opposing his passage. 825

As he was departing Tilaka left him there and then; his brother Ānanda, however, followed him from a kindly feeling for one stretch. 826

Deserted by his servants he continued to march, subduing the robbers on the way by gifts and by his heroism and was preserved because a part of his lifetime had yet remained to him. 827

The lion-claws which, from a distance, form the defensive armour of the forest dense with trees and boulders, in due course, come to pass their time by hanging from the necks of infants. The ivory teeth of tuskers which are their weapon of war get bandied about

by the gamblers in the game of dice. An ascendent position is by no means assured to prowess. 828

The virtues of living beings such as valour, liberality, reputation, sagacity are, in this kaleidoscopic existence, transient. 829

Even the Sun undergoes, day after day, those vicissitudes ranging from fierceness to mildness; what stability can there be in the faculties of living beings? 830

Unable to look upon Attālikā burnt down by the enemy he climbed, while his troops were mute with rage, up the mountain to Lohara. 831

Unable through exceeding shame to see even his own wife, he threw himself on the couch and fretted day and night. 832

He did not come out of the inner apartments which were lit by lamps even by day; he allowed, from a kindly feeling, interviews to the subordinates at the hour of meal. 833

He would not touch any emollients, ride his horses, he would not witness the performance of music and the dance and the like nor take part in delightful conversation. 834

In his disgust recollecting, in turn, the indifference, stupidity, insolence, treachery, etc. displayed by each individual, he related them to the queen. 835

"These persons have followed me by giving up their own country"—thinking in this wise, he who possessed untold wealth, from kindly regard, gave richly to his followers and raised them to power. 836

In Kaśmīr no sooner had he gone than all the ministers assembled with their troops in front of the old royal palace. 837

Their leader was Janakasīmha, the city prefect, who was highly respected by the ministers, the cavaliers, the nobles, the Tantrins, the citizens and others. 838

He was induced to deliver as hostages his son and nephew for the sake of assurance by Mallakoṣṭha and other friends of Bhukṣu, who continued to go to and fro. 839

829. See verse VIII. last verse

used for the king elected by the people

838 Sammata=thought well of, respected. The term in ancient time was

See Taraṅga VII 703.

And over the capital, crowded with women, children and others limp with terror, crept night when there was no king and brought dismay to all created beings. 840

Some of the weak were slain, some were plundered while others had their houses burnt down by the enemy in the city which was without a king. 841

The following day with his jubilant troops shutting out the entire horizon, on a charger with red lead and pink sandal marks, riding in the centre of a cavalcade of horsemen where the massed drawn swords and pennons made it difficult to see his figure; like a lion engendering fear as well as curiosity among the people; touching the sides of his military uniform were the locks—the exuberance of his youth—which being loose adorned his shoulders like the knotted chain of the goddess of victory; with his face, lit up by the ear-rings, and tender and bright, with the youthful mustache, the pink lower lip, and beautiful with an attractive mark of sandal and which the approaching prosperity had made especially radiant, he won the partizan mounds of even his antagonists; the inherent glory residing in the drawn sword was being fanned by his curvetting steed with his lovely mane as with a yak-tail; at every step he held up his charger while he accepted the reverent homage rendered by the grandees; thus did Bhikṣu make his progress into Śrīnagara. 842-848

Remaining at his back, like a nurse in the case of a child, Mallakoṣṭhaka took upon himself the duty of instructing, in all matters, Bhikṣu who lacked confidence. 849

“This man was your father’s favourite; you were brought up in the lap of this one; here is one who is the foundation of the throne.” Thus he pointed out each individual. 850

The house of Janakasimha he entered first to find his bride and thereafter the royal palace to secure the royal fortune. 851

When he restored to the pride of power a dynasty, which for a long time had been ruined, womankind could no more be

840 Arājaka=literally anarchy. *Kautilya* describes anarchy as the *Mātsyanyāya* “the rule of the fish” where the stronger swallows up the

weaker The same idea of the fish is found in the graphic description of anarchy in the *Rāmāyana* (II. 67-31) and the *Mahābhārata* (XII 67. 16)

twitted for pinning their faith upon their offspring while in the embryo! 852

After witnessing this extraordinary record of Bhikṣu, one feels that those who are anxious for success do not deserve to be laughed at, if they are alarmed at the very portraits of their enemies. 853

What remained after the removal of the treasure of king Sussala, who possessed riches like the god of wealth, provided for the revels of the new king. 854

The royal fortune, the major portion of which was composed of horses, armour, and swords, was divided among the king, the Dāmara plunderers, and the ministers who had abandoned the sense of discipline. 855

In the capital, the Dāmara free-booters, who gorged like fiends and were fit only for rustic fare, tasted the pleasures of luxurious food as if they were in paradise. 856

During the levy, the king did not look brilliant surrounded, as he was, by village yokels whose gala attire consisted mainly of long woollen blankets. 857

The manner in which Bhikṣācara had come into existence being unbelievable, the Dāmaras made notorious another version that he was an Avatāra. 858

In the affairs of state, which he had not seen handled by others, he went astray at every step like a physician, with medicine, who has never seen how it acts. 859

In due course Janakasinha gave him in marriage his brother's daughter; the commander-in-chief, too, having given his daughter in marriage, took service under him. 860

Juṅga, the Katakavārika of the ruler of Rājapurī, appointed to the office of the Pādāgra, looked to his own interest and not to that of his sovereign. 861

With the prime minister Bimba lay the royal power, while Bhikṣācara became merely the recipient of the title of king. 862

In his rule, he allowed himself to be swayed by courtezans and although his was a vulgar way of life, Bimba at that time was the one who, to a certain extent, had insight into the character of honest and dishonest persons. 863

Jyesthapāla, the step-brother of Daryaka, grounded in wondrous courage, obtained a place of importance in the king's entourage. 864

And there also came in the advisers of his grandfather such as Bhūtabhīṣca and many others besides, who hummed like bees near the lotus of his fortune. 865

With a simpleton for a king, wanton ministers and the arrogant Dāmara plunderers, the regime, young as it was, was doomed from the very commencement. 866

Fascinated by the experience of pleasures, Bhukṣu did not look to the affairs of state, but regaled himself with ever new women and rich food. 867

For any successful activity, his enjoyment of pleasures rendered him as unfit as a person blinded by sleep in the rainy season; urged by his retinue to take his place in the Hall of Assembly he, drunk and weary, longed to go to bed. 868

If a supercilious councillor spoke to him with condescending sympathy he did not resent it; on the other hand, the silly fellow felt affection for him, as if he were his father. 869

He was served by men lacking in distinction who had been brought up on the leavings on the platters of courtezans; as if he were an uneducated man, he was urged to acts fit for a market tout by his sycophants. 870

Since his firmness had the semblance of a line drawn in water and his word lacked authority, his favourites neglected in all matters to render obedience. 871

What the ministers said, the same things he said after them, from the king not a word of any kind came as if his interior were hollow. 872

The ministers invited the simple-minded Bhiksācara to their homes and entertaining him with delicacies, the sycophants swindled him, as if he were a wealthy youth who had lost his father. 873

In Bimba's house the lady, whose buttocks were lovely like the Bimba fruit, would appear before the impassioned king, like a mare before the stallion, and accept from him handfuls of food. 874

864. Āścarya-śaurya-bhūh = 'grounded in wondrous courage'

874 Bimba = A fruit to whose lovely red colour the poets generally compare

the lips of women See below 3208 K makes use of the alliteration Bimbā was a mistress and not the wife as translated by Sir A. Stein.

Dodging her lord's eyes, she would make him lose self-control by her bewitching smiles and by the exhibition of her breasts, the arm-pit, and side glances. 875

Pr̥thvihara and Mallakoṣṭha, between whom mutual jealousy had sprung up, by their furious quarrels shook the royal palace from time to time. 876

The king, by visits at their houses, induced them to arrange a marriage between their children, but the two being intoxicated with power did not give up their mutual animosity. 877

Then when the king himself married in the family of Pr̥thvihara Mallakoṣṭha, filled with exasperation, openly left him. 878

The one-eyed Janaka, in his perfidy, devoid of any consideration for his relationship, incited to disaffection Ojānanda and other Brahman ministers. 879

The king, who took no sides and whose mind was guided by his servants the majority of whom were traitors and evil-minded persons, found his administration a tangled web and himself became the object of denunciation. 880

While the people were under the Dāmara sway, what misfortunes did not arise since even Brahman women suffered outrage by the Śvapākas! 881

Thus, while the country was without a king or rather had a multitude of kings, the even tenor of all business affairs broke down conspicuously 882

The old Dīnnāras went out of currency during Bhikṣu's reign; for a hundred of them, however, eighty of the new ones could be purchased. 883

Now the king, intoxicated with pride, despatched Bimba with an army by way of Rājapurī to Lohara, to make an attack upon Sussala. 884

Supported by Somapāla, he brought up a force of the Turuskas under the Sallāra Vismaya who had become friendly as his ally. 885

Every single horseman among the Turuskas bragged displaying a lasso—"with this I shall catch and drag Sussala." 886

885. By Turks here K. means the Mahomadans, who had obtained a footing in the Pañjāb Sallāra may be

1  
Sirdar or perhaps the Persian Sālār= general Vismaya is perhaps a corruption of Ismail See VIII 965

Who indeed would not have believed this combination of Kāśmīri, Khaśa and Mleccha warriors competent to uproot the world? 887

Bhiksācara, upon the departure of Bimba felt as if the goad had been put away; was there any dissipation of which this lout did not become the centre? 888

Bimba's voluptuous mistress, by inviting and bringing him to her own house, gratified him with gifts of delicate food and transports of love. 889

He paid no heed, whatsoever, to state affairs in his enjoyment with the mistress of his minister. How should he, whose fall was impending, worry about scandals? 890

Then behaving like a lover among vulgar folk, he felt no shame in eating like a glutton and playing on earthen and copper drums and other instruments. 891

Little by little the king then lost his prestige and his wealth having flowed out even food became, in time, unobtainable. 892

Then the same Sussala, who was formerly denounced as a person so beset with greed, cruelty, etc. now became the object of the people's eulogy. 893

The very subjects, who in their discontent had caused the ruin of his wealth and prestige, now longingly craned their necks in their anxiety for his return. 894

We who have been eye-witnesses are, to this day, filled with amazement as to what had made those subjects angry and what led to their pacification once more! 895

In a moment they become hostile and anon they are prepared for a rapprochement—the common crowd, like animals, do not wait for any kind of logical sequence. 896

Mallakoṣṭha, Janaka and others, by despatching emissaries, induced the king who had abdicated the throne to endeavour to win it again. 897

At this time, the Agrahāra of Akṣosuva was pillaged by Tikka's people and the resident Brahmans held a solemn fast directed against the king. 898

When these and the Brahmans of other Agrahāras had assembled in

Vijayeśvara, the Rājānavātikā fast broke out in the capital at the same time. 899

Thereafter instigated by Ojānanda and other prominent Brahmins, the members of the Temple Purohita Association also held a fast in Gokula. 900

Then was seen an assembly of the members of the conclave of priests such as had never been seen before. The courtyard was packed to the full with the collections of the images of the gods which were installed in palanquins decorated with gleaming white parasols, apparel and yak-tails while the quarters reverberated with the sound of drums, gongs, cymbals and other instruments. 901-902

While the king's emissaries attempted to placate them, they talked insolently and retorted in this wise—"Without the Long Beard there is no salvation for us." 903

By frivolously referring to the king Sussala by the appellation of Long Beard, they meant that he was like a toy mannikin. 904

And this throng of the members of the priestly conclave—what utopian schemes did they not discuss with the citizens, who poured in to watch the hunger-strike day after day? 905

Yet, ever and anon, carried to the pitch of excitement by alarms of sudden attack from the king, the priests as well as the citizens arrogantly prepared to fight. 906

The capital which was entirely under the influence of Janakasinha was, in his opinion, prepared for the restoration of king Sussala. 907

The king set out first to prevail upon the Brahmins of the Agrahāras to desist at Vijayeśvara, but there his efforts proved futile. 908

In the midst of the Brahmins, Tīlaka advised him to straight away kill all the Dāmaras; thus, however, he would not accept as uprightness was his sole aim. 909

From the king's own mouth, the Lavanya Pṛthvīhara and others having learnt this, they felt confidence in him but began to fear Tīlaka. 910

The king, through aversion, desired to imprison the chamberlain named Lakṣmaka, who was Prayāga's sister's son; he, however, ran away to Sussala. 911

911. Lakṣmaka, the chamberlain, of Sussala's son Jayasinha, plays an important role in the time



Then having entered Śrīnagara and convening all the people, he held a public meeting of the citizens who were discontented without reason. 912

Although he then spoke what was just and proper, the evil-minded citizens caused interruptions in his harangue. There is indeed no specific for those who are infected with sedition. 913

Meanwhile Somapāla, Bimba and the whole lot of the others reached Parnotsa to wage war against king Sussala, who had taken up his position at Lohara. 914

To his help came the Rajah Padmaratha, ruler of Kālīñjar, born in Kalha's family, recollecting Sussala's friendship with Kalha and his people. 915

Then on the bright thirteenth of Vaiśākha, the proud king Sussala met in battle those powerful enemies. 916

Eye-witnesses describe to this day that battle near Parnotsa and its magnificent first shock, when the insult was cleansed as if in an ordeal of fire. 917

Thenceforward, his personal magnetism having somehow been restored, the king once more looked live, like a forest with the presence of the lord of the beasts. 918

Overflowing with valour he, in a little while, caught the Turuṣkas, who had let fall their lassoes in terror, in the noose of death. 919

In a battle on the bank of the Vitolā, his wrath made a mouthful, like a mighty Vetāla, of the maternal uncle of Somapāla. 920

What more need be said? With his small army he killed, routed and scattered them many, though they were in such wise that they turned hostile among themselves. 921

And the Kāśmīrīs—what, indeed, was their worth? they who fought against one sovereign and being defeated brought disgrace upon the other! 922

When Somapāla together with the Turuṣkas had retreated, the shameless Kāśmīrīs, having deserted Bimba, took shelter with the king Sussala. 923

These people of a wonderful temperament, who but yesterday had bent their bows against the lord of their own race, did not scruple

to unblushingly bow their heads, in public, before him to-day without hesitation.

924

Then accompanied by the citizens as well as the Dāmaras, who had approached him, the king after two or three days set out once more headmost for Kaśmīr.

925

Upon the entry of the sovereign, the Rājaputra Kalhana, son of Sahadeva, mobilized the Dāmara residents of Kramarājya and marched in advance.

926

He, who had been the first from the royal army to pay homage to Bhikṣu, deserted him and came and joined the king.

927

Others, ministers and Tantrins in league with Janakasimha, shameless fellows, were seen coming over to the king.

928

A military man of merit born in the village of Kāṇḍiletra had possessed himself of an estate in the unoccupied region of Bhāṅgila.

929

Bhikṣu proceeded with Pṛthvīhara to vanquish him as he had, at this juncture, allowed passage to people going over to join Sussala.

930

Bhikṣu having succeeded, the desire took hold of him in his anger to slay also Janakasimha who was preparing to join Sussala, but he learnt this news.

931

Now Janakasimha, being in the capital, rallied all the elements, the citizens, the cavaliers, and the Tantrins to rise in revolt against Bhikṣu.

932

Realizing that the throne was in danger from him, king Bhikṣācara entered Śrīnagara in a hurry escorted by Pṛthvīhara.

933

At the bridge facing the temple of Sadāśiva, the haughty Janakasimha now took up the fight with his forces despite the attempt to placate him.

934

Then was seen, for a space, the splendid fighting stuff of the soldiers of Janakasimha, who in their overweening confidence had not flinched the issue.

935

But Pṛthvīhara accompanied by Alaka, his brother's son, having crossed over by another bridge, annihilated his force.

936

When the Tantrins, the cavaliers and the citizens had dispersed, Janakasimha, too, with his relatives fled at night to Lohara.

937

In the morning, when Bhikṣu and Pṛthvīhara were arranging to take up the pursuit, the brazen faced cavaliers and others once again escorted him.

938

And those priests of the conclave and others, having abandoned the

hunger-strike, quickly tucked the images of the gods under their arms in their fright and faded away! 939

The few who remained to guard the empty palanquins, were not molested by Bhikṣu as they stated that they had renounced the hunger-strike. 940

We, who have watched from the beginning those tall proudly curvetting horses but yesterday with Janaka and to-day in Bhikṣu's army, are filled with amazement to this day! 941

Together with the light of king Bhikṣu which lasted for a moment, the brother-in-law, Tilakasimha's son, shone with the lustre of his uncle's official powers. 942

After Janakasimha had escaped, king Bhikṣu then got the opportunity to destroy the houses and other property of the partisans of his enemy. 943

At this juncture, at Huskapura, Tilaka and others had been routed by Sulhaṇa, Simba and the rest who had mustered an unlimited number of soldiers Sussala escorted by Mallakoṣṭha, Janaka and others, who with their troops had come to receive him, as also by other grandees possessing troops and ample resources, having overrun the country in two or three days and approaching by the Lohara route, made a sudden appearance before the capital unmolested by his opponents. 944-946

Boiling over with rage like Death, his body tanned by the burning sun, Sussala with his face covered by his long beard and knitted brows, his eye-balls rolling in anger and nostrils wide-open, publicly threatened in the streets and the forum of Śrīnagara, there and then, the perfidious soldiers led by the cavaliers, who appeared before him, while he cursed them and the others who had been routed. At the groups of the residents of the capital, who were shouting blessings and showering flowers but who formerly had wronged him, he threw a glance of contempt. Over his shoulders he had just thrown his armour which he wore *négligé*. His locks, which had slipped from below his helmet, he wore grey with dust and likewise his eyelashes; his sword was in the scabbard as he rode his curvetting charger in the centre of the serried ranks of his horsemen with drawn swords. With the vault of the sky reverberating with slogans of victory and his troops wild and jubilant with the rattle of his kettle-drums, Sussala made his entry into Śrīnagara. 947-953

He came back on the third day of the bright half of Jyestha in the year ninety-seven after six months and twelve days. 954

Without entering the palace, he pursued Bhiksu who had already fled, and saw him with his Lavanyas on the bank of the Kṣiptikā 955

He had escaped with Prthvīhara when his foe had arrived at the river bank but meeting other Lavanyas had turned back with them 956

In the encounter, the king having routed him and captured Simha, a relative of Prthvīhara, who was wounded by sword strokes, thereafter entered the palace. 957

Bearing the fresh signs of having been enjoyed by the rival, who had just then gone out, the palace engendered in that proud man a feeling of disgust, as if it were a harlot 958

Bhiksu, having left Kāśmīr with Prthvīhara and the others, proceeded to the village of Puṣyāmnāda in the jurisdiction of Somapāla. 959

After his departure, the king having won over all the Dāmaras appointed Malla, son of Vatta, to the district of Kerī and Harsamitra to be commander-in-chief 960

Of him who remembered former wrongs disregarding place and time 961

Unable to endure even the smell arising from the touch of Bhiksu, he broke up the lion-throne into pieces from repugnance and gave it away to the servants. 962

The Dāmar is unable to surrender their ill-gotten wealth and afraid of the irate king did not desist from their seditious activities 963

On the other hand, Bhiksu, residing in the territory of his friend after having been deprived of the throne, had his enthusiasm restored through Somapāla's gifts and honourable welcome 964

Bimba had gone to Viśmīra to seek his assistance, when the latter was captured by his enemies, the brave man fell fighting in battle 965

961 There is a lacuna in the text

965 This episode and verses 588, 886 above illustrate the fellowship of arms between the warriors of India and the Turks from across the Frontier Under Masud the successor of Mahmud the Ghaznavite, the Turks were unable to retain the conquered territory without the help of the Indians Ariyarat's Indian administration was full of

irregularities and according to the account given in the *Cambridge History of India* instructions had to be sent to the officials in India from Ghazni 'They were not to undertake, without special permission, expeditions beyond the limits of the Punjab, they were not to drink, play polo, or mix in social intercourse with the Hindu officers at Lahore, and they were

Bhikṣācara in the absence of Bimba took to immoral ways and unashamed he took the latter's sweetheart as his mistress. 966

Thereafter having suddenly descended upon Śūnapura, the powerful Prthvīhara despite his small force defeated and chased from the battlefield the son of Vatta. 967

When the latter had fled he reconducted Bhikṣu and entered the territory of the Dāmaras of Maḍavarājya in order to gain them over. 968

Accompanied by the local Dāmaras, Mañkha, Jayya and others, who had been won over, he proceeded to Vijayaksetra to overpower the commander-in-chief. 969

Defeated by him in battle Harṣamitra, whose soldiers had been massacred, abandoned Vijayeśvara and retreated in alarm to Avantī-pura. 970

to refrain from wounding the susceptibilities of those officers and their troops by inopportune displays of religious bigotry" (Vol III, p 29).

Before long, however, there was a revolt in the Panjab instigated by Ahmad Niyaltigin, the treasurer of Mahmud the conqueror. The Muslim nobles of Ghazni, owing to the difficulty of the enterprise and the dislike of the Indian climate, did not venture to offer to crush the rebellion. The Hindu Tilak at the court of Ghazni offered to lead an army to India. The account given in the *Cambridge History of India* is as follows "Tilak was of humble origin, being the son of a barber, but was handsome, enterprising and accomplished, speaking and writing well both Hindi and Persian. From the service of Abu-l-Hasan he had been promoted to that of Mahmud's minister and eventually to that of Mahmud himself. He had deserved well of Masud, for he had, at considerable personal risk, consistently supported his cause against that of his brother, and had been rewarded, after his accession, with the chief command of the Hindu troops and the rank of a noble of the empire.

When Tilak reached India, he found that the officers and troops

who remained loyal to Masud had taken refuge in a fortress near Lahore, where they were besieged by Ahmad. He occupied Lahore, seized several Muslims known to be partisans of Ahmad, and caused their right hands to be struck off. This ruthless measure so terrified the rebellious troops that many of them deserted Ahmad and joined Tilak. Judicious bribery still further thinned the ranks of the rebel army, and when Ahmad was forced to stand and face his pursuers he was defeated, and was deserted by all save a body of three hundred horse. Instead of pursuing him Tilak offered the lately rebellious Jats the royal pardon and a sum of 500,000 dirhams as the price of Ahmad's head. The Jats surrounded the fugitive, slew him, and demanded their reward. Tilak retorted that they had already received it from the plunder of Ahmad's camp, but after some chaffering Ahmad's head and his son, who had been taken alive, were surrendered in consideration of the royal pardon and 100,000 dirhams. Tilak presented his prizes to Masud at Marv and was rewarded by further tokens of his master's favour" (Vol III *Turks and Afghans*, pp 30-31).

The residents of Vijayaksetra and even the indigenous people of the various townships and villages flocked in terror to the sanctuary of Cakradhara.

971

The sanctuary was packed to the full by them with their women, children, cattle, rice-stores and goods and gear as well as by the royal troops with their horses and accoutrements.

972

Now the hordes of Bhikṣu, who stretched as far as the horizon and who were openly lusting for the wholesale plunder of the people, pursued and besieged them.

973

The enemy failed either to kill or capture them as they were in the courtyard of the temple which was fortified by massive gateways and ramparts of timber.

974

A certain Nirguta Dāmara, the impious Janakarāja, native of Katisthali village, who in order to burn alive his personal enemy one Karpūra, foolishly set that place on fire and thus caused the ruthless destruction of innumerable lives.

975-976

On seeing the blazing flames suddenly burst forth there arose at the same time from the multitude of living beings a colossal wail of woe.

977

The horses, terror-stricken as if at the approach of their enemy, the mount of Death, broke loose from the picketing ropes and stampeding, where there was not room for a needle to move, killed the people.

978

The dense masses of smoke, terrifying with leaping flames which resembled night-walking fiends with bushy beards and red hair, shrouded the sky.

979

While the spreading sheets of fire without smoke caused the delusion, as if they were streams of molten gold from an aureate cloud, liquified by intense heat.

980

In the vault of the sky, the lambent flames flickered as if they were red turbans which had slipped from the heads of the celestials escaping from the conflagration.

981

From the splitting of the joints of the massive timber, there grew in volume a crackling noise as if it were the roar of the Gaṅgā in the sky boiling over with the heat.

982

The scintillating sparks which flitted about in the unfathomable sky

caused the hallucination that they were the wandering souls of the creatures affrighted by the incendiary fire. 983

The sky reverberated with the piteous cries of distress of the birds hovering over their nestlings and the earth with the piercing shrieks of human beings, who had caught fire. 984

The women shrieked hysterically with eyes closed in terror; as they were embracing their brothers, husbands, fathers, and sons they were consumed by the fire. 985

The few desperate persons who escaped from the midst of the conflagration were killed by the brutal Dāmaras instigated by Death. 986

The number of living beings who perished in a short time by the mere radiation of heat, exceeded the total of those who were consumed in the great conflagration itself. 987

Within when all life had become extinct and without when the murderers had become assuaged—simultaneously over that region there fell a hush, save for the crackling sound of the fire with its diminishing flames and the simmering of the mass of dead bodies which were being cooked. 988-989

The trickling mass of dissolved blood, marrow and fat flowed in hundred channels and the putrid smell spread for many Yojanas. 990

Once by the fury of Śuśravas and a second time by the revolt of the Dāmara free-booters such ghastly sufferings from incendiarism were inflicted at Cakradhara 991

Such a massacre en masse resembling a world cataclysm had occurred only during the burning of Tripura, at Khāṇḍava or in that place. 992

Bhikṣu who had perpetrated this terrible outrage on the sacred day, the bright twelfth of Śrāvana, was shunned by royal fortune as well as by favourable luck. 993

The householders with their families having been consumed on that occasion, in myriads of townships and villages dwelling houses fell vacant. 994

A Dāmara of Naunagara named Maṅkha searched the corpses and having found what he desired was pleased like a Kāpālīka. 995

991. See Taranga I 244-270

992 The reference is to two stories in the *Mahābhārata*. For the burning of the Nāgas in the Khāṇḍava forest see I. 223 sqq. and for the destruction of Tripura VIII. 34

995 Kāpālīka—a class of mendicants who collect skulls; an attendant at the funeral ground In VII. 44 a Kāpālīka is described as if he were an Aghori. See also verse 1211 below.

Thereafter Bhiksācāra swooped down on Vijayaksetra and having captured Nāgeśvara put the impious man to death by torture. 996

In his grandfather's land what act of his was free from reproach? Yet this murder of his father's assassin gave satisfaction to all classes. 997

The wife of Harsamitra, left behind on her husband's flight, was secured by Pṛthvīhara from the interior of the yard of Vijayeśa. 998

Reproaching himself for such a butchery and devastation of his subjects, the king then marched forth to battle. 999

Owing to the enormity of his sin Janakarāja, to suffer torture in hell, soon met with death near Avantipura. 1000

It is amazing that fools do not take into account that the human body, for the sake of which they do acts destructive of their happiness in another world, perishes so easily! 1001

Having appointed Simba to be commander-in-chief, the king thereafter scattered the Dāmara horde from Vijayeksetra as well as other places. 1002

Pṛthvīhara proceeded to Śamālā from Maḍavaiājya but Mallakoṣṭha defeated him and compelled him to leave his own domain. 1003

Some corpses were thrown into the Vitastā. A large number, which could not be dragged out, were consigned to the flames in the courtyard of Cakradhara. 1004

Then in Kramarājya, Kalyāṇavāḍa and others were vanquished by Rillhaṇa. Thereafter Ānanda, son of Ananta, became warden of the frontier. 1005

The powerful Pṛthvīhara, as he was carrying away the body of Simha who had been impaled, met in battle Janakasimha and others on the bank of the Ksīptikā. 1006

In this land, there is a day in the month of Bhādrapada on which they start on a journey to a sanctuary with the ashes of the dead when all the directions ring with the wailing of women. This was reproduced on all the days during the fighting with Pṛthvīhara, when the interior of Śrīnagara was resonant with the lamentation of the women of the fallen brave. 1007-1008

At this time there returned from abroad the brave Śrīvaka, brother-

997. See Taraṅga VII. verse 1653-1654.

1002. Simba= variation of Simha. It is

interesting to note that the African word for the lion is Simba (Sk. Simha)



in-law of Yaśorāja; he was appointed by the king officer in charge of the Kherī post. 1009

He gave no offence to the Lavanyas nor did they do anything hostile towards him; on the contrary, they passed their time in secretly doing friendly acts towards one another. 1010

Once again the king marched in Āśvayuja towards Śamālā but at the village of Maṇimuṣa he suffered discomfiture from the enemy. 1011

Bhikṣu, who by constant training in warfare, had acquired efficiency displayed his valour there for the first time as a leader of the bravest of the brave. 1012

Tukka, the Brahman and other prominent men in the army of Sussala, rendered helpless by a sudden torrential rainfall, were slain by Bhikṣu, Pṛthvīhara and the others. 1013

In the two armies in which were to be found many men of courage there was not a knight who could look Bhikṣu in the face when he rode forth to a tournament. 1014

In this war which lasted many years Pṛthvīhara and Bhikṣu had two mares named Kādambarī and Patākā of the chestnut and grey colour respectively. They were very wonderful; while many horses perished neither of them was killed by injuries nor suffered from exhaustion. 1015-1016

He was the one for extricating his troops from a critical position, was indefatigable, he never bragged, bore up with hardships; a brave man the like of Bhiksācara was not to be found anywhere. 1017

In Sussala's army there was none, during a rout, who could save the soldiers and thus on various occasions many of them were slain. 1018

Some of the soldiers of the Dāmara host in their first experience of defeat were preserved by Bhiksācara as the baby elephants are guarded by the lord of the herd. 1019

Such devotion and willing obedience was never seen in the case of any one else save in Pṛthvīhara, who himself kept a watch at the door of Bhikṣu every night. 1020

1015-1016 K's love of horses makes him immortalize the two mares Kādambarī is the heroine of Bāna's novel,

Patākā may mean an ensign or good luck

From this time onwards the mighty warrior Bhikṣu became the protector in battle, in front as well as in the rear, at all times like Viśve Devaḥ at the Śrāddha.

1021

While he took risk in war with unfaltering steadiness of purpose, he without neglecting propaganda addressed his adherents as follows:—

1022

“This my endeavour is not limited to gaining a kingdom, but I am determined to wipe out the great disgrace which has stuck to the role of my predecessors.”

1023

“Those who had been the protectors of the subjects—being, as it were, without protection themselves at the time when they were murdered—realizing that their dynasty was becoming extinct must, no doubt, have placed their ardent hope in the progeny.”

1024

“With this thought I strive, suffering hardships, with steadfast determination; being myself sore I inflict torment on my kinsmen day after day.”

1025

“Convinced that none can possibly meet with death so long as his time is not up what man, who seeks glory, would turn his face away from a life of adventure?”

1026

“What is the use of proclaiming the difficulties in the way of the task to be achieved and yet why should we not discuss them, since we ourselves are solemnly pledged to be firm in the path laid down by the sages?”

1027

The Dāmaras became alarmed at the remarkable valour of Bhikṣu and thereafter they became chary of giving a knock-out blow to his kinsman.

1028

Before their own accession to sovereignty princes of the blood royal become proficient by degrees, while surveying the course of administration of other kings.

1029

Bhikṣu, however, had seen nothing of his father and grandfather. Thus it was that he had fallen into error when formerly he had secured the realm.

1030

Had he acquired it once more who could have dared to suggest his deposition? Even Providence, I ween, would not have ventured to look at him with disrespect

1031

1021 At the commencement of the Śrāddha or funeral ceremony Mantras to the Viśve Devas are recited as an

invocation and also at the end of the ceremony to bid them farewell

Although he was aware of the duplicity of the Lavanyas, he passed the days light-heartedly in the firm hope that he would gain the kingdom when once his adversary had been killed. 1032

This mentality of the Dāmara plunderers king Sussala considered to be to his advantage. Anxious for victory he was preparing to make use of either diplomatic action or rigorous measures. 1033

In war he did not preserve his own men remembering their hostility; thus they placed no confidence in him and for this reason victory had eluded him. 1034

Thus it happened that neglected by reason of the various factions in the two opposing camps, the whole country was reduced to an altogether deplorable condition. 1035

Heigh-ho! the trees, whose groves on his account have suffered insult from the flames ignited by the forest hunters bent on his capture, the maddened tusker, in turn, is determined to break down! Happiness does not come to those antagonised by Providence, neither from others, nor even from themselves. 1036

In the course of the contest for the crown, king Sussala defeated the forces of Bhikṣu which had become helpless owing to untimely falls of snow. 1037

To Puṣyānanāda, once again, Bhikṣu and Pṛthvīhara retired and the other Lavanyas having paid up the taxes made their submission. 1038

Simba, too, the bold commander-in-chief, having defeated the Dāmaras put an end to disorders and restored quiet in the entire territory of Maḍavarājya. 1039

Even in such cessation of hostilities, the king felt cool satisfaction and now he came out with his former antagonism towards his own partisans. 1040

Mallakostha, being informed by Uihana that the king was desirous of killing him, took to flight and the king, in anger, banished him from the realm. 1041

Having imprisoned Ānanda, son of Ananta, he appointed a scion of royalty from the Indus region named Prajñi to the charge of the frontier. 1042

He then proceeded to Vijayakṣetra and on return to the capital

1036 "Happiness", said Chamfort, "is not easily won, it is hard to find it in

ourselves, and impossible to find it elsewhere."

with Simba he, having arrested this trusted man, threw him into the prison-house. 1043

The king was bent on consuming those who served him; the flame of his resentment fanned by the high winds of recollection licked up the liquid of grace. 1044

In a paroxysm of anger which unsettled his mind, he killed Simba by impaling him with his two younger brothers, Simha and Thakanasimha. 1045

He appointed Śrīvaka to the chief command of the army and having imprisoned Janakasimha he appointed Sujji, the womb-brother of Prajji, to be minister of justice. 1046

Thenceforth his intimates and counsellors were outsiders, the only natives of his own country being those who had stuck to him while he was at Lohara. 1047

Thus in alarm all of them having deserted him took shelter with the enemy, hardly one in a hundred remained in the palace on the side of the king. 1048

And so even after the rebellion had been quelled he, once again, gave rise to a holocaust which could not be eased by counter measures and which eventually found no mitigation. 1049

Where if one servant is rebuked the others, too, are likely to become apprehensive—in such a case, the ignoring of a fault by a discreet king is certainly to be praised. 1050

Then in the month of Māgha invited by Mallakoṣṭha and others Bhikṣu, Prthvīhara and the rest returned by way of Śūrapura. 1051

The king leaving the royal residence set out for Navamatha thinking that this region round which the Vitastā has thrown herself as a moat would be inaccessible to the enemy. 1052

In Caitra of the year ninety-eight, when the Dāmaras were about to open hostilities, Mallakoṣṭha advanced and was the first to take up the fighting. 1053

In the capital he was engaged with the cavaliers in a fight, which at the time was witnessed from the top of the palace by the tremulous ladies of the royal household. 1054

Bhikṣu pitched his camp on the bank of the Kṣiptikā . . . . . 1055

1046 Sujji had been the minister of justice See verse 1982 below.

1055. There is a lacuna in this verse.

From the gardens, the Dāmaras carried off the trees for fuel for their kitchen and the tender Dūrvā grass from the royal stables to feed their horses. 1056

While Pṛthvīhara was engaged in enrolling an army at Vijayaksetra by mobilizing the Dāmara plunderers of Madavarājya, the king eager for adventure, having ordered Prajñi and others to fight Mallakoṣṭha delivered a sudden attack upon him in the month of Vaiśākha. 1057-1058

He having suddenly fallen upon them, the rebels were slaughtered and fled disheartened and crossing the bridge made life secure with difficulty. 1059

Thus while Prajñi was taken up with fighting Mallakoṣṭha, Manu-jeśvara, the younger brother of Pṛthvīhara having defeated Sujñi entered the capital. 1060

But being unable to get to the opposite bank owing to the bridge over the Vitastā having been destroyed, he set fire to houses on the near bank and then retired to the Kṣiptikā. 1061

Thereupon king Sussala became despondent thinking that Śrīnagara had been occupied by the Lavanyas and withdrawing his forces from Vijayaksetra turned back. 1062

The bridge over the Gambhīrā groaning under the load of his own troops, each rushing to be first through fear of the enemy, gave way. 1063

On the dark sixth of Jyestha countless soldiers of his army perished there in the waters as they had perished at Cakradhara in the flames. 1064

While the king was allaying the panic of the troops with his raised arm, he fell in to the river owing to the crush in his rear of the fallen and the affrighted. 1065

Repeatedly he went under as those who did not know swimming clung to him and with his limbs cut by the weapons of those who were afloat, he somehow swam across. 1066

The army which had not been able to cross, prominent wherein were the grandees, he left on the further bank and escorted by those who had crossed over and who were a thousandth part of his army he marched on. 1067

1056 Dūrvā is the Dūb (cynodon lawns and pleasure turf dactylon) used for our ornamental

Though he had left behind his endless force the king, full of dash, having entered the capital led an attack on Mallakostha and others. 1068

Then the mother of Vijaya, named Sillā, conducted the troops, abandoned by their sovereign, from Vijayēśvara to Devasarasa. 1069

She, however, was attacked by Pṛthvīhara and killed; that fief was given to Tikka and the royal force was dispersed. 1070

Even when the whole force had been scattered, the Brahman Kalyāṇarāja, an expert in military manoeuvres, was killed fighting face to face with the enemy. 1071

From the army of Sussala teeming with councillors, Dāmaras and the grandees, a crowd of military men were taken prisoners by Pṛthvīhara. 1072

During his pursuit of the routed force up to the Vitastā, he captured the Brahman Ojānanda and others and killed them by impalement. 1073

The counsellors, Janakasūriha, Śrīvaka and the rest as well as the Rājaputras, having traversed the mountain, took shelter with the Khaśas in Viśalātā. 1074

Thus Pṛthvīhara who had obtained a victory having mustered the Dāmaras advanced, hoping to conquer, to the environs of Śrīnagara accompanied by Bhikṣu. 1075

Thereafter, the king being once more besieged in the capital, a battle raged which destroyed as before human beings and horses on all sides. 1076

"The royal palace is accessible without obstruction by this path"—thinking thus Pṛthvīhara, in person, led the people of Madavarājya in his army. 1077

The Dāmara clan in alliance with the brave Kaśmīrī warriors, cadets of the various feudatory chiefs, proved in every way hard to beat. 1078

The Kaśmīrīs, such as Śobhaka and others of the family of Kāka and other renowned persons like Ratna, distinguished themselves in their thousands on the side of Bhikṣu. 1079

Hearing the clamour of musical instruments arising from his own

1069 Sillā=This is an ancient Iranian name. The verse shows the position of women in medieval Kaśmīr. See below verse 1137.

1071. The fighting qualities of Brahmans are repeatedly referred to, see below 1345 and 2319-2330.

jubilant army Prthvīhara from curiosity had the instruments counted 1080

Apart from the numerous kettle-drums, the over-curious man was able to count twelve hundred drums used by the Śvapākas. 1081

Notwithstanding the loss of his army in that manner, Sussala with twenty or thirty Rājaputras and a small number of his own countrymen continued to resist the enemy. 1082

Udaya and Dhanyaka, two men of aristocratic birth, of the family of Icchaṭi, the ruling chiefs of Campā and Vallāpura, Udaya and Bramhajajjala, Oja, a hetman of the Malhanahamisa clan and resident of Harihada as also Savyarāja and others from Kṣatrikā-bhūṇjika, Nila and others sons of Bīḍāla, sprung from the line of Bhāvuka, Rāmapāla and the youthful Sahajika, his son, descendants of various noble families as well as others, thrilled with the excitement of fierce fighting, held up, at all points, the enemy engaged upon the siege. 1083-1086

Ralhana, whose treatment by the king was no different from that of a son of his loins, took the lead in the contest; so did also Vijaya and other knights. 1087

The king who himself worked assiduously looked after Sujji and Prajji, who were experts in warfare, as if they were his two arms and he their armour. 1088

The king shared the revenue of the kingdom in common with them and in that big crisis was ably assisted by the two of them to support his burden. 1089

On his side Bhāgika, Śaradbhāsin, Mummuni, Saṅgata, Kalāśa and others proved deft in bringing about the discomfiture of the adversary. 1090

Also Kamaliya, son of Lavarāja of the royal Takka domain, was a leader in that fight on the side of his sovereign. 1091

The charge of this powerful chief with his gleaming standard and yak-tails, the mounted troops could not withstand, as if he were a tusk in rut. 1092

His younger brother Saṅgika and Prthvīhara, his brother's son, guarded his flanks as the Pāñcāla people did in the case of Arjuna. 1093

1081. The Untouchables were drummers in ancient times; so they are at the

present day.

With the help of such jewels of officers and the horses which he had acquired by expending much gold, the king triumphed although the country had been exasperated with him. 1094

And during the various encounters, the king himself sauntered non-chalantly like a Brahman householder during a festival from room to room. 1095

For, this intelligent king felt a mischance to be a cause for anxiety only at the outset, but as it developed it gave him fortitude. 1096

A danger when it befalls suddenly causes gloom; when one is in the thick of it, there is no such feeling; water does not feel quite so chilly when one is immersed in it as when dropped on the hand. 1097

Whenever the dark mass of the hostile force appeared, there the mobile columns of the king went forth, like the moonlight blanching darkness with lustre. 1098

On one occasion the Dāmaras, according to a pre-arranged plan, having crossed the Mahāsarit simultaneously fell upon the city in a combined attack. 1099

The king, whose garrison was divided at the various posts in the limitless city, with his meagre horseguards charged them in person as they broke in. 1100

The Dāmara force routed by him could not hold on; it was like heaps of strewn leaves driven by the autumnal wind. 1101

Śrīyānanda from the Kāka family, Losta Śāhi, Anala and other distinguished men in the Dāmara army were slain by the king's warriors. 1102

The king's satellites badgered and dragged them within view of the relentless monarch and like Caṇḍālas massacred many of them. 1103

Through fright the others on Bhukṣu's side then went up Mount Gopa but being enveloped by their opponents found themselves in the proximity of death. 1104

Thereupon to save them the spirited Bhukṣu urged his horses along a path, where the passage was difficult even for birds. 1105

Pierced in the neck by an arrow, Prthivihara did the ascent with difficulty constantly keeping up with him and so did two or three mighty warriors. 1106

They having held up their opponent's force, as the cliffs on the shore stem the ocean, his men left Mount Gopa and scaled up the other heights. 1107



At this juncture appeared on the left of the royal army Mallakoṣṭha's mobile column whose infantry and cavalry swarmed to the extreme edges of the horizon. 11108

Then all felt, "Now the king will doubtless be killed!" since he was unescorted by his own troops, who were taken up with the pursuit of the enemy. 11109

While king Sussala was unable to bear his sudden charge just then Prajñi, with his younger brother, arrived on the scene of action. 11110

On the dark eighth of Āśāḍha there occurred that mighty *melée* of cavaliers wherein the din of their own weapons furnished the thunder of applause. 11111

By these two, Mallakoṣṭha, with his son, was overborne in the battle just as the forest conflagration with its accompanying wind is overcome by showers of rain in the months of Śrāvaṇa and Bhādrapada. 11112

In an age abounding in battles there was no other day like this one which was the very touchstone of valour and chivalry. 11113

As the contingent from Lohara delayed and arrived too late, those who longed for a revolution had failed to join hands. 11114

On that crucial day each sensed the might of the other—Bhikṣu that of the king and the king that of Bhikṣu. 11115

Then having instructed the people from Maḍavarājya to continue the fight there Prthvīhara took the offensive having advanced along the bank of the Kṣiptikā. 11116

At this time Yaśorāja, who had returned from abroad, was raised to the post of governor by the king who was preparing to counter-attack his enemies. 11117

Formerly when he had held office at Kherī, the Lavanyas had witnessed his exploits; in their encounters they trembled a hundredfold when they saw his face. 11118

The king, who presented him with the saffron emollient, the parasol, horses and marks of distinction, exalted him so that like himself he might be greeted with respect by every one. 11119

11114 Hastamelaka=joining hands. "They touch hands" (Hastau Sprśataḥ) is an old stage direction in Samskrta plays. Touching hands—a near approach to a hand-shake—is still a common form of greeting in the villages in

Kāthiāwād. Clapping of hands which is said to be a European innovation is also an old Indian practice, see below verse 1724.

11119 Saffron emollient was a privilege of royalty. See VI. 120.

The people who in their plight yearned for the removal of the prolonged disorders, pinned their faith on him like an invalid, longing to be restored to health, on a new physician. 1120

To the eldest surviving son of Garga, named Pañcacandra, the king entrusted the task of opposing Mallakoṣṭha. 1121

As a minor he had been under the guardianship of his mother named Chuḍḍā and gaining the support of his father's followers he, by degrees, had come to acquire some prestige. 1122

Some of the Dāmaras defeated by the king, with the support of Yaśorāja in the various encounters, had joined his side while the others had dispersed. 1123

Taking Bhikṣu with him Pṛthvīhara retired to his own seat and the king set out for Amareśvara eager to encounter Mallakoṣṭha. 1124

Meanwhile Mallakoṣṭha, having sent bandits by night, caused the unoccupied palace in the vicinity of the temple of Sadāśiva to be set on fire. 1125

Once again Pṛthvīhara delivered a series of attacks and fighting took place on the bank of the Kṣiptikā led by Prajñi and Sujñi. 1126

Repeatedly setting ablaze the houses in the city, the Lavanya well-nigh laid waste the splendid bank of the Vitastā. 1127

The king then with numerous troops overran Lohara, taking part in various actions imperilling his life. 1128

His officers Kandarāja and others, while crossing the Sindhu without a bridge, went to the residence of the Leveller owing to the bursting of the inflated skins in the stream. 1129

To the territory of the Dards, Mallakoṣṭha retired driven out by the king and, with her son, Chuḍḍā acquired ascendancy in Lohara. 1130

Jayyaka, the Lavanya, now brought back to the presence of the king from Viśalāṭā Janaka, Śrīvaka and the rest. 1131

Having passed the summer in the operations in Lohara, upon the advent of autumn the king escorted by Yaśorāja proceeded to Śamāla. 1132

At Manīmuṣa, a Rājaputra named Domba, son of Sajja, was killed in battle when after a rout he was engaged in saving his force from Pṛthivīhara's pressure. 1133

While repeatedly engaged in fighting in the village of Suvarṇa-sānūra, Śūrapura and other places the king had, by turn, success and discomfiture. 1134

When Śrīvaka was routed near the holy Kalyāṇapura by Pṛthvīhara and others, Nāgavattā and the rest found their death in battle. 1135

In the month of Pauṣa, from Suvarṇasānūra Pṛthvīhara despatched Tikka, the matricide, to Devasarasa to slay the wife of Garga. 1136

She had triumphed over the malcontents with her own and the royal forces; Tikka having made a surprise attack on her killed her in battle. 1137

This impious man committed a second brutal murder of a woman, what difference, however, is there between beasts, Mlecchas, bandits and demons? 1138

While one of the weaker sex, their liege-lady, was being murdered, the people of Lohara, like cattle, took to flight; it was a wonder they took up arms again! 1139

Learning that Maḍavarājya, which had only recently been pacified, was again seething, the king set out for Vijayeśvara. 1140

Their own wanton tongue itself proved to be the harbinger of misfortune to the sons of Mallarāja in their rise to power. 1141

As a rule, in modern times, the character of a servant is like a sieve; the substantial essence having been strained they exhibit the residue of the chaff of defects. 1142

Yaśorāja became disaffected towards the king, on account of his harsh words and obscene language to which since childhood the latter had been accustomed and which were derogatory to his dignity. 1143

This man of low kindred was posted to Avantipura equipped with a large force; having evacuated from there he joined the side of the adversary. 1144

On his deserting to the side of the enemy together with the very best of his troops, the king, in despair, beat a retreat from Vijayakṣetra. 1145

Curse the crown! for the sake of which even such as he desiring to secure his life put up with humiliation, on the road, from those who plundered him being for the most part bandits and Candālas. 1146

In the month of Māgha, he fled and re-entered the city and his

serving man, named Vaṭṭa, having turned traitor, he began to suspect the very hair on his head. 1147

Thereafter having completely lost faith in the remaining persons of Kaśinīrī birth, the king laid his head in the lap of the party of Prajñi. 1148

By his virtues such as valour, open-handedness and diplomatic skill, the fame of former Rājaputras like Rudrapāla was sealed by Prajñi. 1149

By him alone, whose reputation was spotless, was raised the honour of the sword and the sciences which was ravaged by the wickedness of the times. 1150

Yaśorāja, on his part, having consorted with Bhikṣu confidentially advised him thus. "the Dāmaras who fear your valour are not willing that the throne should be yours; let us once more incite rebellion and with the help of the garrison of the capital we shall ourselves seize the throne or retire abroad." 1151-1152

While they were thus conferring, Mallakoṣṭha having heard that Chudḍā had been slain, returned from the city of the Dards and reoccupied his own seat. 1153

Then came the appalling year painful to go through—the notorious number ninety-nine—which universally put an end to living beings. 1154

In the spring, all the Dāmaras again approached, as before, by their respective routes and surrounded the king, resident in Śrīnagara. 1155

And the resolute king Sussala, on his part, again began to participate, by day and night, in the excitement of what was the commencement of a series of unending battles. 1156

The Dāmaras who were addicted to arson, pillage and warfare had raised a revolt surpassing the former insurrection. 1157

On the route of the Mahāsarit which was unobstructed, Yaśorāja, Bhikṣu, Pṛthvihara and others took up their stand preparing to make the entry into Śrīnagara. 1158

Then during the campaign when some days had passed in skirmishes, Yaśorāja was killed by the people of his own side who took him for an enemy. 1159

For, while he was executing a turning movement during a combat

with a knight of Sussala's army named Vijaya, the son of Kayya, his own lancers seeing the same colour of steed and armour were deceived and in their excitement killed him by spear thrusts.

1160-1161

"He is competent to secure the crown for Bhikṣu and to massacre us thereafter" thus through fear, the Dāmaras had him assassinated—such was the rumour.

1162

Just as the unsuspecting liege-lord had been perfidiously deceived by him so likewise he, too, unsuspecting had met a sudden death in the fight.

1163

Then Pṛthvīhara, having got the Dāmaras to attack at various points, himself arrived along the bank of the Kṣīptikā and delivered an assault.

1164

On this occasion was displayed the bravery of the soldiers of the garrison who had joined the cause of Bhikṣu casting into the background the gallantry of their own as well as of the enemy army.

1165

With incendiarism, the slaughter of mighty warriors, and other such afflictions each new day at this time heralded unforeseen horrors.

1166

The orb of the day blazed fiercely, the earth trembled frequently and disastrous cyclones blew which brought down trees and boulders.

1167

The columns of dust, swirled by the whirlwind, went so high that they seemed to form pillars to buttress the sky rent by thunderclaps.

1168

Thus it happened that during a fierce battle which was raging on the bright twelfth day of Jyēṣṭha, the Dāmaras set a dwelling house in Kāsthīla on fire.

1169

Or perchance that fire originated in the high winds or was due to lightning—it spread beyond control and all at once set the entire city ablaze.

1170

While the smoke emanating from Māksikasvāmin, like charging elephants in battle array, had just become visible from the Great Bridge, it suddenly thereafter reached Indradevī-bhavana Vihāra and then instantaneously the entire city was seen in flames.

1171-1172

Neither the earth nor the directions nor the sky was visible in the dense mass of smoke. The sun became visible and anon disappeared like the leather mouthpiece of the bag-pipe. 1173

The houses in the darkness of the smoke-screen lit up by the flames came into view for a while as if to bid a final farewell. 1174

The Vitastā, with the houses nestling on both banks ablaze, looked like the blade of the sword of Death, wet with blood on both edges. 1175

The tall sheets of fire, which rose and fell touching the interior of the vault of the high dome of the universe, resembled a jungle of golden parasols. 1176

The fire was comparable to the Golden Mountain; the tongues of fire being its high and low peaks and the smoke which it bore on the top created the impression of a mass of clouds. 1177

Those houses, which were visible through the flames, repeatedly led the deluded householders to hope that they might not be burnt down. 1178

The Vitastā, whose waters were heated by the blazing houses which had collapsed, came to realize the suffering caused to the lord of rivers by the agonising heat of the submarine fire. 1179

Together with the birds whose wings were ignited, the tender shoots of the trees in the avenue of the pleasure gardens went flying up in the sky. 1180

With their white stucco the temples, enveloped in the flames, might be mistaken for peaks of the Himālayas embraced by the clouds on the eve of the annihilation of the universe. 1181

The bathing huts and the boat bridges, in large numbers, having been drawn off from fear of the fire, the waterways in the interior of the city also became deserted. 1182

What more need be said? Śrīnagara bereft of its Maṭhas, shrines, houses, shops and the like was turned, in a mere trice, into a forest which has been burnt down. 1183

The colossal statue of Buddha, darkened by smoke and without its dwelling house, was alone visible on high in the city which had been reduced to mounds of earth and it resembled a charred tree. 1184

1173. The Hudukkā=a kind of bag-pipe is still a favourite instrument on the Frontier and resembles the bag-pipe of

the mountaineers of Scotland.

1179. Submarine fire. See below 1559.

Then when the troops rushed to save the burning dwelling-houses, only a hundred soldiers formed the king's guard. 1185

He was unable to go to the other side of the Vitastā as the bridge had been cut down and having found a loop-hole endless number of the enemy surrounded him to kill him. 1186

Contemplating the city which had been burnt down, his own precarious condition and the loss of life among his subjects, the agonised king warmly welcomed the approach of death. 1187

Then, as he was about to set out, others, who suspected that he was fleeing, signalled to Kamaliya who facing him asked in these terms: "Whither away, Sire?" 1188

Turning towards him his smiling countenance, flushed with excitement and bearing a sandal mark, the resolute king, having pulled up his steed, said to him. 1189

"I shall do, this day, that which rajah Bhujja, your proud grandfather, did, for the country's sake, in the battle with Hammīra." 1190

"Even assuming that this person of unknown birth is a kinsman—what our brother or I were capable of achieving, king Harṣa had fully experienced who had been forced to flee." 1191

"Is there indeed any one who having obtained a place in the ranks of proud men would, when the end came, part with his country without having drenched it with the blood from his own limbs like a tiger giving up his skin?" 1192

So saying desiring to pat with both his hands his rearing charger he let go the bridle and sheathed the sword. 1193

Then the son of Lavarāja, restraining the king's charger by the bridle, said, "While the liege-men are present it does not behove kings to enter the front." 1194

Although disabled by a wound, Pṛthvipāla was the one person who, at this critical juncture, left his house and presented himself before the king. 1195

Eulogising his action which was worthy of a cadet of noble family, the king, from loving-kindness, considered the honourable offer of service as a requital for favours received from himself 1196

Meanwhile the foe had formed themselves into three arrays; on his left showering murderous arrows the warriors were all wickedly arrogant with their cavalry. The king urged his steed forward and

though, through Providence, he was in such a precarious condition, he engaged many thousands of the enemy. 1197-1198

With his small force, the king whose image was reflected in the swords of the enemy's phalanx was brilliant like the omnipresent Kṛṣṇa, when he came as an ally of Arjuna. 1199

Like a hawk on the sparrows, like a lion with the antelopes, single-handed the king Sussala scattered a multitude of his enemies. 1200

Falling upon the infantry, who had blocked up the very space in front of the horses' hoofs, the mounted troops struck them who had impeded the charge of the squadrons. 1201

Illumined by the blazing flames all those bold fighters—those about to be killed as well as the slain—seemed as if they were suffused with the ruddy stream of blood. 1202

After massacring the enemy as he returned, at the close of the day, to the city which the fire had left but from which the splendour had departed, he was dissolved in tears. 1203

Even in such a crisis he had been undefeated yet owing to the destruction of a thing of beauty, he ceased to attach any importance to the hope of victory over the enemy or to care for his life. 1204

Thenceforth who could have, without being moved to tears, looked at him whether he was awake or asleep, on the move or standing still, while he was bathing or feeding or when he marched forth, after his wont, upon being challenged by his enemies? 1205

The fire having burnt down the collected stores of all food-stuffs, of a sudden, a dire famine which became difficult to endure now prevailed throughout the land. 1206

In this famine the grandees—whose stores were exhausted during the prolonged state of disorders and whose produce, outside the city, had been carried away by the Dāmaras—with their movements stopped, their mansions burnt down and failing to get supplies from the royal household in the straitened circumstances of the king, soon perished. 1207-1208

The houses which had survived the conflagration, the people suffering from starvation, who were demanding food, set on fire from day to day. 1209

1199. Kṛṣṇa=Avatāra of Viṣṇu pervade).  
meaning all pervading' (SK. Viṣṇu=to



The bridges over the waterways, which were stinking with dead bodies swollen by soaking in water, were traversed in those days by the people holding their noses. 1210

The earth, whitened all round by the fragments of fleshless human skeletons and skulls, appeared to conform to the practice of a Kāpālīka. 1211

Tortured by hunger and scarcely able to move, the people with their tall bodies, tanned by the rays of the fierce sun, resembled the charred pillars. 1212

Then as days went by, during the incessant fighting, an entirely incorrect rumour spread that Prthvīhara, who had somewhere been wounded by an arrow, had expired. 1213

Disabled by a serious injury, the king had been screened from sight by his people; on hearing this news he was delighted and vigorously kept up the fight. 1214

The siren of victory continued to lure him like a tenacious harlot by displaying feigned ardour but did not, however, satisfy the desire of the wistful king. 1215

Providence with single-minded perversity, having as a bluff shown favour, heightens the succeeding misery. The sky, after revealing the dazzling blaze of lightning which overwhelms the iridescent medicinal herbs, enfolds the mountain in a dense blinding darkness. 1216

At this time his beloved wife, the queen-consort Madanamañjarī, died. Having suffered hardships for a long time, the king at last was looking forward to the happy day of her arrival as if to the reward of a penance, with inward longing. In her character affection was inlaid with indulgence, gentle words with dignity, generosity with tact which she fostered like her offspring. 1217-1219

Realizing that the life of the people deprived of amusements had become a weary pilgrimage, he saw not the least purpose in his living or ruling. 1220

The queen ravaged by the tidings of her husband's critical position had set out, in her anxiety, on the journey to Kaśmīr when she expired near Phullapura. 1221

Four ladies of the senior rank in her entourage, who never having

1217. This is a charming description of the queen's character.

experienced ungentle words had been unstinted in loyalty, followed the queen in death. 1222-1223

Although not an eyewitness of her demise, a cook named Teja, true to the high tradition of loyalty, came to be especially honoured among the servants. 1224

For, he had been absent and had arrived the next day; having struck his head with a stone found near her funeral pyre he plunged into the river. 1225

The enemies, as it happened, did a kind turn to the king, since they made him forget his sorrow in the excitement of their provocative assaults. 1226

Then being heart-stricken he desired to abdicate the throne and recalled his son, who had outgrown minority, from Mount Lohara. 1227

And by appointing Prajñi's nephew, Bhāgika, to be governor he arranged for the defence of the treasury and territory of Lohara. 1228

Having embraced his beloved son, who had arrived at Varāhamūla, the king who had gone forward to receive him became the target of joy and sorrow. 1229

The prince, who had returned to his own country after three years, seeing his father sick at heart was grieved. 1230

He entered the city, which survived as mounds of earth, with his face bent down in sorrow, like a cloud hanging low with rain while passing over a forest consumed by a conflagration. 1231

Then on the first day of Āṣāḍha his father had him anointed on the throne and addressed him on the main principles of administration speaking in a voice choking with tears. 1232

"Mettlesome and manful art thou! carry the yoke which thy father and uncle being exhausted proved unable to bear; unto thee, is this burden transferred." 1233

The king made the prince merely the recipient of the imperial insignia but, deluded by destiny, did not transfer power. 1234

No sooner was the prince ceremoniously anointed than the blockade of the city, the drought, the pestilence, burglaries and other afflictions came to an end. 1235

And so, too, the Earth, the noble lady, bore an abundant harvest and in due course in the month of Śrāvaṇa famine conditions died down. 1236

Meantime king Jayasinha, who had been destroying the enemy in battle, was accused to his father, by those who whispered evil in his ears, as a traitor. 1237

In anger, without sifting the truth, he despatched the son of Kayya to arrest him but the prince became aware of this beforehand. 1238

In the presence of the proud and indignant prince, who kept smiling, he felt baffled and fulfilled the royal command merely by guarding him. 1239

The prince, who being mentally upset had not partaken of food, set out with him the next day to appear before his father to create confidence. 1240

His father thinking that being warned it would be impossible to impeach him deceitfully placated him through the ministers and induced him to turn back on the way. 1241

But inwardly he resolved, "I shall take him unawares and after arresting him place him in confinement"—thus was his constant thought. 1242

Curse the crown for whose sake sons and fathers, suspecting one another, are nowhere in the world able to sleep peacefully during the night! 1243

When sons, wives, friends and servants are the objects of their suspicion, who knows whom these kings consider worthy of their confidence? 1244

One Utpala was the son of a certain watchman of the grainyard named Sthānaka, who lived on the outskirts of a wretched village known as Sahya; in his boyhood he had been brought up as a herd boy with cattle by the sons of the Dāmaras. Having taken to the profession of arms he, in course of time, obtained service with Ṭikka; employed as an emissary he, from the first year, came to gain the confidence of the king who was planning to sow dissensions among his enemies. 1245-1247

The king having promised him place of power and gifts instructed him to murder Bhūksācara and Ṭikka on the fief of Ṭikka. 1248

When he had given an undertaking to that effect, the king honoured him with gifts of great value and also employed him with the title of treasurer. 1249

This man, whose mind wobbled between love of pleasure and fear

of treason towards the liege-lord, was unable to decide whether the enterprise was worth doing or had better be avoided. 1250

Meanwhile his wife gave birth to a child and the king, to further his scheme, sent presents suitable for a confinement as if he were her father. 1251

She being apprehensive as to what may be the reason for this special compliment on his part questioned the husband with importunity and he then related the reason. 1252

"Do not commit treason against your liege-lord for if this deed were done, you yourself might in due course be killed by Sussala considering you to be a traitor. It were lief that he himself be murdered, after winning confidence; for were such assassination to take place the lord, his sons and other members of the family could contribute to your opulence." 1253-1254

Thus having instigated him to reverse the plan, his wife urged him to act with energy after acquainting Ṭikka with the situation. 1255

Then the king, lured by fate, came to rely, as if he were his son, on the traitor who made trips to and fro. 1256

His heart alienated from the son and his trust in the protégé of his enemy! What perversion does not arise in the case of those the fund of whose luck is dwindling! 1257

Fools blinded by the lure of self-interest do not pause to think of encountering mischance as those who hunt for honey do not worry about the sting of the bees. 1258

Then hard pressed by Prajñi and the king, Ṭikka was induced by Utpala to make his submission and to deliver his son as a hostage. 1259

Then the king leaving Devasarasa, which had been reduced to subjection, proceeded in the month of Kārtika to the village of Bāstraka in the district of Kherī. 1260

And in the various actions in the vicinity of Kalyānapura, he put to shame even mighty warriors prominent among whom were Bhikṣu and Koṣṭheśvara. 1261

From the very midst of Bhikṣācara and his men, Sujñi captured alive in battle the brave knight Śobhaka sprung from the family of Kāka. 1262

Having first inflicted a defeat on Vijaya, son of Bhavaka, his houses in Kalyāṇapura were burnt down by the king. 1263

When Vadosaka was burnt, Bhikṣācara lost his refuge and retiring from this territory he took up his position in the village of Kākaruha in Śamālā. 1264

Vijaya's younger brother, son of Bhavaka, from fear, paid homage to the king, who being enraged had him manacled and thrown into prison. 1265

By posting Rājhana at Śūrapura supported by a large force, the king made even Rājapuri nervous about an attack. 1266

Thus when by a sternly repressive policy he had broken the violent Dāmaras, he saw that but little remained to be done to complete the defeat of the enemy. 1267

Bhikṣācara and the Lavanyas having come to the end of their resources, began to think of going abroad through fear of their powerful enemy. 1268

For, those who had espoused the cause of Bhikṣu had lost heart owing to misfortune having unaccountably befallen them and although they were alive, they had been reduced, through lack of enthusiasm, to a moribund condition. 1269

Recollecting the knavery of Somapāla and having inwardly resolved that he would turn Rājapuri into a funeral ground after the snow had melted, he then turned back. 1270

When the king had quelled the disorders within the limits of his own territory, one might have thought him capable of invasions up to the foreshore of the ocean. 1271

For indeed with unhappiness, terror, impoverishment, loss of the loved ones and other afflictions, the period of his reign had brought suffering on everyone. 1272

One in hundred of the population had survived destruction in the upheaval and he, too, considered each year during this regime as long as an aeon. 1273

A man, how much can he, by his personal effort, repression or cunning, achieve since the realization of plans depends upon the ways of Providence which are passing strange? 1274

In the ways of the Creator the rule is conspicuous by its absence; since someone whose bulk looms large before him he avoids as if it were darkness, like a lion he turns back to glare at another who has

already passed on while he jumps over, as at leap-frog, a servant who is near by and overthrows a king. 1275

Sussala had scorned Uccala and the other rulers who, in the past, had perished through trustfulness; had always by him a drawn sword; citing the story of Vidūratha and other instances of which he had heard from those learned in ancient lore he had not, whether during sport or in enjoyment with women, the look of unalloyed confidence—that he should have implicitly relied upon Utpala and treated him as if he were a kinsman—what else but destiny could, in such a case, have caused the delusion! 1276-1278

Tikka and others said to Utpala, "If either of the two, the king or Sujji, is killed we shall recognise your service equally." 1279

Sujji did not trust him; while he in his anxiety to murder the king kept himself in readiness, on various occasions, yet found no opportunity. 1280

Then when the king grew wroth owing to delay in the promised task Utpala, having brought his own son as a hostage from Devasarasa as well as others such as Vyāghra and Praśastarāja who were desperadoes like himself, said to the king, "With the help of these my purpose will be realized", and, on one occasion, he set out accompanied by three or four hundred of the infantry who were carefully picked for their fitness for a desperate adventure. 1281-1283

While watching his opportunity the assassin was ever by his side; while the king alas! with favourite delicacies and other gifts was delighting his heart. 1284

The king, who passionately loved horses, had sent away from his entourage the chamberlain Lakṣmaka, the son of Kayya, and other prominent persons of confidence to treat the horse named "Emperor of the Mews" who while in the capital had been ill; thus at this time he had but few folk with him. 1285-1286

Śringāra, the son of Lakṣmaka, having learnt from the reports of persons in his confidence of the doings of Utpala, brought this within hearing of the king. 1287

The mind of the person who is nearing his end imagines an enemy to be his friend, like the animal in the slaughter-house even though he watches the preparations for his slaughter. 1288

Neither the curse of the princess of Gandhāra nor the utterance of the wrathful Rsi, nor the omens, nor even his own unearthly vision which had revealed the annihilation of the family enabled Viṣṇu himself to save it. Knowing this well who indeed could alter what is willed to happen? 1289

"That is a lie", retorted the king and pointing at him with his finger he spoke to Utpala and others, who were present before him, in this wise: 1290

"This son of a traitor does not desire that my well-being should result from your loyalty, therefore, Oh Utpala! whether of his own accord or incited by others, he informs me that you are a villain" 1291

Concealing, with smiling faces, their alarm and nervousness they boldly said, "Your Majesty has expressed what we should ourselves have submitted." 1292

When, however, they had gone out, the king, being somewhat alarmed, summoned through the usher two or three steadfast and prominent men-at-arms. 1293

His mind was somehow upset, he remained pensive, sighed, and was tearful and found no diversion in watching the dance, singing, and the like amusements. 1294

He considered even his relatives as if they were men from other lands and persisted in error like an aviator, whose fund of merit having run out, is about to fall from the sky. 1295

Some of the nerveless servants of the royal household being alarmed that the sovereign had been bewitched, through knavery, longed for another and animated patron. 1296

The morsel-grip of the Destroyer has just this power that creatures, despite their awareness, inexorably come under its fascination. 1297

Now Utpala and others, being alarmed, passed two days, with difficulty closing the eyes during the entire intervening period. 1298

On the third day, after the morning bath the king said to them who were for ever secretly biding their opportunity, "You may go home for your food." 1299

1289. The reference is to the well-known stories of the *Mahābhārata*. The Gandhāra princess is the mother of the Kauravas—Duryodhana and others,

the angry Rsis are Viśvāmitra and Nārada, the omens referred to are the destruction of the Vṛsnis.

Then having finished the daily ceremonial including the worship of the gods he summoned Utpala, at mid-day, through messengers, when he was in the private apartment. 1300

Owing to the stillness prevailing in the royal palace, he, feeling confident of success in his plot, entered the presence of the king under a nervous strain while his attendants were stopped by the usher. 1301

His younger brother, Vyāghra, who was detained at the portal was allowed entry by the king who ordered even the servants, who had remained, to go and wait outside. 1302

To certain of the personal attendants who had tarried he thus spoke hot words of rebuke which proved to be true: "Let him then stay who is a traitor." 1303

He, however, permitted to remain beside him the Tāmbūla-bearer who was advanced in age and the learned Rāhula, who was the minister for peace and war. 1304

Two emissaries of Tīkka named Arghadeva and Tisyavaiśya, who happened to be present on business, were not privy to Utpala's conspiracy. 1305

In those days Utpala had posted for his personal protection, with a force within call, a Dāmara of Vaḍossa named Sukharāja, who was in league with Bhikṣu, and had explained to the king that this Dāmara after seeing the feet of the sovereign would set out for the successful performance of the task. 1306-1307

While the king was thus situated, he quickly secured the entry of Praśastarāja into his presence by saying, "There is business to be done with him." 1308

Upon entry, observing the ante-chamber free from attendants, he, with a movement which was unnoticed, made fast the door with a bolt. 1309

The king's hair was moist after the bath; feeling chilly he had wrapped his cloak well about him; his dagger which he had removed was lying on a stool. Seeing him thus seated Vyāghra said to Utpala, "No such opportunity may arise, submit your prayer to the sovereign." 1310-1311

After this cue, he went all agog, in front of the king and under the



guise of bowing to his feet removed the dagger which was lying on that stool. 1312

He unsheathed it and while the king who saw this with rolling eye could exclaim, "Fie upon it! What treason!" Utpala struck first on the left side with that very weapon and thereafter he was struck on the head by Praśastarāja. 1313-1314

Then Vyāghra wounded him in the chest and thereupon he was struck repeatedly by them both; Utpala, however, did not strike a second time. 1315

For by the very first blow which had cut through the region of the ribs and drawn out the entrails and the guts he reckoned that the soul had sped on the journey. 1316

Having run to the window to shout for help Rāhila was wounded in the back by Vyāghra and survived for two or three Nālikās. 1317

The poor old man the Tāmbūla-bearer, Ajjaka, who having let fall the cubebs and other ingredients was attempting to escape was saved, through pity, from his own men by Utpala himself. 1318

While this commotion arose in the interior, the wretch Ṭikka and the other conspirators, who were in the outer hall with drawn swords, commenced plundering. 1319

On the report that Utpala was slain by the king his men who were outside were being cut down by the guard; to hearten them Utpala showed himself at the window with the weapon wet with blood and called out, "I have slain the king; do not spare his troops." 1320-1321

Hearing of this sacrilege the royal retainers fled helter-skelter in terror while the supporters of the traitors in wild glee posted themselves inside the quadrangle. 1322

As they were coming out of the hall, the desperadoes killed a royal page named Nāgaka who was entering through the door with a drawn sword. 1323

A servant of one Trailokya, guardian of the royal bed-chamber, who denounced the treason as also a janitor were murdered by Ṭikka and the others. 1324

The assassins effected their exit by a side-door on seeing Sahajapāla, the ornament of the family of Bhāvuka, rushing to the attack with sword and shield and distinguishing himself in the midst of the disheartened dependents of the king; he at last fell to the ground, wounded, struck down by their followers. 1325-1326

While the corps of the Rājaputras became the recipient of the dark stain of disgrace, he alone succeeded in washing off the degradation with the blood of his own wounds. 1327

A learned Brahman named Nona, being in the way, was murdered by the assassins who mistook him for a Rājaputra, as in his appearance he resembled a man from the plains. 1328

Seeing the assassins who were escaping unhurt with their faces set towards the neighbouring village none of the men-at-arms attacked them, through sullenness, as if they were delineated in a picture. 1329

Then at last appeared the royal relations, on whom the king had lavished his affection, who with their fat bodies began to pervade the quadrangle deserted by the people. 1330

Commencing from the account of king Harṣa we having sufficiently mentioned and described all manner of cowards have become, like load-carriers, used to the task. Yet we do not venture to record the names of those, who are more wicked than sin, through the mortification of having to associate ourselves with their evil deeds. 1331-1332

Some of the prominent fellows among those miscreants, regarding the ascent from the quadrangle to the royal apartments as an act of great courage, actually saw the murdered sovereign. 1333

The quivering lower lip with the little splash of blood, as if bitten by his teeth in anger seemed to express his soul's exasperation at the end; his two eyes moveless as if in the anxious thought "how came I to be thus betrayed?" had continued in the same rigid state even after life had become extinct; the stream oozing from his gaping wounds had darkened his body and appeared to be the curling smoke of the fire of his inner anger which had been extinguished; his face looked as if it were a painting; the blood from his deep wounds sticking to it like lac had made indistinct the marks of saffron and the sandal emollient; he had fallen on the floor nude, his touselled hair sticking with congealed blood, his hands and feet were stretched out and his neck hung on the shoulders. On seeing him those mean fellows did naught that was seemly but decried him, through bitterness, saying, "Enjoy the fruit of unsociability:" 1334-1339

They then fled to save their lives and were unable to take him away on a horse or a litter to consign him to the funeral fire. 1340

Granted that such an act would have meant delay—nobody consigned him to the logs in the fireplace or even set fire to the building while fire was readily available. 1341

They took to flight one by one mounting the king's horses while the royal guard which escaped was plundered by the Dāmaras in the villages. 1342

On the snow covered roads during the flight the son did not save the father, nor the father the son, from perishing or being slain or plundered. 1343

There was not a single man who bore arms who, recalling his honourable status, refused, when assaulted by the enemy on the road, to surrender his arms and livery. 1344

The two Brahmins, Lavarāja and Yaśorāja, who were expert athletes and the rajah of Kānda—those three met their deaths in a knightly manner. 1345

Utpala and others, who were not far off, having watched the fleeing guard then made their entry and having cut off the king's head carried it off with the body. 1346

They proceeded to Devasarasa and made an exhibition of the decapitated king before the villagers, as if he had been a thief who was executed. 1347

Thus treacherously on the day of the new moon in Phālguna was assassinated, he who had passed the fifty-fifth year of his life. 1348

To the ears of Sindhadeva, while seated on the pleasure couch, this tragic news was brought by one Preman, his foster-brother. 1349

Worthy of a man who wears a sword was his demeanour, when he

1341 Comparing the Greek custom of burning the dead with that prevalent among the Hindus *Alberuni* writes. "Galenus says in his commentary to the apophthegms of Hippocrates 'It is generally known that Asclepius was raised to the angles in a column of fire, the like of which is also related with regard to Dionysos, Heracles, and others who laboured for the benefit of mankind. People say that God did thus with them in order to destroy the mortal and

earthly part of them by the fire, and afterwards to attract to himself the immortal part of them, and to raise their souls to heaven.' In a similar way the Hindus express themselves. There is a point in man by which he is what he is. This point becomes free when the mixed elements of the body are dissolved and scattered by combustion." Vol. II p. 168 See VIII. 1778.

heard the tragic news although he, who was devoted to his father, was, at the time without arms. १

1350

He was stunned and became oblivious—after a while, on recovering consciousness, his memory revived and his fortitude having broken down in bouts of distress, he lamented audibly and moaned softly.

1351

“When for my sake you were assiduously making the kingdom free from thorns, why then Oh Mahārāja! did you place yourself in the power of a villain?”

1352

“When at last in order to terminate hostilities you, being unarmed, granted interviews to the enemies, Sire! you raised those dishonourable persons to the level of respectability.”

1353

“Your father and brother in heaven, you having avenged their wrongs, have become free from anger; now, however, it is your turn to suffer the bitter gall.”

1354

“Pray, for a moment, do not envy the lot of Anarāya, Kṛpa, Drona, Jamadagni, and the rest, whose wrongs were washed off by members of their families.”

1355

“The rancour which you nurse is to be regretted; I shall cleanse it, Sire! I should not be worried if that necessitated an attack on the three worlds.”

1356

“It was your wont to greet me with your face, full of tender love, lit up by a smile and with gentle and sweet words—I seem to see it, at this moment, before me.”

1357

As he muttered this and similar things while his tribulation remained unnoticed owing to his calm exterior, he saw in front of him his father’s intimates cast down and bemused with sorrow and anxiety.

1358

What anger dictated discretion forbade, nevertheless he spoke to them, somewhat as follows, ungentle words of reproach.

1359

“Alas! you, who are men of honour, have failed to achieve what has been accomplished now by those who subsisted on the leavings off his plate.”

1360

“Shame on your swords and on yourselves who having been honoured with riches by my father, because of your noble birth, should at the end have failed him!”

1361

Thus while in a few words he was taunting them, two or three

ministers approached and drew his attention to the task before him 1362

Some said that abandoning the kingdom he should set out for Lohara and thus, too, quickly as they pointed to the danger from Bhiksācara at the end of the night. 1363

While others, more resolute, urged the carrying on of the contest for the throne relying upon the support of Pañcatandra, son of Garga, who was posted at Lohara. 1364

For now that Sussala was no more, resistance to Bhukṣu, who was about to enter Śrīnagara as if it were his own house, was not believed by any one to be possible. 1365

The king winced with pain that such ministers as he had, should have thought so little of him and replied as follows. "To-morrow you will see what is to be done." 1366

Having regard to the situation he did not reveal that he suffered at the tragic end of his father; on the other hand, he ordered sentries to be posted at the treasury and other places on guard duty. 1367

The city began to hum with the rising and high pitched voices of the people who hurried hither and thither and exchanged the news with one another. 1368

That night, like the eve of final annihilation swarming with an infuriate host of Vetālas, brought terror to all living creatures. 1369

The king, surrounded by lamps which were motionless in the still air and the ministers who through anxiety did not blink, fell from time to time into a reverie. 1370

"With doors ajar, enveloped in darkness and fierce winds blowing my own father lies murdered in the desolate palace while I am alive like an imbecile!" 1371

"Heigh-ho! until such time as I have washed off such an unendurable stigma, how shall I be able to look in the face men of honour during conversation?" 1372

"From the districts under the control of the enemy how will the army officers come over roads which, being covered with snow, have become impassable?" 1373

While he thus pondered over various matters in deep gloom and anxiety, that uncanny night somehow came to an end. 1374

In the morning, he came out on the four pillared pavilion to reassure

the citizens and despatched horsemen to search for the garrison which had fled. 1375

Thereafter the clouds, embracing the earth, commenced to cover the declivities of the roads with a mass of snow. 1376

When the scouts returned without success and without having heard even the mention of the troops from a distance, the king having deliberated for a while, caused the following order to circulate in the capital with beat of drum. "Whatever has been forcibly taken by any one, to that I hereby relinquish my right, amnesty is granted to those, who have taken shelter with the enemy although they may be guilty." Thereupon the citizens pronounced blessings and there were rejoicings over this everywhere. 1377-1379

By this generous policy at the outset, which was almost diametrically opposed to the course of conduct of the rulers who were his immediate predecessors, he reaped a reward instantly. 1380

He, who possessed even less than a hundred followers, was instantly surrounded by the people who were carried away by emotion. 1381

Lakṣmaka, who had the apt phrase, could deliver speeches, and possessed the knack of winning people with gifts, held the rank of foremost counsellor in the entourage of his master. 1382

While the sagacious king was thus lulling the kingdom into repose with statesmanlike measures, Bhikṣu appeared before the city, when the sun was in the meridian, eager to make his entry. 1383

Swarming with the Dāmaras, burglars, cavaliers and freebooters there appeared, with him at that time, a conglomeration of troops such as had never been seen before. 1384

Having heard of the assassination of his enemy as he was marching upon the city eager to seize the throne, he was addressed as king by Tīlaka, the son of Kāka. 1385

"Even though Sussala who was detested by every one has been killed through Providence, how can it be that the subjects should desert his son who possesses merit?" 1386

"Therefore where is the hurry for just one day, Your Majesty, to make your entry in the city? proceed to Padmapura while we go and bar the passage of the enemy." 1387

"Sujjī and the leading brave knights, who have lost their troops

as they are returning, will be either massacred or with their accoutrements and transport be held up there." 1388

"Then, foresooth, you will enter the city within two or three days having laid aside the sword when the residents of the city will have themselves besought your arrival." 1389

But Bhikṣu, Koṣṭheśvara and the others smiling scornfully repudiated him with the retort, "Away with these counsel of old men." 1390

His adherents, however, who believing that the crown had been secured, were in a hurry to beg for letters patent of authority made him delay 1391

And so it happened that his whole force became immobile owing to heavy falls of snow and he squatted in the environs of Śrīnagara for such a period. 1392

During the interval thus gained Pañcacandra, son of Garga, arrived with his troops in support of the king, who was without an army. 1393

Supported by Rājaputras, who were longing to wash off the mortification due to the desertion of the murdered sovereign, this brave man then marched forth to battle. 1394

They made an unforeseen attack and while the troops of Bhikṣu on seeing them were beginning the fight they saw, on all sides, several of their own men fall and somehow fell into a rout in an instant. The troop leaders and the chiefs such as Bhikṣu and Pṛthvīhara were not able to rally their own army in flight and even they were reduced to an unsoldierly panic such as had never been seen before. 1395-1397

If the royal partisans had but pursued them to a distance then for certain naught would have remained of them in a trice. 1398

When those rebels turned away their faces, at long last, Providence turned a favourable aspect towards the afflicted city through the glory of the new monarch. 1399

Thus was the course of victory and defeat, in the case of the two kings which the people had deemed would be otherwise and which was otherwise ordained by Destiny. 1400

Providence, whose amazingly varied display is beyond the limit of calculation, devastates, in an instant, a man who has a secure foothold and allows some other to wax strong who is already tottering, as do the waters in flood with the sand-banks. 1401

Thus there arrived at the close of the day Sujji, who had extricated himself from numerous perilous situations, worn out like a snake, escaping from a mountain pervaded by a forest conflagration. 1402

He was at Medhācakrapura when he heard of the murder of the king; he held counsel together till late in the night and tarried instead of marching forth. 1403

He had awaited the army chiefs Rālhana and the rest, stationed at Sūrapura and other places, in order to enter Śrīnagara without opposition. 1404

In the dark night as a signal for them he placed, on the roof of his own quarters, flaming torches which were maintained incessantly. 1405

Owing, however, to indiscipline in the infantry which was adrift and straggling, they got lost during the night somewhere and failed to reach his camp. 1406

Early in the morning he marched forth, but the Dāmaras who pursued him did not leave him even for an instant continuing to attack on every side. 1407

Placing in the front, for protection, the people, who were travelling with him and who for the most part were the aged, the women and children, just as a herdsman does with cattle, he continued to march. 1408

He was able to save them for a while by turning back and taking up a stand with the horsemen. 1409

On the route, which was impeded by tree clumps and vineyards and harried by the bold enemy, he lost his people at every step. 1410

He, who longed to repay the debt of gratitude to his murdered sovereign and to that sovereign's son who was in a critical situation, could, however, succeed, on this occasion, only in saving himself. 1411

If even those who have a fixed determination to sacrifice their lives have not the choice of the suitable occasion what purpose could they, resembling beasts of prey, serve? 1412

To kill him, as he was approaching, after his discomfiture, the ferocious Dāmaras, residents of the district of Khadūvī, had posted themselves in the vicinity of Padmapura having barred his passage. 1413

At this juncture, there arrived Śrīvaka marching by that



road with a considerable force having set out from the village of Kheritaśāśā. 1414

His detachment had no refugees, mistaking him for Sujjī, they fell upon and massacred and plundered his soldiers. 1415

In that battle were killed the two cavaliers, Meru and Sajjana and the son of Vatta, Malla, was wounded who succumbed in a few days 1416

There was a place there known as Udīpapūrabāla which had, at that time, become impassable owing to the swamps and flowing water after the floods. 1417

As Śrīvaka fighting continually was advancing forward, while the passage of his force was barred outside Padmapura, an arrow, pierced his throat. 1418

Thus disabled by the wound, the Dāmaras discovered that he was not Sujjī and after being plundered, he was spared from consideration of his former friendly relations. 1419

While they were loading up the stores plundered from the force of Śrīvaka and some of them had already gone off, Sujjī passed the road free from mischance. 1420

In the forest, a wandering wayfarer may accidentally upset the mechanical contrivance and the arrow and thereby clear the path for the lord of animals, if the lifespan yet remains to him. 1421

Sujjī passed through Padmapura with his soldiery in dead silence and was discovered by the Dāmaras when he had come close to the flooded swamps 1422

Heedless of the pillage by them of the stores, weapons and other equipments of the infantry he, having swum across the swamp with his cavalry, reached ground safe for the passage of horses. 1423

Then as the menace of the enemy ceased, from a distance he, knitting his brows and shaking his forefinger, cursed and threatened the foe. 1424

Taking with him the parasol, which alone the rebels had left behind through fear, he hurriedly entered Śrīnagara and presented himself before the king with tearful eyes. 1425

When he, who was like an elder brother, appeared in front of him

1421 The lord of animals=the lion.  
Apparently in those days they set a bow

and arrow in the trap as they fix a rifle  
now a days

the king shed, together with tears warm with sorrow, his anxiety about the enemy offensive. 1426

On this day, the Mahattama Ānanda, son of Ananta, while he was on the march, was killed by the Dāmaras at the little village of Locanoḍḍāra. 1427

No one felt for his tragic end because he had levied various kinds of insupportable imposts such as the levy on auspicious occasions and the rest of it. 1428

A vassal of Sujjī named Bhāsa, who had fled from Lokapunya, arrived at Avantipura exhausted and entered the courtyard of the temple of Avantisvāmin. 1429

In the meanwhile the recruiting officer of the army and he were invested by the relentless Dāmaras of Holadā. 1430

The general Indurāja, of the family of Kularāja, however, when besieged in Dhyānoḍḍāra by Ṭikka joined the latter as a hoax. 1431

And many other army officers, Piñcadeva and the rest, were held up in Kramarājya having been besieged by the Dāmaras. 1432

As on the fall of a tree the nestlings are hurled from the nests on it, in like manner were the royalists slain and wounded in various places. 1433

Without foot-wear, with feet frozen in the snow and naked bodies, worn out by starvation, many sank lifeless on the road. 1434

At this time, on the road leading to the city were visible none but persons whose bodies were wrapped in straw. 1435

Grass as the gala costume was adopted even by Citraratha and others, who before long were destined to become powerful ministers of state. 1436

Even on the second day, the shower of snow from the clouds interrupting the very flight of birds did not cease for an instant. 1437

At this time Dhanya, from the camp of Bhikṣu who was at Vanagrāma, leaving behind his soldiers joined Simhadēva. 1438

Hearing that the king was receiving with honour the followers of Bhikṣu, all his soldiers turned eager faces towards Śrīnagara. 1439

Upon the waning of the power of their kinsman, four queens

1436. The verse refers to economic distress after the revolutionary wars and scarcity of clothing.

having found an opportunity then came forth to follow in death the king Sussala. 1440

Through fear of enemy attack and the hoar-frost, the people were subdued and were unable to conduct them to the crematorium which was situated at a distance. 1441

They, therefore, hurriedly consigned the bodies of the ladies to the fire in the neighbourhood of Skanda Bhavana, not far from the royal residence. 1442

The queen Devalekhā, who was born in Campā, the loveliness of whose lineaments was the culmination of the Creator's art, entered the fire with her sister Taralalekhā. 1443

Jajālā, radiant with virtues, from Vallāpura as also the daughter of Gagga, Rājalakṣmī disappeared from ken in the flames. 1444

Believing that the hindrance to the throne for their own master would last until the melting of the snow, the Dāmaras gave to the new king the appellation of the Snow-King. 1445

Then the head of Sussala was brought before Bhukṣu and as he gazed at it he seemed to be consuming it with his eye-glances which flashed with the fire of his deep-seated hatred. 1446

Koṣṭheśvara, Jyeṣṭhapāla and others were anxious to do the final honours, but they were prevented by him who through hatred had harboured intolerance without cessation. 1447

To Śrīnagara he was keen on marching, when the snow-fall should cease, in his anxiety for an offensive; realizing, however, from the indifference of his followers that they were being drawn towards the adversary, he made this speech: 1448

"Methought I could take the crown by main force so long as Prthvīhara was alive; were he, however, killed I should be lord of the realm upon the death of the kinsman. But what now has happened, through Fate, is otherwise, and, on the contrary, the very hope of the crown has faded although the enemy has been assassinated." 1449-1450

"Yet after all what good is the crown were it useful for procuring merely the pleasures of life; what, however, is worthy of a man of ambition who else has attained in the same measure as I have?" 1451

"The head of him, who formerly felled to the ground the heads of my forefathers, is rolling this day at my lion-gate." 1452

"He who for ten months destroyed the peace of mind of my prede-

cessors has, in turn, been made to suffer all manner of torment by me for ten years." 1453

"Thus having by the due discharge of my duty becalmed my mental anguish, I propose to render fruitful by living peacefully the remainder of my life." 1454

Thus having spoken among other things, he approached Tikka who bowed to him and he gave him, from affection, a gold jar, parasol and other presents. 1455

By his assurance, he was again seized by the demon of the rising hope of the throne and shivering in the cold he returned and remained inwardly pensive. 1456

While they were planning something novel and extremely indecent for it, the body of the murdered sovereign was guarded by the Lavanyas who had posted sentries. One Sajjaka from the Śrinagara garrison, although he had sided with the adversary, thought thus to himself, from a sense of gratitude, "Why should the body of the sovereign, after death, be reduced to such a plight?" Professing curiosity to see it he secured access and after overcoming the guards by fighting he consigned the body to the flames. 1457-1459

"That since the year ninety-four having been possessed by demons who had lured him into delusions Sussala had become the cause of the destruction of the subjects"—such was the legend originating in the oracle of a man under the inspiration of the gods, and his death, which had been foretold, had created faith in it. In accordance with a statement from the same infallible source, he who had cut off the head and carried it about was found dead while asleep as predicted. 1460-1462

Now Bhikṣu, in whom the sense of decency was dead, behaving like a contemptible fellow sent his enemy's head to Rājapurī to gain notoriety for ferocity. 1463

There the daughter of Uccala, the ruler's consort, Saubhāgyalekhā, having attempted through her own retainers to have them killed who had carried her uncle's head, Rājapurī was thrown into a turmoil and eventually the head was brought before Somapāla, her husband, who was in camp at a distance. 1464-1465

That wretched Khaśa chief's mind was controlled by others and his condition was deplorable owing to drunkenness and liquor; and with his preoccupations of a country yokel he was like a beast; his council-

lors, who were unfettered, considered from high and low points of view, what should be done in this matter, and each expressed his opinion, seemly and unseemly, as befitted him. 1466-1467

Nāgapāla, however, who having secured a reconciliation with his brother was now in his entourage, could not bear the insult to the head of his benefactor which was all that had remained of him. 1468

Those, too, who being far-sighted, apprehending that in the long run there might be punishment from Kaśmīr, said, "Your Highness should honour in every respect this head of the suzerain." 1469

A reversal of destiny could be made if and when jackals could be seen merrily lording it over a lion! 1470

Thus at Gopālapura, with logs of the black aloe and sandal wood the last honours were rendered by his enemies through the purifying fire. 1471

As he had gained and lost more than once the sovereign status and had also his various disappointments and triumphs on the battle-field, as he had suffered numerous prolonged periods of stress as well as disasters, so in keeping with it were seen occurrences at his death which were passing strange. 1472

In what other case, as in his, has it happened that the rite of cremation of the head took place in one realm while of the rest of the limbs in another? 1473

Now Tīkka and others marching upon Śrīnagara by the Avantipura route, tarried there in order to massacre Bhāsa and the rest who had already been besieged. 1474

Despite even the maximum efforts of assaults, incendiary fires, hurling of boulders and making breaches, they did not succeed in overpowering the latter. 1475

Being slain by those, who had taken up their position in the courtyard of the temple under cover of its mighty ramparts of stone, they found themselves unable either to hold on or to retreat. 1476

While they were thus held up, the sagacious king utilized the interval and gained over to himself, by bounteous gifts, the Dāmaras of Khadūvi. 1477

Having secured hostages from them, he hastened to despatch Sujji, together with Pañcacandra and the others, for the relief of Bhāsa and his people. 1478

Hardly had he approached Avantipura, when on seeing his advanced

troops under Kayya's son and others, Tikka and his people fell into a panic. 1479

Bhāsa and the rest made a sortie from the temple and having massacred the adherents of the fleeing enemy joined Sujji. 1480

After gaining the victory, the commander-in-chief entered the capital when Indurāja, who had deserted Tikka, came over with his retainers. 1481

The king nominated Citraratha, Śrīvaka, Bhāsa and others to be in charge of offices of state such as Pādāgra, the frontier and Kherī. 1482

Although Sujji did not give up the powers he had hitherto, he had to watch the countenance of the chamberlain, what need is there to speak of the plight of the other ministers? 1483

The Chamberlain was held in respect by the endless Dāmaras factions and having been engaged in intrigues to sow dissensions among them, had, forsooth, become worthy of consideration by the king. 1484

There was not a single person in the hostile camp who at his instigation did not join the king or at least did not become eager to render allegiance. 1485

The shrewd king kept out of view activities which had the semblance of royal power and, without obtaining his opinion, did not even partake of food. 1486

Thus having secured within Śrīnagara itself the wherewithal to stretch his legs, Jayasinha awaited the advent of fruit to the diplomatic tree which had sprung new shoots. 1487

Now Bhikṣu, having mustered all the Dāmaras at Vijayśvara, marched in the hope of capturing the capital at the fag-end of winter. 1488

The Dāmaras, seeing the unity among the factions of their own army such as had never been witnessed before and believing that the realm had as good as passed into the hands of Bhikṣu, now took alarm. 1489

"He has sized every one of us individually for his ability, courage, supporters, unfriends and the rest of it, from the intimacy of domesticity; when he secures the realm will he not wake up to attack us?"

with this thought they took counsel together and planning to offer the throne to Somapāla, they secretly despatched emissaries and he, in turn, sent his envoy. 1490-1491

Owing to the defects of his personal appearance and character, Somapāla was like a brute beast and so they imagined that they would run riot with sovereign powers without interruption. 1492

This plot, more sacrilegious than sin, of the league of marauders, whom the lust for pleasures had stripped of decency, did not, through Providence, materialise in this country. 1493

He who was unfit even to be a house-carl to be on the throne! Leaving aside the disgrace of it—was it possible that this country could have been protected by such as he, even for a while? 1494

The man of straw safeguards the rice crops by frightening the flocks of sparrows; were he appointed to protect the trees in the forest what could he with his face, scorched by fire, achieve there against the destructive wild elephants? 1495

Then Somapāla's envoy, who under the pretext of offering complimentary felicitations had continued to remain in close proximity to Bhikṣu, secretly prepared the Dāmaras to hand over hostages. 1496

Now in the month of Vaiśākha, Sujji, having made preparations with all possible speed, emerged from the city and arrived on the bank of the Gambhīrā. 1497

This offensive of his was worthy of praise, since undertaking to fight such a confederation of valiant men, he had singly marched forth. 1498

In view of how daring ventures do eventuate, it would not be strange if, by the will of Providence, a hundredthousand should be vanquished by one individual or that one individual should be overcome by a hundredthousand. 1499

Unable to cross to the further side of the unbridged river, he watched the enemy on the opposite bank who were showering arrows. 1500

Two or three nights he and they remained on either bank of that river with the passage barred; fully equipped they keenly watched one another for any loop-hole. 1501

Then he had a bridge built with boats brought from Avantipura and Sujji himself, having boarded a raft with his horse, crossed over. 1502

As soon as they espied him afloat accompanied by a few soldiers, the enemy host, like an avenue of trees tremulous with a gust of wind, became astir.

1503

All this was seen in a trice—that he had ascended the bank, that the bridge had been constructed, the soldiers had crossed over and the enemy put to flight.

1504

Neither swordsman, nor horseman, nor again a spearman or bowman—none from the routed army was able to turn back and face them.

1505

As owing to the slackening of his girth the saddle of his steed had become loose, Koṣṭheśvara's horsemen had tarried on the way for a moment.

1506

They, too, having fixed the saddle, as Sujji was in pursuit in their rear, swiftly disappeared from view like the swirling circle of dust in a whirlwind.

1507

Massacred, plundered and scattered the standard-bearing companies of the opponents came together in Dhyānoḍḍāra and other villages in a battered condition.

1508

Having crossed the bridge over the Vitastā in front of Vijayesa, Bhāsa also, who had gone ahead, compelled the marauders to take to flight.

1509

Thus when the commander-in-chief appeared the following day having spent the night at Vijayakṣetra, the rebels had fled abandoning Dhyānoḍḍāra.

1510

There having halted for a few days, he set his face towards Devasarasa when he was joined by the agnates of Tikka who approached him having deserted through dissensions.

1511

Jayarāja and Yaśorāja, sons of Bhojaka, the two principal men

1503. K. is no doubt referring to the famous Poplar avenues of Kāśmīr. The Poplar was not known in Europe in the days of Pliny. The Italian Poplar (*P. fastigiata*) is said to have been imported first from Kāśmīr to Lombardy from where it spread to other parts of Europe and was introduced in England about 1750. The Latin name of the Poplar is *Populus* (Sk. Pippalas). K. does not mention another well-known tree, the Chenar (*Platanus*

*Orientalis*) It is akin to the plane tree of the West (*P. Occidentalis*) which is slightly different from the Chenar. The Chenar, a native of Greece and of the Valleys of Kāśmīr and Farghana in Central Asia, was the favourite shade-tree of the Greeks and Romans who introduced it into S. West Europe. The shady avenues of the Plane trees of Marseilles greet the tourist to the ancient Roman town.



among them, he, upon his entry into Devasara, established on the  
sief of Tīkka. 1512

Their league broke up as they fled closely pursued by Sujji; Bhikṣu  
and others to Śūrapura, Koṣṭheśvara and the rest to their own  
territory. 1513

The envoy of Somapāla, fleeing from the great peril, thus swore  
at his master, "Where have I been sent by that son of a serving  
woman?" 1514

He deemed that the longing on the part of his master for such an  
exalted rank which was attainable by mighty endeavour and strain,  
was like the overwhelming desire of a jackal for a lioness. 1515

Thus the kingdom lost for a long time through his sovereign's  
blunders, Sujji, in a few days, pacified and restored to the son of his  
liegelord. 1516

Even the steadfast Dāmaras of Śamālā and other places as well as  
the townsmen who had been siding with Bhikṣu, the king began to  
approach with offers of bribe. 1517

"Having put to the test the power of this king we shall then act  
as might be proper"—thus they held counsel together and offered him  
battle by a combined attack. 1518

At Dāmodara was fought that grim action which swallowed up  
the brave enmasse and where the host of warriors, like actors in a  
dance, were visible in a screen of dust. 1519

Sahajapāla, by saving his wounded father who had fallen into the  
power of Koṣṭheśvara, won applause for himself and his  
subjects 1520

The efforts, on that occasion, of the king and of Bhikṣācara were  
without a difference—Bhikṣu had, however, deemed his own defeat  
on that day inconceivable. 1521

From that time onwards the soldier who was present at dawn was  
not seen at eventide, nor was he who was present to-day seen on the  
morrow in Bhikṣu's force. 1522

Thus while the townsmen and the Dāmaras deserting from the  
enemy were flocking to the side of the king and were being received  
with suitable largesses and welcome, in Manujēśvara and Koṣṭha,  
who were yearning for emoluments and luxuries, there arose an extra-  
ordinary desire to vie with one another in being first to go over to  
the side of the king. 1523-1524

When he learnt this, Bhikṣu, taking with him his personal staff, moved out from Kākaruḥa in the month of Āṣāḍha and set his face towards other lands. 1525

He was followed by the leading Dāmaras, who from a lingering affection for him endeavoured to placate him at the time, but he having become sullen they failed to stop him. 1526

Koṣṭheśvara, who was beyond the pale of morals, being the son gotten in whoredom, entertained a desire for Bhikṣācara's wife who was exceedingly beautiful. 1527

The lion's mane, the crest-jewel of the cobra, the flame of the sacrificial fire or the young lady of Bhikṣācara, while their life was not extinct, who would dare to touch? 1528

Somapāla had concluded a treaty with Sussala's son and refused to give him asylum in his territory when he begged for it. 1529

Worried on all sides by the attempts to deprive him of life on the part of Somapāla, Bhikṣācara proceeded to Sulharī which was at the far end on the border in the inaccessible region of his dominion. 1530

Even the immortal gods have no pity in Trigarta, morals in Campā, liberality in the Madra country and friendship in Dārvābhīṣāra. 1531

His counsellors thus advised, "You being far away, the king will, mayhap, harass the Dāmaras and, in consequence, they themselves will beseech you and, in time, proclaim you king. Let us therefore proceed straightway to the territory of Naravarman to enlist support." This advice though seemly he did not accept. 1532-1533

"Come and abide with us in our residence with a small retinue"—this invitation of his father-in-law he having now accepted, his retainers departed from his side. 1534

In Śrīnagara, at this time, owing to the equippages of the arriving Dāmaras glittering in splendour, it seemed as if it was the season for processions of bridegrooms which abound when there is the auspicious conjunction of the constellations. 1535

Seeing that with charger, parasol and horsemen each one of them

1531. <sup>1</sup>Trigarta=Kāṅgrā. Campā=The hill state of Chamba. Dārvābhīṣāra=hilly country between the Jhelam and the Cinab.

Madradeśa=ancient name of country

between the rivers Beas and the Jhelam

1535 Marriages are still celebrated only during the times which are held to be astrologically auspicious.

surpassed the king, the people realized the steadfast courage of king Sussala. 1536

Enshrining a light heart, with his charming figure, youthfulness, and gorgeous apparel, it was Kosteśvara above all, who became the cynosure of the eyes of the women. 1537

The unrest in the land having ceased, the sound of the drums of the various groups of the Lavānyas who were entering day and night assumed the character of festive music. 1538

Even Ksira and the rest and all even from Maḍavarājya, who with their sea of troops were awe-inspiring, were brought by Laksmaka to present themselves before the sovereign. 1539

Admission inside the portals of the residence of the chamberlain conferred a great honour upon even the king's dependants. 1540

Owing to the Lavānyas having ravaged the country-side, this period of rising expenditure proved for the king insupportable like a famine, though he was rich like the Giver of Wealth. 1541

From among the Dāmaras, the king made a selection and having fixed their salaries augmented the number of the inner court and reduced that of the outer court. 1542

The kinsmen of the traitors against his father, Tisyavaśya, Arghadeva, and the rest, were made to suffer death by the king befitting the crime of lèse-majesté. 1543

Within four months of the day of the demise of his father, he brought the realm under his own sway and undisputed authority. 1544

At no great distance was the enemy firmly rooted and capable of supporting every burden, while the councillors and grandees of the inner and outer courts were in league with the adversary. 1545

And Śrīnagara was without dwelling-houses, the citizens bereft of resources and the kingdom swarmed with innumerable Dāmaras who emulated the king. 1546

There was not one old man to counsel and advise at the royal court; unlawful activities abounded among the serving-folk, and treasonable conduct was their sole intent. 1547

1545-1555. In these verses K has drawn a picture of Kaśmīr at the accession of Jayasīma and in persuading the reader to take a favourable view of

the character and administration of the king, who was his contemporary, his language reveals his judgment as an accurate observer

Such were the resources of the king at the commencement of his reign which should be borne in mind, in order to get an insight into the series of succeeding events, by the discriminate. 1548

Here an opportunity having occurred a reference to the cluster of his virtues may, in passing, be made although later on they will be mentioned very frequently. 1549

When weighed apart from facts which precede and succeed them, incidents just like a parable will not be understood and it will not be possible to appreciate the merits of men of high calibre. 1550

As we are judging the merits, such as they actually are, of the king who is our contemporary, we shall acquit ourselves by recording a finding free from bias. 1551

For, in fully knowing the character of any man of determination, no person is really an expert; in the case of the king whose self possession is so super-human how then is this possible? 1552

The wife who is a mate, the friend who is alike in prosperity and adversity, the poet with his masterpiece and the king beloved by the entire population, he is not competent to appreciate in this world whose power of discrimination is clouded by his own vile conduct. 1553

Or perhaps how could a consensus of opinion be arrived at in the conclusion when every one has strangely fixed notions about merits and demerits? 1554

There, of course, are in his case, too, traits of character which are obscure and which the common people, not knowing that they have been mellowing to perfection, have deemed as faults. 1555

During flashes of lightning which are dazzling to the eyes some varieties of plants blossom while others spring up during the prolonged thunderings which are harsh to the ears. There is no activity of the water-giving cloud from which is absent some forms of benefit to another; the unsophisticated people, however, do not ascribe to it any good point other than showering rain. 1556

As they listen to the recital of his qualities which are within the purview of their own experience, the people will come to give credence to the deeds of former kings. 1557

Even without moving from his place, he with the knitting of his eyebrows sets the ruling chiefs aquiver like the mountains at the shaking of the tail by the guardian elephant of the quarters. 1558

The ruling chiefs secretly endure the mental worry arising from fear of him, while their numerous armies bemoan as the seas joined by the moaning streams suffer the submarine fire. 1559

The moon of the glory of former kings has ceased to shed lustre in the world, being eclipsed by the brilliance of this sun among kings. 1560

Whoever looks at him finds that the sovereign is facing him, just as one ever finds facing oneself the faultlessly modelled image of the Supreme Ruler. 1561

Constant in his favours, whatever he grants he never resumes, yet the fright he has given to his enemies he does take away upon their making submission. 1562

When he draws the sword, no one can face him save his own reflection and no one else dare retort except the echo when he thunders. 1563

His speech, not too sharp in anger yet stimulating when inclined to favour, is like a short sword with a single sharp edge. 1564

This king of noble birth is ever displaying fadeless wealth and strong are those who have taken shelter under him like the shoots of the Wishing-tree. 1565

The king's greatness and power of control over the ministers are difficult to gauge; the people have realized it and they obey the latter in every way. 1566

Now having waxed strong, the Chamberlain did not tolerate the ministers just as the stem of the medicinal tree known as Eṣā does not permit the upward growth of neighbouring trees. 1567

While he uprooted every one with ease, as if they were grass, the sparkling Janakasīmha alone proved impossible to dislodge. 1568

Having been intimate with the king since he was nonage and acquainted with all affairs of state, he, whose sons had grown to man's estate, could not be mishandled in any way. 1569

Laksmaka desired to remove discord through matrimonial alliance whereupon Janakasīmha's son named Chuḍḍa, in his impudence, having slighted him he felt humiliated. 1570

1561. Īśvara (Sk. Īś=to rule, Vara=Supreme) is a name of Śiva. The Mahommadan Kāśmīrīs use the term

in the form of Parmesar (Sk. Parmeśvara) which has not yet been replaced by the Arabic Allah.

On the lookout to pick holes at all times he, in his rancour, strove by whispering evil to make the king hostile towards Janakasinha and his two sons. 1571

For the two of them, who were of the same age as the king, had become, at the time when he secured the crown, presumptuous owing to the fast friendship of their mothers and had afforded an opportunity to Lakṣmaka since they, unmindful of the proper occasion, behaved like royalty in the matter of their steeds, the correct trinkets, baths, meals and the rest of it inside the very palace of the king. 1572-1573

With those, who have been brought up with him, it is not meet for the sovereign, after attaining exalted rank, ever to be on equal footing; after attaining their height for the clusters of lotuses to be jumped over by a multitude of frogs would be a great mockery. 1574

Having secured this mural background for the designs of their frescoes in the form of gross slander, Janakasinha's enemies made the king prejudiced against the whole of his set as well. 1575

Now the grateful king, in order to honour the victorious commander-in-chief, proceeded in the month of Śrāvaṇa to Vijaycvara. 1576

At this juncture Utpala, who was returning, met his death in a mountain defile at the hands of Piñjadeva, the warden of the watch-station of Śūrapura. 1577

From Puṣyāṇanāḍa he was returning to create unrest, when he was intercepted by the warden of the watch-station who kept a watch even on pebbles. 1578

Felled to the ground with a vital wound in the knee from an arrow, he yet slew a soldier of the opponent who had approached him. 1579

When the king returned after honouring the commander-in-chief, the warden of the watch-station placed the enemy's head at the gateway of the king who was at Avantipara. 1580

1578 At the "gates" of Kāśmīr, the government of the day kept a close watch and strictly regulated, by a system of passports, the exit and entrance into Kāśmīr Referring to this close watch *Alberuni* writes about the Kāśmīris. "They are particularly anxious about the natural strength of their country, and therefore take always much care to keep a strong hold upon the

entrances and roads leading into it. In consequence it is very difficult to have any commerce with them. In former times they used to allow one or two foreigners to enter their country, particularly Jews, but at present they do not allow any Hindu whom they do not know personally to enter, much less other people" Vol I. p. 206

That general with a firm jaw and tight fist was a sledge-hammer for the skulls of the rebels; he pulled out the dart of the king's deep-seated rancour and sorrow. 1581

When in the very first campaign he crushed the enemy, he came to be counted by the people as one of those destroyers of thorns who leave none behind. 1582

Upon his entry into the city some guilty persons slunk away, while a few like Janakasimha found themselves lodged in the prison-house. 1583

Some who had fled led them to distrust the king; Koṣṭheśvara and others then turned hostile. 1584

Then in Kārtika, his Majesty the king who was energetic set out for Śanālā and there in various places harried the enemy host who fought with ferocity. 1585

Where king Sussala and his people had their military prestige broken that Hāḍigrāma was burnt down by Sujj of surpassing valour. 1586

Harried by the king Kothaka and his party then invited Bhik-  
ṣācara who, avid for the crown, once again came up. 1587

In one day he having traversed fifteen yojanas arrived at a hamlet in the uplands known as Śilikā-koṭṭa. 1588

The hardships arising from hunger, thirst, fatigue, peril from the enemy, or missing of the way that proud prince, driven by the will to victory, counted as nothing. 1589

The enterprise of the ambitious bears an unfortunate aspect where Providence is adverse, just as the streamer of a flag on a chariot which is moving against the wind turns its face the other way. 1590

The very commencement itself is sufficient for the achievement of success in the case of a certain person, while another even after the utmost striving finds his efforts fruitless. It was the churning mountain who in a little while brought out ambrosia from the ocean, not the son of Himālaya who since a long time had abided in friendship with it. 1591

Fallen from its place of origin the river creates an altogether mistaken

1581 Mudgara=Sledge-hammer; it may also mean the club used by the Kāśmīrī peasant to break clods of earth in the rice-fields.

1590. This recalls a well-known verse

of Kālidāsa, Duṣyanta compares his 'heart' which is straining to go back to his beloved Śakuntalā, while his body is moving forward, to the flag on the chariot moving against the wind.

impression that it is flowing the other way, when it is rolled back by the compelling breakers on the seashore. There is no rising up for those whom Providence has brought down. 1592

While he, with grim determination, was making mighty efforts, just then at the dawn of his power a snag was created by adverse Providence. 1593

Thus, unaware of his arrival, the younger brother of Prthvihara having suffered defeat at this very time had cut the finger and surrendered to the king. 1594

Koṣṭheśvara and he upon hearing of Bhikṣācara's arrival then approached him, but stood by unfit for action like two snakes restrained by spells. 1595

When the two of them had made him rest after the fatigue of the march, he departed by the route of the watch-station of Kārkota and proceeded to Sulharī. 1596

There his tree-like arms itched with overweening confidence and he was seething with the perpetual desire for the invasion of Kaśmīr. 1597

While, like the waters of a flood, he was on the look out for a loophole the king, on his part, upon his return to the city, was planning countermeasures. 1598

The Chamberlain, who had not his like among the ministers, unable to support the overbearing hauteur of Sujji, became engrossed in hatching intrigues. 1599

Now the younger brother of Dhanya, who since his immersion in the waters of the Gaṅgā had purified his body, acquired the confident support of his proud sovereign. 1600

His elders, who were intimate with the king and had long been held in respect, finding themselves without offices of authority, had brooded over this and had been mentally worried. 1601

While, owing to the exigency of state affairs, the king had thrown the burden on his father's ministers, these shallow-minded persons proved unable to bide their time. 1602

The Chamberlain, who without ostentation had been striving to oust Sujji, gladly accepted them, although no friends of his, as being useful for his daring venture. 1603



Thus, when some months had passed by, the king, as luck would have it, suddenly fell ill suffering from a skin disease. 1604

His recovery having become doubtful, owing to the complications of boils, swelling, diarrhoea, feeble digestion and the like, the country fell into tribulation. 1605

While the monarch, the sole upholder of the dynasty, was in such straits, the powerful foe and his partisans, the Dāmaras, considered that the administration was already doomed. 1606

Pondering over what action would be beneficial for the future as well as in the existing circumstances Sujji, planning to declare king, Parmāndī, the only son of her Majesty Guṇalekhā, a boy in the neighbourhood of five years, held counsel with the latter's maternal uncle, the son of Garga. 1607-1608

"While you are reduced to such a plight the traitor Sujji, with his son, is now artfully plotting, night and day, with Pañcacandra and the others"—thus spoke to the king the Chamberlain, who had found a loop-hole, as also Dhanya and his people who were instigated by him and the king thus came to believe this to be true. 1609-1610

As if they were a creator of yore, the weather-wise by descriptions of the inner principle of wondrous phenomena engender curiosity; like children are kings in general; their intellect is guided by the short-witted and they lack control and strength of mind. 1611

By the practice of cohabitation at the anus or with women in their place of copulation, he who has been reduced to impotence by his born bondsmen, adepts in deceit, who like possessing demons have a complete hold over his mind, how can any good come from a king who has no freedom of action? 1612

Without any occasion the sycophant, laughing, enters the presence of the ruler of the land, the latter with eyes wide open asks, "What is it? what is it?" of the foul-minded fellow, with affection; he, scratching his hair, says something which descends upon the lives and honour of the respectable, dragging everything before it like the thunderbolt of Indra. 1613

He passes in and out at his pleasure, whispering something mysterious in the ears of his liege-lord, looking at the world with the eyes of contempt he appreciates slaps on the face in anger or kindness, and such other treatment as a personal favour—the king's favourite is difficult to endure. 1614

Hence the universal disaster which results from the lack of insight into the character of their servants on the part of kings, lie on it! owing to the misdeeds of their subjects, even to this day, there is no end to this. 1615-1616

Sujji, as was his wont, arriving to enquire after the health of the sovereign and seeing that guards had been posted winceed with pain at the lack of trust. 1617

Perceiving that in the heart of the king loving-kindness had been replaced by contumacy, as is right by left in the reflection of a mirror, he became listless. 1618

When through vexation he grew slack in his trips to and fro to the royal palace, the villains completely deprived the king of the affection which he had entertained for him. 1619

A servant of Sujji, the knave Citraratha, son of a Brahman member of the assembly, ruined the welfare of the king by counsel which stirred up opposition. 1620

When the king became convalescent Sujji was seen showering riches in the royal palace in felicitation; he left the palace in the hope of being asked to return and at last went home. 1621

The king did not placate him; "How shall we attack this man who possesses a large force of cavalry"—thus, on the contrary, did he set himself to think of ways and means. 1622

"If Sujji were deprived of office he would be deserted by his dependants who would have nothing to hope for"—thinking in this wise, he made him immediately hand over charge of the offices of state to others. 1623

The king bestowed the garland of the office of minister of justice on Dhanya, on Udaya that of the chief command of the army, and the office of Kherī on Ralhana. 1624

Deprived of authority and faced with the manifest hostility of the king, Sujji, thereafter, with the few followers remaining to him, lived in a state of apprehension. 1625

Then this proud man feeling humiliated turned his mind to a pilgrimage to the Gaṅgā and left the city taking with him the ashes of king Sussala. 1626

In his eager longing he had hoped that he would be requested to stay while passing by the royal palace; as he went out neither by the king's swornmen, nor by the king was he pressed to stay. 1627

To proclaim his pride in the banishment of Sujji, the Chamberlain appointed as an escort, for safeguarding Sujji's treasure and other property, his own son. 1628

"Lakṣmaka gives me his son as protector to show that punishment and favour depend upon him"—musing in this wise he was wrung with pain. 1629

The son of Lakṣmaka returned from the frontier and the faithful Sujji proceeded by stages to Parnotsa and sent down Bhāgika to the plains from Mount Lohara. 1630

He was made to hand over charge of that stronghold also to the milk-brother of the king named Preman, who had been sent out by the Chamberlain. 1631

Having pulled out the dart of the king's distrust by the surrender of Lohara, he passed the insufferable hot season at Rājapurī. 1632

Lakṣmaka, through his ability to cause the rise and fall of an assemblage of ministers as if they were balls and through his control of the Dāmaras, attained extraordinary prestige 1633

Impelled by the desire to set up a counter champion to Sujji, he appointed to the wardenship of the frontier Rājamaṅgala, who was a manful cadet of a ruling family. 1634

He in his exceeding jealousy thus believed: "This courageous man, who comes from none other than Sujji's country, fostered on my riches, will eclipse his fame." 1635

With a sword-bearer for his sole helpmate, hungry, unhappy and an object of ridicule Sujji had been made to tramp the roads by Lakṣmaka by bestowing his office on others. 1636

To appoint the incapables to the post of the capables, who would not be able to do that: To invest them with the merits of the latter is not possible even for the elements. 1637

On his own body which deserves to be annointed with sandal, Śiva is pleased to throw up at will the ashes of a funeral pyre which is unmeet; but even he—at whose sweet will are wrought the dawn and downfall of the three worlds—is not apparently skilled to associate with them the perfume of sandal. 1638

1632. The Kaśmīrīs, accustomed to the temperate climate of their alpine country, have always detested the heat of the plains. Kalhana praises with justification

the lovely climate and the charm of the summer of Kaśmīr I. 41, II. 138. See also 1865 and 1908 below.

Rājamañgala having proved not experienced enough to hold himself out as a competitor of Sujji, Lakṣmaka despatched emissaries to bring back Sañjapāla from abroad. 1639

There being a lack of virile men in the country, the king, from important reasons of state, took Koṣṭheśvara in his very intimate circle, although he hated him. 1640

Having been conciliated the king favoured him with various gifts of grace and bounty; and he, living in security in Śrīnagara, in turn, fell ill with the skin disease. 1641

While the king imposed upon himself in this fashion a multitude of restrictions for reasons of state, Somapāla and other intriguers induced Sujji to turn hostile. 1642

Plighting his word that he could successfully effect the conquest of Kāśmīr with only a cane, Sujji, who had been insulted, undertook to place Somapāla on the throne. 1643

He, in turn, promised him his sister's daughter and his own. Meanwhile the prudent king made use of diplomatic negotiation and bounties. 1644

Those two, being light-hearted having failed to complete the espousal of the two princesses at once, allowed an interval of time to their enemies. 1645

Acting on the diplomatic pressure of Jayasūmha and also because of the portents which he had observed, Somapāla now grew lukewarm in his regard for Sujji. 1646

Having arrived in person the Chamberlain, on this occasion, invited the ruler of Rājapurī to the zone between the frontiers to settle the marriage of the princesses. 1647

Somapāla received as his bride the princess royal, named Ambikāputrikā, the king's daughter by the queen consort Kalhanikā. 1648

1641 I am indebted to Vaidyārāj Pandit Rāmacandra, my fellow-prisoner in the District Jail at Bareilly, for the following references to the diseases of Lūtā, Dandakālasaka (VII 1413) and Trsnā mentioned by Kalhana

Lūtā=see *Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya* part I. chapter 31, verses 45-61

Dandakālasaka=*Aṣṭāṅga-hṛdaya*, Sūtrasthāna, chapter V. verses 6-13.

Trsnā=*Caraka Samhitā*, Cikitsā, chapter 22, verses 1-16

The Vaidyārāja was also good enough to supply several references to verses recommending the cooking of rice and meat together—an ancient Aryan dish better known in the west by its Turkish name Pilaf. See e.g. *Caraka*, Sūtra portion, chapter VI verse 32.

When he had departed after the wedding was over, the shrewed Chamberlain escorted Nāgalekhā, Somapāla's sister's daughter, as bride for the king. 1649

Thus the two realms having been bound by alliance, Sujji found that there was no room for him and he set out at the end of winter with his face towards the river of the three-fold course 1650

In Jālaṇḍhara, Jyeṣṭhapāla met him whose peace of mind had been devastated by the deep humiliation and he won him over to the cause of Bhikṣu. 1651

"When you and Bhikṣācara are united in command of the army, neither Viṣṇu nor Indra would be capable of resistance." 1652

"The king who insulted you who had given the throne to him, and that chief who humiliated you while you were in his territory—we shall take vengeance on them both." 1653

Thus urged by him Sujji became impatient to proceed to see Bhikṣu who was abiding with Deṅgapāla, but was restrained by Bhāgika who spoke hotly as follows: "Thus thy act is not seemly while thou hast yet to place the ashes of thy liege-lord in the waters of the Gaṅgā." 1654-1655

He resolved having bathed in the celestial river to repair to them; then swearing an oath by libation, he set out for the fulfilment of the immediate task. 1656

On the other hand the king, who had laid the entire burden in the hands of the Chamberlain, considered the realm to be insecure owing to the policy of non-aggression. 1657

For, the Chamberlain, by making peace with whomsoever was in revolt, continued to stand by the side of the king, day after day, looking patronizingly upon him. 1658

The commander-in-chief, Udaya, slew the arrogant Prakāṣa, son of Kāliya, by stratagem . . . . . 1659

Then all those Lavanyas, who were seething with discontent and who were beyond the pale of restraint, Lakṣmaka got the commander-in-chief, in a measure, to pacify them 1660

While Bhikṣācara was thus resolving—"till such time as Sujji returns from his bath in the Gaṅgā how shall I get tangled the affairs of Kāśmīr"—just then he learnt of the cleavage between the Dāmaras

and the king and having got this opportunity he entered Viṣālātā upon the approach of winter. 1661-1662

But to his entry inside the kingdom, the Chamberlain, who had checked the Ḍāmaras, as well as the season of snow proved to be obstacles. 1663

Ṭikka, whose sole intent was hatred towards the foe, since he had committed treason against his father, invited Bhikṣācara and in this he was supported by all the Ḍāmaras. 1664

While biding the arrival of Sujji which was to result in the acquisition of the throne, he stayed on in the stronghold named Bāṇasālā belonging to Tikka's son-in-law Bhāgika, the overlord of the Khasās; although it was at a low altitude he, deeming himself safe, led the entire world of Ḍāmaras to defection. 1665-1666

Creating jubilation among friends and panic among the opponents in advance, Sujji now returned from the Gaigā having had his dip. 1667

King Jayasinha thus reflected: "If Sujji who has formerly been insulted were to unite with Bhikṣācara the peril from him would be as great for us as for this chief Somapāla." And accordingly requested the latter to endeavour to win over Sujji. And Somapāla affrighted and distraught resorted to stratagem. 1668-1669

Sujji reached Jālaṇdhara in the morning and before he could proceed to Bhikṣācara in the evening Somapāla's emissary met him. 1670

Urged by Jyesthapāla and dissuaded by Bhāgika, he desisted by reason of the word of Somapāla from espousing the cause of the adversary. 1671

"Your debt incurred in other lands, the sovereign will redeem and a request from my mouth having been sent, he will himself offer you office." Thus spoke Somapāla, through the mouth of the emissary, day after day, and banishing his zeal for the Pretender, he set forth with his face towards Somapāla's territory. 1672-1673

Udaya, the commander-in-chief, having crossed the defile in Vaiśākha opened the campaign against Bhukṣu who was supported by the Khasās. 1674

At first the force of the commander-in-chief was small; when later their numbers swelled, Bhukṣu was hemmed in and he entered the citadel. 1675

Now the king who had marched to Vijayaksetra, by the despatch of

various contingents, kept on reinforcing the camp of the generalissimo. 1676

[The royal troops discharged stones from catapults, showered arrows and various other missiles, and those in the fortress defended themselves by rolling down boulders.] 1677

While the boulders were falling as well as the arrows stamped with Bhikṣu's name, the royal army though widely deployed failed to storm the garrison. 1678

When just a month and some days had gone by, Dhanya, having opened a tunnel under the fortress, captured the store of tank water. 1679

The garrison, which could not be overcome by might and main, mindful of the eagerness of the king to employ diplomacy and impelled by a desire to harass his opponent, began to display their greed for riches. 1680

Thereupon the king despatched the Chamberlain, accompanied by the Dāmaras, the grantees, councillors and the Rājaputras, for the successful conclusion of the task. 1681

Koṣṭheśvara, Trillaka and the others, in the hope that they might be able to ransom Bhikṣu, who was in a critical situation, trailed after him. 1682

Watching, from the tops of the mountain pass, the fort situate at a meager altitude and viewing his own endless regiments, the Chamberlain felt it was as good as taken. 1683

The troops, who were already there as well as those who had escorted the Chamberlain, delivered, on the following day, an attack with the full strength of the army intending to carry the fortress by storm. 1684

Albeit in such large numbers, they were so completely repulsed by the downpour of boulders that they were forced to the conclusion that this was not to be achieved by valour. 1685

The round heads, streaming with blood as they fell from the trunks of the warriors struck by rockets, resembled honeycombs, thrown from tree-tops, from which bees are emerging. 1686

Koṣṭheśvara somehow displayed, on this occasion, folly which

1677. This verse was omitted in the first edition of this book owing no doubt to an oversight, it is being given

here in the rendering of Dr Kalikumar Datta Sartri who has seen this edition through the press.

caused the ruin of himself as well as of Bhikṣu and of the other Lavānyas. 1687

For, just to secure notoriety that in that place there was none so brave as he, he had fought impetuously which led to loss of Bhikṣu's life. 1688

Bhiksācara in the grip of the perfidious Khaśas maintained his courage arguing to himself: "Koṣṭheśvara and I are inseparable and the rest of the Dāmaras are under his influence—this army which looks so vast will in the end turn to our advantage." But it was to happen otherwise. 1689-1690

The Khaśas, however, came to this conclusion: "If the foundation of Bhiksācara's confidence is this very Koṣṭheśvara who is an enemy, what faith can be placed in the others who are there?" 1691

The astute Lakṣmaka, on the other hand, under the compelling force of the task, undertook to restore to his own estate Ṭikka who had been a traitor against the king's father. 1692

The ruler of the Khaśas he won over by the cession of prosperous villages, gold and other gifts, and induced him to tighten his belt for treachery against Bhikṣu. 1693

Ānanda, the wife's brother of the Khaśa ruler, who made trips to and fro, conducted Ṭikka before the Chamberlain and had him reinstated. 1694

Watching the entente of the Chamberlain with Ṭikka, the Dāmaras, Koṣṭheśvara and others, realized that Bhikṣu would doubtless be killed. 1695

In their tribulation they sent emissaries with much money to the Khaśa for the ransom of Bhiksācara undertaking further payments. 1696

The Khaśa, however, argued: "If Bhikṣu were released by us on accepting the bribe he will deem his life to have been saved by Koṣṭheśvara and the others. In his anger, on acquiring the realm he, or mayhap, Deigapāla, who is deeply committed, might slay me. I should therefore strive and keep on the safe side with Jayasinha." Reflecting in this wise he replied to them that Bhikṣu should, while in the toilet, remove a plank in that room and escape from there and they, too, should inform him accordingly. 1697-1699



"He has run away like a dog with his body smeared with ordure by way of the latrine"—thinking that such would be his infamy among the people the proud prince did not depart. 1700

Koṣṭheśvara, whose dealings were underhand and who with intent to excite unrest among the troops had been throwing about denunciations, was placated early in the day by the Chamberlain, who understood the need of the hour. 1701

The Khaśa and his people having delivered hostages, preparations were set on foot from the dawn of day by the Chamberlain and his lieutenants for the assassination of Bhikṣu. 1702

The king, too, questioning for news the messengers who were coming and going every moment at Vijayaksetra, was in tribulation. 1703

"He who in spite of ten years of efforts of reckless adventure in so many encounters was not overcome by the old king—of that Bhikṣācara this whelp of a boy king and these baby partisans of his believe that they could compass the death; alas! what a combination!" 1704-1705

"In a moment the Khaśas will swoop down and laughing carry away the treasure; and these troops being routed will doubtless flee and they will all, in turn, be plundered by the enemy." 1706

"Thus Koṣṭhaka is already estranged, Trillaka is his own kinsman and even these, belonging to the inner court of the king, have grown fat on the leavings from Bhikṣācara's platter." 1707

"What newcomer has arrived here who can achieve any good for the king? these stores that have come are, in truth, for the very benefit of the other." 1708

While thus the talk went round among the folk in camp, at the same time the fort was surrounded by the ministers' contingents carrying drawn swords. 1709

"A single individual who has long been harried is sought to be killed; to achieve this, fie on their doings! all these shameless persons have formed a perimeter with all the men-at-arms." 1710

They alone were thus articulate while with their glittering weapons resembling the gleaming breakers and the warrior's lightning-glances the fish, the army like the ocean was silent. 1711

1710 Parikara = Perimeter. In these days the perimeter is often of live electric wire.

"Will he perchance fly away through the sky, or clear the army in one bound like an antelope, or will he strike down all and sundry simultaneously like the fatal cloud-burst when Bhikṣu of wondrous valour at last buckles his sword!—thus did the folk, bewildered and amazed, continue to bemuse exceedingly. 1712-1713

Thus far the ministers had succeeded. Now arose a contretemps. Its removal as well as the fulfilment of the objective were due to the manifold glory of the king. 1714

While the army with upraised eyes was awaiting the sortie of Bhikṣā-cara, from the fort with a drawn dagger a man came out 1715

Weeping women surrounded him whom a few men in the rear with fluttering nether garments of saffron colour on their bodies were scolding. 1716

"Here is Bhikṣu on the run who had been a captive in there." So spoke the breathless people. Then they heard that it was Tākka who had come out. 1717

For he who had been perfidious towards Bhikṣu had feared that he might be killed by him or by the king's men in the scrimmage and had therefore got away. 1718

To assure the people that he was no traitor, he had drawn the dagger to strike at the stomach but was prevented by his own followers. 1719

With his followers he passed through the royal army which allowed him passage and sat down on the edge of a mountain stream which was not far off. 1720

With breath restored through draughts of water obtained after a long time and having come out of danger, he, urged by the other Dāmaras, started to make use of his wiles. 1721

"With the lengthening sun-beams the day is advanced; let Bhikṣu be safeguarded awhile; during the night the Dāmaras will raise the siege." Because of this prediction by him the assassins sent by the ministers attempted to climb up with the hostages but were held up by the Khaśas who rolled down boulders. 1722-1723

Thereupon the soldiers loud-mouthed with cheers, with shouts and clapping of their hands jeered the civilian ministers whose hearts were in a flutter. 1724

1724. The military thoroughly enjoyed the discomfiture of the politicians and the civilians!

"The king's enemies when in a critical condition have been allowed to go free to endeavour to gain the throne for the adversary. What purpose indeed has been achieved by the ministers by giving away money?" 1725

Then as the success of the royal cause, like the sun, yet lingered, Laksmaka thus asked the hostage, the wife's brother of the Khaśas, "How is this?" 1726

"Even by a water-fetching serving-maid," he replied, "a plan may possibly be hampered but how am I to oppose by arguments the Khaśas when I am not present among them?" 1727

He despatched that hostage, Ānanda telling him to go and put an end to the perversity of the Khaśas and was laughed at by the other ministers. 1728

The king who was very far-sighted had deemed an attack possible from the residence of Dengapāla by the route of Viśalāta. 1729

Hence the wife's brother of the commandant of the fort who was an important person had already been won over early with presents, for this purpose, when the king was laying out his far-reaching meshes. 1730

During the stage of confusion, the Chamberlain remained without misgivings knowing that he could, like a trained bird when set free, be secured. 1731

Laksmaka said to the advisers, "The risk I take is no matter for laughter if this device miscarries; for in the event of the entire purpose being wrecked what would it avail us even to have killed that wife's brother of the Khaśa?" 1732

Through the unfaltering strength of the royal good fortune, the Khaśa's brother-in-law, having controlled the lot of them, summoned the assassins and the rest from the top of the bastion. 1733

And as the assassins started to ascend the hill, the soul of the Dāmaras struggled in their throats, the wits of the ministers were lost in misgivings, and the transports of love of the celestial maidens reached their culmination. 1734

Those vassals of prince Bhikṣu who had been desirous of following him in death and who were known for the leather straps with which they girded up their loins, for advertising themselves everywhere, during the struggle, through arrows marked with their own names as was the case with their liege-lord, for those lips red with Tāmbūla,

for the sedulous care of the toilet of their hair and beards—in their case all that was interrupted, when the prince's death became inevitable and they quickly sought an asylum in the tents of Koṣṭheśvara and the rest.

1735-1737

Then one by one his own soldiers cunningly sent by Lakṣmaka came up and Tika seeing himself enveloped severed his finger through terror.

1738

The Khaśas, who at this time had suspected that he might take to flight, had placed him under guard and he had not fed through mental worry during those days.

1739

The brave Bhiksācara, impatient at the delay of the assassins and eager for the struggle, waited diverting his mind the while with the game of dice.

1740

When the band of assassins reached the courtyard of the mansion he, as he was about to rise to challenge them, completed the game which had been all but finished.

1741

As if he were a lover at play with his sweetheart getting up to welcome a friend on his arrival, his mind betrayed no excitement.

1742

“To what good would much slaughter be even on this day”—with this thought he lay aside the bow and stepped out with his sabre.

1743

His dark locks of hair were thinned by prolonged anxieties, the hem of his military uniform fluttered like a gay pennon as if it were his waving ensign; with the lustre of his mother of pearl pendants which danced against the cheeks, and the beauty of the sandal emollient which gleamed like his proud smile he appeared at the finale of an amazing career to have overcome defeat by kicking it with his feet; his sword, eyes and the lower garments scintillated like fire brands, with the saffron coloured nether garments and the quivering corners of his pale under lip which in front was firmly set, he was comparable to an intrepid lion with a bushy mane clinging to his shoulder; with quick, graceful and firm strides which characterised his movements and which harmonized gracefully with the manifold play of eye, will and feet he was of noblesse the correct deportment personified, an ornament to self-assurance, the endless and unceasing pride of those for whom honour is fortune. Thus did all the people who had turned their faces

towards him behold Bhikṣu, unmindful of his impending fall, stepping forth to face his enemies. 1744-1750

The dauntless Kumāriya, scion of royalty, the grandson of Madhu as well as the brother of Jyesthapāla, Raktika, came out and walked behind him. 1751

Gārgika, the liegeman of Bhikṣu, single-handed checked the assailants as they attempted an entry through terraces, high and low of all sorts. 1752

Fleeing from the arrows discharged from his bow, they appeared like elephants escaping from hailstones driven by the east wind. 1753

This man who had held up the adversary was at last rendered hors de combat, when the villainous Khasas by throwing stones bruised his limbs and smashed his bow. 1754

Upon his withdrawal all those soldiers entering through high and low passages came up within range of Bhikṣu and the others. 1755

A tall soldier with his javelin swiftly fell upon Bhikṣu's sole weapon-bearer standing by whose steadfastness was scarcely noticed at the moment. 1756

As he was about to make the thrust with the javelin, Bhikṣu who loved his liegeman ran up and having parried the blow violently seized him by the hair. 1757

As he struck him with the sword and as his life was ebbing away, Kumāriya and Raktika again smote him while he was about to fall. 1758

After this man was killed the three of them fought with the soldiers of their opponent who wearing armour and carrying various arms came in a phalanx. 1759

But the opponents having been terrorised by their swords, they were left alone as are trees when the pythons in their hollows have scared away the swarms of bees. 1760

The assailants having failed to kill them with their swords, javelins, and like weapons withdrew and thereafter rained, from afar, showers of arrows. 1761

While Bhikṣācara, lion-like, was breaking through the cage of arrows, from the terrace heavy showers of stones were then poured by the Khasas. 1762

As he was retreating the terrible shower of stones battered his body and an arrow penetrated his side and smashed his liver. 1763

After taking three steps he, of a sudden, collapsed making the earth tremble—at the same time removing the tremor of his enemy which since a long time had been on the increase. 1764

Kumāriya, too, by an arrow which pierced the region of the groin, fell lifeless on the tracks of his liege-lord. 1765

While Raktika also pierced by an arrow in a vital part was paralyzed and, while yet alive, sank on the ground as if he were lifeless. 1766

Bhikṣu being slain in the company of men of high lineage was brilliant like a mountain, with trees in flower, struck by lightning. 1767

Among such a large circle of royal personages was this descendant of king Harṣa—Bhikṣu obtained not disgrace but the highest place of honour. 1768

Providence ever unfriendly towards him was even at the end unfalteringly courted by him and, in truth, acknowledged its own defeat. 1769

What was he poor fellow as compared with former kings who had vast resources? They were, however, nothing compared to him judged by the brave deeds done at the end. 1770

Bloated with vain glory, the hostile soldiers assailed Kumāriya who, albeit in that plight and so grievously wounded, fought with his dagger. 1771

Disabled in this wise by injuries, he yet sparkled and was determined to fight, and his enemies who realized his manfulness having spread out slew him with many thrusts. 1772

"He is dead! Enough, you blockheads, with your blows!" the hostile soldiers though jeered at by the Khasās in this wise struck many times at the dead Bhikṣu. 1773

Raktika in the agony of his grievous wound, unable to wield his weapon, was slain, as he lay well-nigh lifeless, by some villainous soldiers. 1774

Having lived to the age of thirty years and nine months in the year six on the tenth day of the dark half of Jyēṣṭha this king was killed. 1775

Those, for whom he had been a halter during the prolonged disorders and the very cause of their complete ruination, eventually praised him marvelling at his valour. 1776

The tremor of the eyes, the quiver of the brows and the smile on his lips did not fade for several Nālikās as if the head were alive. 1777

One part of him sought in the heaven the company of the Apsarās while the body, the other part on earth, entered the fire, knowing the earth and water to be cold. 1778

Then the ministers presented before the king, who was at Vijaya-ksetra, the heads of those three on the following day. 1779

When Lakṣmi, ambrosia, the jewel, the elephant, the steed, the moon, and other treasures were brought to light, the amazing character of the ocean was observed, so is this king also. In a variety of ways he reveals his character which is a wonder of the world; no one can size him or fathom his depth. 1780-1781

He did not feel puffed up thus: "he whom even my father could not overcome has been slain" nor even exult in this wise: "this thorn in the side of kings has finally been removed." Being guileless in his nature and generous he did not grow angered at the sight of Bhikṣu's head "this fellow had caused my father's head to be carried about." On the contrary he thought to himself "one should admire the elemental personality of this man, not the perversion caused by hatred, just as one looks for clearness in the crystal and not for the heat radiated from the sun." 1782-1784

"Alas! from Utkarsa up to this no king, in this country, had departed this life by death in his own time." 1785

"Even those who formerly basked in the favour of this king now look, as if unconcerned, at his condition when his head is his only remnant." 1786

Inwardly musing in this wise the monarch, with uncommon goodness, ordered that the last honours worthy of such a foe might be rendered forthwith. 1787

And during the night when sleep deserted him, pondering over the dawn and the setting of Bhikṣācara he, time and again, fell into a reverie over the kaleidoscopic nature of cosmic existence. 1788

While the folk believed that, in this country even for a thousand years verily there would be no upheavals again caused by the royal kindred. 1789

1785 K puts his own reflections on the fate of rulers, dictators and autocrats in the mouth of the king.

1788. Varicitrya = Kaleidoscopic (Sk. Citra = picture).

Providence having set fire to the scanty turf creates an extensive stretch of green sward; having exhibited a day of concentrated heat it produces a shower of rain. In view of the touch of surprising variety in its acts no reliance is possible, as if there were a rule of law, in the case of Providence whose decrees are uncertain. 1790

Just when the hero having discharged his duty is about to fix his thought on repose, Providence lays upon him the burden of other heavy responsibilities. 1791

While the foot of the first rider who has tired him out by urging him for a long time is not yet wholly out of the other stirrup, another rider mounts on the sore back of the saddle-horse just as he is sensing the luxurious rest from the easing off of the load. 1792

In like manner when the realm was rendered free from enemies for a single night, a carrier of despatches, dumb with grief, presented himself before the king. 1793

Questioned by the bewildered councillors he reported: "On the very day when the king's enemy Bhikṣācara who had been causing disruption was given a quietus, out of the two brothers Saḥana and Loṭhana, step-brothers of king Sussala, formerly imprisoned by him in the Lohara fort, the elder having died the younger, Loṭhana, has been appointed king by the officers of the fort, during the night, by force." 1794-1796

He further stated that Loṭhana had come out of prison with his son and brothers' sons, five of them, full of arrogance, coveting the realm and claiming that he was master of the treasury. 1797

The very guardians of the quarters closely watched reflecting in this wise—"the mind of this king has just been relaxed by the quelling of long-continued disorders when he is being crushed by this evil news which is like the sudden fall of lightning; very likely he, now wrung with pain, might swoon, weep aloud or fall down with arms outstretched or having been completely unstrung fall into slumber or just stare with moveless eyes." 1798-1800

For indeed no one else had been overborne by such a mischance, insupportable in every way, among the other kings of a bygone age. 1801

The lost dominion had been regained by his father by main force which he, in turn, had rendered a secure heritage by the destruction of the foe. 1802



Both, the fortress as well as the treasure were lost! In a country which delighted in insurrection, where even a nameless orphan, the only surviving rival kinsman, had been able to bring about disruption destructive of prosperity and honour for many a year, single-handed, without riches and bereft of kindred—there had arisen, in place of the single enemy just slain six opponents possessing friends, a fortress and riches while the subjects of this realm were riven by dissention and the treasury was empty. 1803-1805

The king having passed through such a test for a high-souled person Rāmacandra himself could compare, I trow, unfavourably with him in fortitude. 1806

For the father, recollecting the same composure formerly maintained by Rāmacandra at the time of the conferment of imperial sovereignty as at his banishment, had recounted his noble qualities in this fashion— 1807

“Neither when invited to be anointed king nor when dismissed to the wilderness did I notice in him even the slightest change of demeanour.” 1808

In the lovely sylvan glades Daśaratha had asked him to bide awhile in the company of his wife and younger brother promising to restore him to fortune. 1809

Although both of them had experienced at one and the same time such conflicting currents of joy and sorrow, owing, however, to the dissimilarities of their respective lots there is a great difference between them. 1810

Providence, assuredly, had cut off the various resources of the well-equipped king in order to demonstrate that his might was independent of material resources. 1811

The king’s very wondrous achievements which are about to be recounted—who would have esteemed them so high if abundant means had been available? 1812

Then the despatch carrier, questioned in detail by the king, whose fortitude was deep like the ocean, in order to learn the rest of the happenings, related the tidings of the stronghold 1813

“After the departure of Bhāgika on handing over charge of the fortress, the governor Preman, with his wits under the intoxication of prosperity, had become neglectful of measures for watch and ward.” 1814

"He, solely intent on personal adornments, on eating and drinking and dalliance with women, had been behaving himself in an undignified manner and by his arrogant and stern conduct had antagonised the subordinates."

1815

"When prevented by Your Majesty, from clemency for the kinsmen, from gouging out the eyes and other torture he took no adequate action for watch and ward over the prisoners."

1816

"An intriguing official named Udayana whose aims were deep, Māñika the chamberlain, and the son of Bhīmākara, Indākara, the traitors, meanwhile plotted together on various occasions the assassination of the minister Preman, whose power was firmly rooted."

1817-1818

"He, whom they had from lack of opportunity failed to kill, happened to descend from the fort, through stress of business, to Attālikā."

1819

"Having first conspired with the wife of the king-designate, they fabricated secret parchments to carry conviction with the entire population of the fortress that such was the ordinance despatched from Kaśmīr by the king, when the course of his life was nigh ebbing away. Having then interviewed Lothana and freed him from shackles they took him out of the citadel at night and anointed him king in front of the shrine of Viṣṇu Śimharājasvāmin."

1820-1822

"A certain wife of king Sussala, named Śārādā, an insignificant person who lived there was utilized for giving sanction."

1823

"With the steel implements furnished by her, they wrenched off the bolts and carried away from the treasury to their fill treasure, jewels and other valuables"

1824

"This very serious and bold act was carried out by seven persons including servants and the Candālas were induced to abandon resistance through bribery."

1825

"When with the rattle of the kettle-drums and blare of trumpets and other instruments, the residents of the fort were disturbed from

1823 This verse shows the political importance of the Rāmis of Kāśmīr. A forgotten Rāmi was made use of for the purpose of obtaining her sanction to legitimise rebel activity. In verse 1820 supra the rebels had "First conspired

with the wife of the king-designate" which also shows the active participation of the ladies of the ruling class in political work. See verses 1968 and 3118-3119 infra and VII 535

sleep they thus beheld Lothana decked out in trinkets as becomed a king." 1826

"Clad in apparel of such splendour as had never been seen before, he filled the people with amazement with this cavalcade of king and his ministers brilliant with illuminations." 1827

"They had apprehended that the two Thakkuras, Carman and Pāsika might bring up from their land, supported by troops, the little son of Preman who was biding with them. This momentary dread of a hostile attack eventually wore out together with the rest of the night which was pale in the embrace of the moonbeams." 1828-1829

"At dawn Preman, hot and furious upon hearing the evil tidings—heated further by the rays of the fierce sun, hastened to arrest them." 1830

"The rebel soldiers who had made a sally, I saw turning him back as he reached the foot of the main street. I then hurried to present myself before the sovereign." 1831

Having hearkened to this report the king hurriedly despatched Lulla, a councillor of Lohara, and Udaya, the warden of the frontier, son of Ānandavardhana. 1832

For these two, he knew, being born in the territory of the fortress, would be competent to seize it by a close watch on the scarcity of grain, provision and other loop-holes. 1833

On entering the city he saw the head of Bhikṣu being exploited by soldiers who were soliciting for grace money; he rebuked them and had it burnt. 1834

When this grandson was being consigned to the flames in the land which was his grandfather's the people, the majority of whom were women, bewailed him and by royal command they were not interfered with. 1835

In very trying weather, when with the growing power of summer the sun had become fierce, the king, albeit unsure of success, despatched Rillhana to Lohara. 1836

He was brilliant with such qualities as valour, devotion to the sovereign, and disregard for riches and therefore the king anxious for success figured that the campaign might not be in vain. 1837

Whether deluded by what is doomed to happen or urged by un-

1831. Pratoli=main street of a fort.

scrupulous ministers, the king was manifestly engaged on an unwise plan, since, bereft of funds, fortress, and councillors, he reckoned that his officers could undertake operations against the foe, who was far from feeble, in weather which was ebullient with heat. 1838-1839

Udaya, the commander-in-chief, remained behind with the king while all the other ministers followed the Chamberlain. 1840

The Chamberlain's army, fully equipped with supplies, was a mixed one composed of the Rājaputras, cavaliers, Dāmaras and the ministers and was deployed over a large area. 1841

Having laid siege to the fortress, he fixed his camp at Aṭṭalikā and proceeded to blockade the enemy by all manner of means in every direction. 1842

Lulla and others were posted at Phullapura; nestling in the environs of the stronghold they set the enemy, distracted by alarms, dissensions, and assaults, aquiver. 1843

King Sussala, after imprisoning Loṭhana, had given the latter's daughter named Padmalekhā in wedlock to the chief of Bahusthala; this chief named Śūra came as an ally and his hostile force engaged the troops in skirmishes every moment. 1844-1845

When, however, the royal officers occupied the whole territory, Loṭhana, whose wits wobbled from fear, undertook to pay homage and fine. 1846

"Thus much has been achieved. Further operations here in the unendurable season would be fruitless; a withdrawal for us is meet and in the circumstances not derogatory. In due course, in lovely weather, with the advent of autumn we shall have increased strength and through a combined attack we shall gloriously conclude the campaign." In this fashion Lakṣmaka sent despatches, day after day, but the king did not fall in with this counsel nor, through knavery, did the other ministers who were by his side. 1847-1849

Udayana, on the other hand, in supreme charge of affairs, having promised much treasure, invited, as an ally of his master, Somapāla. 1850

That man, who, although allied by marriage, was not worthy of the privilege of the same row, with his mind lured by riches, was engaged in treason against the king who was sunk in dire distress. 1851

“If Lothana parts with much treasure why need I bother about the relationship? Else I shall say to the other, “I am yours”, as a make-believe. Thus with deceit as a string to his bow, Somapāla assented. For the bolstering up of this fraud Sujji, too, was the cause to a certain extent. 1852-1853

For when Sujji had been turned off from his headlong desire to be with Bhikṣācara by the king through the mouth of Somapāla, he had requested the envoy, sent by the king, for the sum which had already been promised and had insisted on the payment of the debt he owed to his creditors; at that time the envoy, knowing that Bhikṣācara was as good as slain, had published a disdainful repudiation thus, “What boots it now that the peril to us has ceased?” And in his insolence had refused to give anything. Then Sujji heard that Bhikṣācara had been slain and realized that he would no longer be needed by the king. For a day he remained in mourning; just then he heard of the peril to the king from the loss of Lothana and the man who was nursing his grievance found himself once more in an overflow of excitement. He said to the royal envoy, “I shall bring about peace with Lothana.” While he said to Somapāla, “I shall get Lothana to give you gold.” In such wise he planned to utilize the strength and weakness of all to gain his personal ends. Then he set out with Somapāla followed by a limited number of henchmen, whose departure from the midst of the troops was unnoticed and arrived at Ghoramūlaka. 1854-1861

Or it might be that he, who had tarnished his reputation by pouring on it the evil dust of unseemliness, had, because of the seduction of the pleasures of the palate, destroyed his highly strung upright nature. 1862  
 He could not do without the soft and unctuous fare of Kaśmīr, which is easy to digest when washed down with sugared water whitened with chunks of ice 1863

1863. The Kaśmīrīs have been *bons viveurs* and are proud of their cuisine which is justly famous “*Snigdha*” suggests the use of oil to which the Kaśmīrī *chef de cuisine* still adheres in preference to the melted butter (*ghree*) used in the Pañjāb. The Kaśmīrī Brahman is a lover of meat and fish and in ancient times grape wine was in common use. The *Nīlamata Purāṇa* mentions the use of wine by Brahmans for ceremonial purposes. (see verses

523-533 and Taraṅga VI. 10). The *Arthaśāstra* contains regulations for a system of excise licenses, special duties being levied on imported liquors, including wines from Kapīśā (Kabul) “Liquor shops shall consist of many comfortable rooms furnished with cots and seats. The drink houses shall possess such comforts as the changing seasons require, always having garlands of flowers, scents and perfume” Book II Chapter 25

Unable to eat, while abroad, the dry foods such as the porridge of husky barley, he thus attempted through all manner of means to re-enter Kaśmīr. 1864

The Kaśmīrīs, grilling in the heat and seeing no end to the campaign, on hearing of his sudden arrival fell into tribulation. 1865

Those who were in the Chamberlain's milieu enjoying fried meats and drinking light wine, delightfully cooled and perfumed, with flowers said, "Soon shall we bring in Sujji dragging him by his beard in battle"—in such wise, with all sorts of boasts they declared their self-assurance. 1866-1867

Despite their great efforts they were unable to overcome Sujji, who had but a limited number of Kaśmīrīs, Khaśas and the men of the Indus region. 1868

"To my brother's son, Jayasīnha, chief among self-respecting rulers, it were lief to make payment of tribute." Thus Somapāla was disdainfully told by Loṭhana from whom a large sum had been demanded and the former then began to display a little sympathy with the royal cause. 1869-1870

"While I am preparing to assist the forces of my father-in-law who are occupied in fighting the enemy, how is it that you, my dependent, are ever on the look out for a loop-hole to attack them?" Thus was Sujji trounced by Somapāla but he, as beseeined his self-assurance, skipping over every one, carried on his preparations to attack the royal army. 1871-1872

Lakṣmaka, greatly affrighted by the shivering fit and fever which come on in late Āṣāḍha, now raised his camp and melted away during the night. 1873

Having hurriedly sent on messengers to report to their master that the camp had disappeared, some of the soldiers, who were eager for a massacre, hastened to Sujji. 1874

On one side the royal army and on the other the enemy simultaneously marched by the route, which had perilous precipices. 1875

1866-1867. Fried meats continue to be the pièce de résistance of Kaśmīrī banquets even at the present day. These verses are translated literally. The original text is as follows—*Bhūjānair bhṛṣṭa māmśāni pibadbhiḥ puṣṭigandhica/ Pratihārāgrato hāni mārḍvikam*

*laghu śītaḥ //*

1873 This is an accurate description of Malarial Fever. See below verse 1905-1906 and 2045. Lakṣmaka apparently had suffered from malaria. He eventually dies of it, see verse 2002 below.

The troops, desirous of retreating to their own territory by the pass of Kālenaka which was nearby, avoiding the route via Śārambara which was in the possession of the enemy, entered the village of Vanikāvāsa without mishap accompanied by people of high and low degree. 1876-1877

The camp followers, too, found shelter in the adjoining hamlets and, having fed and drunk their fill, passed half the night suspecting no danger. 1878

Then Sujji, having swiftly approached, ordered his kettle-drums to be beaten to announce his sudden attack to his enemies and to cause a panic. 1879

Thereupon before the night was ended, the troops whose officers were demoralised hurriedly took to flight by the different mountain paths. 1880

At break of day, the ministers were relieved of their fancy costumes by the plunderers, just as the rocks after an earthquake are made to pour out the various molten metals by the spasm of the earth. 1881

None took up arms in defence of the army that was being plundered; at the time each looked to his own self and to none else. 1882

Some of them in blood-red nether garments, who by sheer jumps were getting away across the uplands, acquired in their progress the nimbleness of red-buttocked monkeys. 1883

While others, whose pale bodies were exposed through loss of clothes, appeared, in their movements, like bits of the yellow orpiment tossed about by the wind. 1884

And those of them, whose figures were not quite slun, had the wind up and trumpeted on those cliffs, strewn with darts, looking like baby elephants in a bamboo forest. 1885

What boots it to mention names? Not one minister was there in the lot who had discarded fortitude, who did not take to flight like the lower animals. 1886

1883 Like the soldiers of Napoleon, the ranks in the Kāśmīrī army apparently wore red trousers

1884. The olive complexion of the Kāśmīrī is referred to here. It is a custom which still prevails for men and women to leave aside the 'pluran' and sleep nude both in summer and winter.

Some of the soldiers who fled in their panic were thus without clothes, see also VII 411 For orpiment see verse 2825 below.

1885 Śvāsoṭha=literally 'to get the wind up' which is also military slang in English.

Mounted on the shoulders of his servants, in his attempt to escape, the stupefied Chamberlain was then espied from afar by some enemy soldiers.

1887

Being undressed his round armlets scintillated in the sunbeams; he was recognised and they gave chase sprinting with all the strength of their being.

1888

As he was dropped from the shoulder by the servant, who was hit by a stone, he stood still, was injured by a stone and captured by them who came at a great pace.

1889

His body was thin like that of a newly captured Śārikā bird pinning away in sorrow; with tearful eyes he blinked at the enemy looking like a flying fox and he thought to himself thus: "Now that I am taken prisoner, Sujji, I ween, will inflict even greater hardships upon me who had struck at his honour and wealth." Having placed him on their shoulders, leaving nothing to him of his cloak and trunkets, he was carried before Sujji by them with boisterous jeers and jokes.

1890-1892

Sujji who possessed refinement screened his face with a kerchief and saying, "We respect him like a Br̥had Rāja" proffered him his own raiment.

1893

Having provided him with clothing and mounted him on a horse he, again soothing him with gentle words, restored him to serenity.

1894

Surrounded by the Khaśas with the looted horses, swords and treasure the illustrious Sujji having taken him along, went up before Somapāla.

1895

Fortune, transient like the rapid flashes of lightning at play in the quadrangle of the sky and ever on the tracks of the cloud of destiny, for whom has it ever been stable?

1896

Those personages like Somapāla and others who while in his presence bowing down humbly had fed in a manner befitting his servants with a view to win his favour and had even personally massaged his limbs with the cream of saffron—standing before them he, now reduced to a similar plight, was seen by the folks during five or six months.

1897-1898

Lulla, too, with the face darkened by the growth of greyish white

1893. Br̥hadrāja=a title in Kāśmīr.  
See verse, 2217 below. Sujji hides his

face so as not to humiliate Lakṣmīka  
in his disgrace and state of nudity.



hair, captured by the enemy in the interior of the forest, being dumb in his sadness looked like a Langur 1899

Somapāla, having taken charge of Laksmaka handed over to him by Sujji, imagining that Kaśmīr had been conquered, returned to his own state. 1900

He was approached on behalf of Loṭhana by the brave Mañjika and others who, promising abundant riches, begged for the delivery of the Chamberlain. 1901

For who among the Dāmara birds, nestling under the wings of the Chamberlain's tutorship, did not consider at this time that the land of Kaśmīr was theirs for the taking? 1902

Although tempted Somapāla, who aspired to seize the throne dependent on the Chamberlain and to confiscate the large treasure of the king, did not do that. 1903

When the ministers who had suffered humiliation arrived in Śrīnagara, the king, despite the loss of the Chamberlain, did not lose firmness. 1904

The cream of the army, with whose help Bhikṣācara had formerly waged civil war and by whom Sussala, when the realm had risen in exasperation, had been maintained in his status, had been mobilized by the king; ten thousand of these soldiers now perished suffering from shivering and fever. 1905-1906

Nowhere in the land, even for a while, did the loud lamentations of relatives or the funeral music cease by day and night. 1907

A terrific heat wave brought all current business to a standstill and at this period, stricken with lassitude, it seemed as if the kingdom were lost. 1908

On the other hand with the arrival of persons from various lands who flocked there including even the Kaśmīrīs, the royal gateway at Lohara began to wax in prosperity. 1909

As in the parable of the crow and the palm-tree Loṭhana, who had secured the remarkable good fortune to be king by accident was, in his magnificence, unstinted like the Lord of Wealth. 1910

1909. Rāja-dvāram. Gateway here means administration; the term is reminiscent of 'la sublime porte' of old Turkey

1910. Nyāya=parable or popular

maxim. One of them is as follows:—just when the crow sat on the branch of the palm-tree it gave way! In other words an accident. See below 2930 sqq.

His nephews, sons, serving-folk and others who, during his life of misery and personal hardships, had adhered to him were now ranged with him in enjoyments of luxury. 1911

The wealthy Loṭhana did not, it was observed, shower favours on the undeserving nor was he close-fisted towards the deserving; owing to his mellow age his administration lacked energy. 1912

Shadow is itself unrestrained in its path while sunshine, as an incident of its very nature, is pursued a hundredfold by nuance. Thus is sorrow from happiness a thing apart; the scope of happiness, however, is hampered by the aches and hurts of endless sorrows. 1913

Within a month more or less since the rise to such power, the son of Loṭhana, Dīlha—his only child—died. 1914

Mourning for her only son, her heart struck by the dart of sorrow, Mallā, the wife of Loṭhana, then attained final dissolution. 1915

Upon the death of his wife of undivided love in that manner as well as of the son of surpassing virtue, he could see no use whatever for that royal fortune. 1916

It was either an exhibition of the lack of affection which is easily found in royalty or the fascinating power of fortune that he, again, experienced happiness. 1917

The king, though he was in such financial stringency, conscious of the need of the hour had the aged Lakṣmaka ransomed for thirty-six lakhs. 1918

At his arrival, the route was strewn with flowers thrown in showers by the people in felicitation; who did not feel that good fortune had been restored to the king. 1919

In the glory of his good luck, the vestige of his discomfiture was soon forgotten and Lakṣmaka prevailed just as before holding the power to punish and grant favours. 1920

Sujji who, through excessive greed for wealth, had lost all sense of dignity and proportion, openly accepted the office of minister of the ruler Loṭhana. 1921

He gave Loṭhana the daughter of Bhāgika in marriage and together with distrust removed his sorrow connected with the unhappy circumstances of the death of his first wife. 1922

The experienced Sujji, having solicited the ruling prince Padmaratha, brought his daughter Somaladevī to be wedded to Loṭhana. 1923

In this fashion having secured a firm foot-hold for Loṭhana through

alliance with important persons, Sujji repaid the debt of unlimited powers of ministerial office received by him. 1924

And he began to plan an invasion of Kāśmīr, urged by the new king, who was being beseeched in various ways by the Dāmaras and others. 1925

Matters having come to this pass, the son of Sussala now made use of diplomatic means to overreach the foe who had made common cause with the rulers on the frontier. 1926

In this enterprise Udaya, the warden of the frontier, of profound intellect and unfaltering integrity, won the admiration of those who can discriminate between what is and is not moral courage. 1927

For while at his post, bereft of every resource, though tempted by the enemy with offers of money, honour, and the rest of it, he remained ever devoted to the sovereign. 1928

Taking up his position at a place called Vanaprastha, not far from Lohara, he broke the enemy force by tirelessly engaging it in skirmishes. 1929

Having seen with half an eye through the intentions of Sujji, Māñika, Indāraka and others entertained a suspicion, whether fanciful or based on fact, of king Loṭhana. 1930

"The king whose wits are in the keeping of Sujji considers us, at his instigation, meet to be slain as plotters"—thus they thought and were alarmed. 1931

Now the clever king Jayasimha sent them a message. "We shall make Mallārjuna, the son of king Sussala, born of the queen Sahajā, the ruler at Lohara which will be to your interest; therefore overpower Loṭhana, of a sudden, as you did Preman." 1932-1933

As a hoax was this message sent by the king who was longing to possess himself of that stronghold and they, too, who distrusted him gave a promise in the same way. 1934

Now Loṭhana having learnt that Mallārjuna had started a conspiracy, he ordered his arrest and that of all those nephews who were also conspirators. 1935

He remained in a state of apprehension yet he got Vigharāja, the son of Sussala by a concubine, to accept the office of chamberlain. 1936

The king, who was versed in diplomacy, after having concluded peace with his uncle as a make-believe, made haste to possess himself of the lost dominion by all manner of means. 1937

Loṭhana, whose rule through the efforts of Sujji had become unshakable, having permitted Śūra to depart, remained in undisturbed possession for some months 1938

The marriage of Padmaratha's daughter, whom formerly Sujji had brought, not having taken place, her mother, the stately lady Tejalādīnā, to celebrate her wedding, came up on this occasion and the king Loṭhana on hearing this proceeded to Darṣitapura attended by the ministers to meet and accord her an honourable reception. Thus Māñika and others secured a loop-hole and escaped from imprisonment and they having formed a league annointed Mallārjuna, ruler of the domain of Lohara. 1939-1941

Having brought in the Ṭhakkuras as before to their aid they prevented the attempted entry of the officials of king Jayasimha, who had arrived at the foot of the main street into the castle. 1942

In the year six, on the thirteenth day of the bright half of Phālguna, Loṭhana was deprived of sovereignty just as quickly as he had acquired it. 1943

The lout, stripped of his luck, grieved that the maiden, whom he was to have wedded and the riches which he had not yet spent, had fallen to the share of his adversary for his enjoyment. 1944

Roving about, after losing power, he was able to collect some remnants of the treasure through the support of Sujji from Aṭṭalikā and other districts. 1945

Māñika, after insulting the officials of king Jayasimha whom he had previously invited, guided king Mallārjuna to a position of univalled power. 1946

Thus prince was in the heyday of youth and extreme provident; Tāmbūla was offered by him with pearls in place of the cut areca nut on occasions. 1947

He showered gold in his eagerness for sexual pleasures on bawds and procurers and his immoral wastefulness was condemned by the prescient. 1948

The treasure, which Sussala had piled up by harassing his subjects, was wantonly expended by this prince, for a purpose which was on a par with the mode of its acquisition. 1949

For this evil-minded man, inflamed with pride, had got rid of honest folk and fostered the courtesans, strolling actors, knaves, sycophants, flunkys, and other riffraff. 1950

The wealth of kings acquired by the persecution of the commonalty goes either to their rivals in love, their enemies, or to the flames. 1951

The riches of king Jayāpīḍa, gotten from the oppression of the subjects, were swallowed up by Utpala and others, the murderers of his grandson. 1952

The treasure of Śaṅkaravarman, the source of which was the persecution of the people, was enjoyed at will by Prabhākara and the rest, the paramours of his wife. 1953

Held in bondage by Cupid, the wives of Pangu made over his ill-gotten wealth to Sugandhāditya, their partner in sexual enjoyments. 1954

The enormous riches piled up by king Yaśaskara were frittered away by his wife who, capitulating to Cupid, lay in the embraces of a Caṇḍāla. 1955

Kṣemagupṭa obtained possession of wealth acquired by former kings; upon his death, he turned out to be the donor of it to Tuṅga and others for they were the lovers of his wife. 1956

Saṁgrāmarāja, whose desire for hoarding was keen, rolled in wealth; it was stolen by Vyāḍḍasūha and others who sipped the honey from the lotus-like mouth of Śrīlekḥā. 1957

The handsome fortune, the glory of the universe, of king Ananta, who had ruined his subjects through lack of personal supervision, was at last consumed by fire. 1958

By the son on undeserving persons and by the wife on her paramours was soon squandered the treasure of king Kalaśa, which had its origin in his skill in the evil arts. 1959

Together with his mansions, his wives and sons the property of king Harṣa, whose thirst for hoarding was unquenchable, was consumed by the flames. 1960

Candrāpīḍa, Uccala, Avantivarman and others unflinchingly upheld the law, their justly acquired treasure never found an indecent end. 1961

Thieves, conspirators, chiefs of the borderlands, harlots, satellites and the rest commenced a rich plunder, while the rise of Mallārjuna was yet fresh. 1962

Even after bluffing the enemy, the king had found his objective frustrated; he then, in his annoyance, immediately despatched Citraratha for an attack. 1963

He had been raised to take charge simultaneously of the frontier and the Pādāgra; he set foot in Phullapura surrounded by innumerable grandees. 1964

His followers, though widely deployed, did not venture to overwhelm in battle the forces of Mallārjuna which found support from the fortress. 1965

To cause a rift, his vassal named Samvardhana who was thought well of by the king climbed into the castle, he was killed at night by the retainers of Mallārjuna. 1966

Although the fortress could not have been taken even by assault, yet the enemies posted within fell a prey to fear on this occasion when Koṣṭheśvara came up. 1967

Thereupon Mallārjuna promised to pay tribute, concluded peace, and sent his mother to their camp as an act of courtesy. 1968

She, by her dress gorgeously beautiful in disregard of her widowhood, made Koṣṭheśvara and others, whose minds were susceptible, full of passionate desire. 1969

When she returned from there, Mallārjuna feeling assured paid the tribute, which he had undertaken to do, to the warden of the frontier. 1970

Drawn by the lovesome eyes of the king's mother, the youthful Koṣṭha, professing a desire to see it, climbed up to the fortress with a few retainers. 1971

Thereafter, when he had come down, Citraratha, taking him along, came before the sovereign with suitable presents. 1972

The king, however, held counsel with Udaya who was skilful in storming and then once more employed diplomatic means to vanquish the enemy. 1973

With the raising of the siege and the departure of Loṭhana, too, to join Padmaratha, the new ruler, found room to stretch his legs for a while. 1974

He married Somalā, the daughter of Padmaratha, and when his prestige was established, he also married the daughter of Nāgapāla. 1975

Somapāla and other chiefs, who were engaged in secret intrigues, wheedled out of this foolish and vainglorious prince allowances as if they were his vassals. 1976

Many rogues plundered him including even cadets of ruling chiefs by performing as poets, singers, story-tellers, gladiators and strolling actors. 1977

The intellect of the prince since his childhood had not developed to maturity yet he was seen talking glibly; and merely because of his grandiloquence callow persons felt that he had a clever mind. 1978

Like a comet of evil import he, whose appearance was not ungentle, had apart from his radiant visage nothing good to recommend him. 1979

Meanwhile the king made overtures to Sujji, who was desperate in warfare, reflecting that Mallārjuna might approach him. 1980

Then the Chamberlain, in whom was vested the power to banish and recall Sujji, displayed his remarkable strength which had an instantaneous effect 1981

The delivery of the garland of the chief command of the army and other offices, save the garland of the post of the minister of justice, offered by the king not having proved to the satisfaction of Sujji, Lksmaka, by the importunity of Somapāla who had called at his house, tore off, with the left hand, the garland entwined in his own locks and proudly offered it Sujji's gratification on receipt of this was indicated by his soft eyes filled to the brim as if it were the creeper of his fortune. 1982-1984

In the interest of the sovereign, Rulhana gave up his friendship for Udaya and Dhanya and withdrew his opposition to the recall of Sujji. 1985

The king recalled Sujji and went forward to meet and receive him with honour. By the latter's advice, he banished from the country Dhanya and his men but not from his heart. 1986

The guilty Koṣṭheśvara, whom the king was anxious to destroy through assassins at an opportune moment, having learnt the rumour, fled from his presence. 1987

The king marched to make an attack having won over Manujeśvara whereupon Koṣṭheśvara, paralyzed by dissensions in his own party, escaped abroad. 1988

Lothana, on his part, gaining the support of some Thakkuras while

1982 See Taranga VII. 1363.

1985. Consent of ministers in the matter of expulsion and re-entry into

Kāśmīr was necessary before the king could take action. See below verse 2017

residing at a place called Bappanīla, attacked Mallārjuna with might and main. 1989

On that occasion was witnessed his manfulness which indeed was inconceivable; though fallen from his estate, he vanquished Mallārjuna, who had a firm foot-hold, every time. 1990

He carried off his horses, looted the forum of Aṭṭalikā and destroyed the roadside watch-stations and other fortified places everywhere. 1991

Invited by a Dāmara, named Rājarāja, he thereafter plunged into Kramarājya to wrest the realm of Kaśmīr. 1992

Citraratha becoming aware of this executed that Lavanya, who was in his suite, and Loṭhana went back to the soil of Bappanīla. 1993

As he repeatedly made raids, Mallārjuna became incapable of holding even Aṭṭalikā while residing in the fortress. 1994

Prevailing upon the nephew to part with large treasure to the uncle, Kosteśvara, who was ready for a campaign, then had a treaty of peace concluded. 1995

- Having made his position secure at Lohara, he then took Loṭhana along and suddenly fell upon the territory of Kaśmīr intent on waging war with the king. 1996

Traversing the mountains, he attacked and occupied the watch-station of Kārkoṭa not having been opposed on the way. Before, however, he could secure a junction with the other Dāmaras, the king set out and by forced marches and every endeavour overwhelmed him at the very commencement of the rising. 1997-1998

Meanwhile the Chamberlain, through a sudden illness, found his end. Those whose merits of the past life are few do not live long in good fortune. 1999

Alas! those, whom prosperity has made narrow-minded, do not realize that the attack of Destiny, whose progress is irresistible, is swift, although in their anxiety to keep off misfortune, they abide in their dwellings with all doors barred refusing to take notice of it. 2000

The wife, who was constantly clearing the house of people, was not aware that he, while slumbering peacefully, was being pursued by the Destroyer. 2001

For, he had suffered from fever which had left him and it was



thought that he was sleeping after the temperature had gone, that he had died while thus asleep was not discovered at the time. 2002

Now Koṣṭhaka together with Loṭhana having marched forth, no one was the ruler—neither Mallārjuna himself, nor Koṣṭhaka nor that Loṭhana 2003

Mallārjuna treacherously assassinated Udayana who was with him and Koṣṭhaka, whom the latter had named as his surety, grew angered against Mallārjuna. 2004

Mallārjuna did not pacify the enraged man and he, therefore, mustering his forces rushed, in his fury, together with Loṭhana, to attack Mallārjuna. 2005

Koṣṭhaka, though equipped with only a limited force of cavaliers, Mallakoṣṭha and others, crossed the Parosnī and annihilated Mallārjuna's force which had ceased fighting. 2006

In that battle were massacred the Khaśas, the men from the Indus region and others and Mallārjuna himself came near being killed but was spared from hatred against king Jayasinha. 2007

Fallen from the height of honour, he climbed the heights of the citadel and his power being broken made peace, once more, with Koṣṭhaka. 2008

Koṣṭheśvara sent away Loṭhana and maintained friendly relations, but Mallārjuna having failed to pay the sums due by him, that Dāmara once again parted company with him. 2009

Arresting the officials, Koṣṭheśvara appropriated the customs dues at the frontier posts and as if he were the king, he had his own name stamped with red lead on the bales of goods. 2010

From time to time there occurred breaches of the amicable settlement between the two of them, as if they were pieces of a glass jar stuck together with lac. 2011

The ruler of Lohara alienated the sympathy of the Lavyanya by his wanton speech which ended in nothing and he, in turn, the former by his lawless acts of rivalry. 2012

Then the Dāmara delivered an attack... ..the military by carrying away from it the valuable accoutrements and the pick of the horses. 2013

2013. There is a lacuna in the latter half of this verse.

Thus the thoughtless Koṣṭhaka, by his perverse activities and harassments, rendered Mallārjuna an easy prey in the future for his enemies

2014

Connected through the gift of the daughter as his father-in-law was Māñika, the chief minister; at this juncture that prince was obsessed with the thought of murdering him.

2015

For Māñika, emboldened in his youthfulness by the swelling tide of love, was in open liaison with Mallārjuna's mother as her paramour.

2016

During the time of repast, the assassins, upon a signal from the prince, dealt him blows while he was feeding and deprived him of life.

2017

Brandishing the sword blade, having donned his military uniform, Mallārjuna wandered about a great deal plundering the latter's troops and performed a variety of heroics.

2018

Alas! even Indākara did not survive among those whom he hated, having been poisoned by that prince who offered in person a poisoned drink.

2019

Providence having cast adrift his enemy, the king Jayasimha thereafter made terms with Koṣṭhaka and despatched Sujji for the conquest of Lohara.

2020

When Sujji came up the road to within marching distance of one Yāma, Mallārjuna, who was as much distraught by Koṣṭhaka having carried off his horses as he was by internal dissensions, being unable to offer resistance, collected his treasure and abandoning the fortress fled. Having lost the realm and being plundered on the way by robbers he set his face towards Avanāha and managed to save part of the treasure with difficulty.

2021-2023

He lost the crown when he was in the neighbourhood of eighteen autumns, in the year eight on the second day of the dark half of Vaiśākha.

2024

He, who was serving ambrosia to the moon-crested Śiva, had his head chopped off in the scrimmage; when the Supreme Ruler could

2021 Yāma=A period of time of three hours; there are eight Yāmas during 24 hours

2024 Deśyah=neighbourhood of  
See Deśyah verse 2641 below.

do this to one who was doing a good turn to him of what account, in comparison, are others environed by scandal-mongers? 2025

Water nestling in the lotus is pearls, the dulness inherent in the rulers is the capacity for knowledge—that such is somehow the belief is due alas<sup>1</sup> to some indescribably glamorous power of Lakṣmī which is resplendent in the case of her protégés. 2026

Wondrous offensive means are used in the forests to kill; some kill by smell, some by sight while yet others with the proboscis. But in the palaces of the rulers of men are to be found extraordinary blood-thirsty beings who, indeed, compass death by mere words. 2027

The wicked are not able to decimate the liegeman so long as he is in the presence of the lord; were he to fall out in the rear they would get their opportunity and make him a mere matter of ashes just as the sun-beams cannot burn the tinder while present with the crystal but reduce it to ashes when it is behind the latter. 2028

The commander-in-chief raised Harsata, the son of Kapila, to the post of governor of the fortress and while he was busy collecting a garrison and restoring calm in the domain, he tarried there for some days; meantime some satellites, naturally wicked-minded, whom jealousy had made hostile, bitterly prejudiced the king, during a favourable moment, against Sujji by whispering evil. 2029-2031

When even this king has been made to dance as if he were a child by the varlets who else, being a king, can act with firmness relying on his own judgment? 2032

Or it may be that the ineptitude acquired in boyhood in a milieu which for the most part is composed of childish persons does not disappear in the case of a king, even in the prime of life like a flaw in the case of a precious stone. 2033

Alas<sup>1</sup> in the case of kings, a lack of insight into the real character of their servants is sufficient for a bolt from the blue to fall on the in-offensive country. 2034

“If the affairs turn out unsuccessful, Sujji will become a laughing-stock like Lakṣmaka”; with this hope Sujji had been made use of by the king’s entourage for the conquest of Lohara. 2035

2025 There is a slight lacuna in the text The head of the Titan Rāhu was cut off while he was serving ambrosia

at the banquet after the churning of the ocean. See App. C.

When, however, he completed the task in a striking manner, the knaves hit him through the art of calumny which like the divine missile of Brahman is unfailing. 2036

Owing to the fact that the king's stately demeanour afforded no clue to his altered feelings and owing to his friendly conversation, the commander-in-chief did not sense his dark prejudice. 2037

And how could Sujji, naturally of a loyal temperament, have had any suspicion or mistrust of him when he had just rendered such valuable services? 2038

The king did not approve of his acts though they were fit and proper as a lover who has become estranged finds no delight in the conversation of his young lady who is beloved no more. 2039

Sujji, too, behaved as he listed through hauteur and self-assurance that he had conquered and restored two lost realms to the king. 2040

His kinsfolk, uncurbed, harassed the citizens by depriving them of their houses and inflicting other injuries and led them to loathe him 2041

Mindful of his own guilt Kosteśvara did not trust the king, nor the uncle who had revealed his hostility when the king was angry. 2042

Citraratha, who was amassing treasure by the persecution of the subjects and who had entered into an alliance with Sujji, was not in favour with the sovereign. 2043

The king secretly maintained by riches Dhanya and Udaya who had taken up their residence in Rājapuri but did not disclose his friendship from consideration for Sujji. 2044

These two, whose retinue had perished through the fever accompanied by shivering, attached themselves to Mallārjuna, who despite the loss of his sovereignty had abundant riches. 2045

Sañjapāla who through emissaries had formerly been invited by Laksanaka, owing to his enmity with Sujji, arrived at Rājapuri at this time. 2046

Sujji and Citraratha having prevented the king from taking action,

2043. Sambandhi = matrimonial alliance Citraratha was the son of a Brahman councillor see verse 1620 above. Sujji, on the other hand, was a scion of a ruling family from what is now called

the Frontier Province VIII. 1042, 1046. The relationship of Citraratha with Sujji is again referred to in Sujji's speech—verses 2093-2095 below

the order permitting entry was not forthcoming and Mallārjuna approached him through his emissaries. 2047

On his account on the highway a quarrel having arisen with some chieftain, he got a sword cut and had to part with his money. 2048

Even when reduced to this plight, the fact that Mallārjuna had failed to win him over by undertaking to pay him much gold led to his being adored by those versed in affairs of state. 2049

Being secretly summoned by the king who was not able to act independently and by Rāhāṇa from a friendly feeling he soon came away from there 2050

"If they do not kill me in this place they may kill me out there"—thinking in this wise on the road beset with unfriends the adventurer arrived in the city. 2051

He, whom the rulers of Kanyakubja, Gauda and other states had vied with one another to accord a courteous reception, felt mortified at not getting a reception in his own country from the sovereign who was managed by the ministers. And he was watched by the citizens near the royal palace with tears streaming down the eyes. 2052-2053

Then the king ignoring the ministers gave him an audience and did him the honour of even offering the Tāmbūla formally with his own hand 2054

Though he was impecunious, his reputation alone won him followers among the people and by his comings and goings in the royal residence he made his enemies quake. 2055

Watching the conversation, behaviour, etc. of this man, who had a striking appearance, Sujji, who was a judge of men, felt secretly nervous. 2056

And he concluded: "This devil who has such an amazing energy capable of pulling down unlimited numbers will surely not be content to remain in this country in his existing condition" 2057

He had seen all sorts of brave and proud men in other lands but sizing up Sañjapāla, he reckoned that the latter had given a quietus to the proud ones. 2058

Either because it was willed to happen or through arrogance, Sujji was led into arbitrary conduct and thereafter his various irresponsible acts brought him ill repute. 2059

His own retainers, while he was in Maḍavarājya, robbed a Brahman;

while the latter in his rage was harshly denouncing him, Sujji slew him like a jackal with javelin throws. 2060

In the country, by this nefarious act, he caused discontent among the people and when he returned, the people in Śrīnagara too, came to abhor him for his violent conduct. 2061

Meanwhile Kamaliya and others procured a position of the highest distinction, in their overweening confidence for a kinsman who counted for almost nothing. 2062

"While I exist how can there be another as well who can confer favour!" thinking in this wise, Sujji through conceit appointed some unknown person, no better than a strolling player, to a similar position. 2063

At this time Rihana, too, who had bound himself through matrimonial alliance with Kamaliya and others became, by reason of his prestige, an exceeding eyesore to Sujji. 2064

The difference between them and him had its origin in a tiny seed, through the sprinkling by knaves and back-biters it soon acquired the proportion of a tree which had ramified a hundredfold. 2065

Haughty by temperament, he was inflamed by Uthana, the son of Sahadeva, with his wicked counsel which pandered to his arrogance concentrating his attention solely on the strife. 2066

"This ungrateful man permits to those who are not our equals the privilege of equality" and thus he inwardly harboured rancour against the king himself. 2067

The king, too, living in fear of Sujji sent out Rihana during councils, intimate talks, and other confidential occasions as if he were an official of the exterior court. 2068

He, however, shrewdly omitted to notice the slight and to observe the emotion of the sovereign and diplomatically laid the strands of surage for his own people and of alarm for his enemies 2069

both vijayapala was chokeful of energy and his support was sought by presen par...; Rihana, however, won his friendship through 2070

As the... men sent... tered, fully armed, the mutual jealousies of these two... the royal palace, every moment, into thrills and

Sujji, in a bellicose mood, in order to insult the adherents of his opponent including the king, caused a disturbance during the court held on the festival of the Mahīmāna. 2072

When with the hand placed on his neck Sujji was announced by the door-keeper, he abused the latter hotly in foul language and made him sprawl on the door-sill. 2073

All remained still as if they were a tableau and while anxious to safeguard the king they strove to compose their turbulence; the king had a seat given to Sujji close to himself and after pacifying him said, whether as a bluff or in earnest "While he exists we have not the slightest peril". 2074-2075

Now the Brahmans, residents in Maḍavarājya, commenced a hunger-strike declaring that they did not approve of Sujji holding office as the commander-in-chief. 2076

On the look out to disconcert the rival, Rāhāṇa, the knowledgable diplomat, brought up during the night Sujji's enemy, Pañcacandra, with his well-equipped force. 2077

Sujji was apprehensive of him who had a large force and of Sañjapāla too, the rest he ignored and his enemy was aware of this. 2078

Then fearing an attack he sallied from his house escorted by his cavaliers and in battle array he kept, in a state of suspense, a vigil on the highway unmolested. 2079

Being in opposition to the sovereign Koṣṭheśvara, too, at this time leagued himself with Sujji in a bond of friendship. 2080

He having killed Manujeśvara who had remained loyal, Koṣṭheśvara who was already hateful had become in still greater measure the object of the king's hatred. 2081

The stand which Sujji had taken up during the night was denounced by his enemies as being founded in treason against the sovereign, though he had done so in self-defence. 2082

The king, who like a deluded person sees a fact which is true as untrue or what is untrue as true, drifts from his purpose and flounders in misfortune. 2083

The iridescent ruby being mistaken for fire is left alone while the coup d'oeil of women with dark brown eyes, intended for some one

2072. The Mahīmāna festival is still celebrated in Kaśmīr. Lights in honour of the gods and the Manes are placed

on the snow on the bright eighth of Phālguna and a fast is kept  
2073. See Taranga VII 234-35.

else, one regards as being possibly directed to oneself! The wonder is that in this world in every case that which is real is not perceived to be real nor the unreal to be not reality by the people who are devoid of judgment. 2084

Now the king, seeing no other remedy for the unhappy conditions save in Sujji's death, entrusted to Sañjapāla the task of assassinating that mighty warrior. 2085

That brave man, not being prepared to strike at him treacherously like a craven and longing to kill him after a challenge, watched for an opportunity at all times. 2086

While the two touched on all mutually diplomatic measures against one another the realm, at every moment through rising panic, remained in a flutter. 2087

Apprehending an attack Sujji was wakeful as before at night; the royal palace came to be thronged with vigilant sentries. 2088

When the banishment from the realm of Rilhana was demanded by Sujji, the king on his part not being strong enough to resist gave his consent. 2089

While he was about to depart having taken leave the warden of the frontier, showed to the king the subjects agitated on account of the humiliation and had him artfully reinstated. 2090

After taking counsel with the king, Sañjapāla having sworn an oath by libation with Sujji, who had solicited his friendship, came at night and made a report. 2091

"Your Majesty, this is at present the view, owing to the instigation of Ullhana and others as well as owing to his own arrogance of Sujji who does not desire any rivals." 2092

"If the king were of my opinion who am his loyal servant as well as benefactor I should banish Rilhana, imprison Citraratha, who has great wealth and restore to the king the horses and treasure lost in the operations against Lohara and even slay, given the resources, the miscreant Koṣṭhaka." 2093-2094

"If they are a hindrance to affairs of state personal relationships are not of any moment to me. My attachment is to the Sovereign, in whose service I regard my life as comparable to a wisp of grass." 2095

"And meanwhile as I should make myself responsible to strive for the defeat of pretenders and others, this youthful king with his mind at rest could give himself up to the enjoyments of sovereignty." 2096



“Sujji wishes to pray to the Sovereign that, Ullhana might be made warden of the frontier and that I in order to befriend him might be given the various offices of which Rilhana has held charge.” 2097

“At the same time he says to me: “If Ullhana, you, and I are of accord and act in combination does it really matter who occupies the royal throne?” 2098

“If he does not consent to this we, being on the spot, shall import some fresh kinsman, and install him in place of this king.” 2099

Then having sighed, the king spoke these words while the rays of his glistening teeth created an impression as if they were ribbons to fetter his speech for fear of publicity. 2100

“What Sujji has said is in fact perfectly true; neither deceit, incompetence, nor ineptitude is indeed conceivable in that proud man.” 2101

“That his unchallengeable position of power would be difficult to uproot—if this is the view that is a different matter; let the talk be confined to the plan of his death.” 2102

“I regret, however, that the contemplated assassination of this man, who is free from perfidy, whether it had its beginning in anger or was for a just cause has to be carried out in any case.” 2103

“For this matter has been deliberated by us in front of the petty-minded and no doubt he would get at it if he should bribe them with money.” 2104

“Whether through their merits of past existence which are irresistible or through the stupidity of persons like me, a lot of incapables known to us to be such are sharing in enjoyments with us.” 2105

“For taking in their employment callow persons this is the penance kings have to do that having been foolish themselves they have to bear the fruit of the former’s folly.” 2106

“The ways of royalty are as difficult to follow for the sycophant as are mountain paths for the bull of the market.” 2107

“Adverse to straight conduct, habituated to let the tongue wag and sponging on others for food, the wicked are like dogs who rove, loll their tongues and are maintained by others.” 2108

“In the result this nefarious deed proposed because of the pestering of the wicked which, yet through fear of them cannot be given up, is going to cause us remorse.” 2109

Having thus given vent, the king made preparation to achieve the

assassination of Sujji thereby causing him ever to keep awake and himself came to pass sleepless nights. 2110

"Sujji entertaining a suspicion owing to the leakage of the plot, is also planning to kill you" believing this report of the servants to be true, the king became uneasy. 2111

Then going to their houses in person and asking them to form an alliance by marriage, he brought about the rapprochement of Sujji with Rilhana. 2112

When even after thus creating confidence, he failed to find an opportunity to kill him he fretted, day and night, tossing helplessly on his couch. 2113

When Sañjapāla, who was mourning the loss of a kinsman failed to come from his house, doubting the success of the desperate venture he was still more worried. 2114

The general Kularāja, renowned for his knowledge of military manœuvres, whose brothers, Kalyāṇarāja and others, having fallen in battle on the couch of heroes, had forgotten the gracious treatment of king Sussala, being desirous of repaying with his life their debt, asked the king about the cause of his dejection. 2115-2116

He told him about his irremovable peril from the commander-in-chief whom it had become impossible either to placate or to assassinate. 2117

"What a trifling matter for the king which can be secured merely at the cost of one's life"—he declared and accepted the responsibility for the desperate act. 2118

For two days the commander-in-chief did not come from his mansion and neither death nor fame fell to the lot of Kularāja. 2119

But a confidential servant named Śṛṅgāra reported to the sovereign on the third day that he had seen him on his couch lying unattended by his retinue. 2120

The king's constant serving-folk are ever handy on occasions of splendour, the responsibility for risky jobs has, however, to be undertaken by one who remains at a distance. 2121

In Śiva's hand the bow is fixed at all times to heighten his splendour yet, of yore, it was Māṇḍāra who having arrived at the critical moment had to do duty, in battle, as his bow. 2122

Thereupon the king sent to Sujji, upon the excuse of bearing Tām-

būla, Kularāja in whose blunt courage there was no room for tribulation. 2123

"Death is certain, I shall never come back, so what use is this in this venture"—thus he took no Tāmbūla in the gold casket. 2124

"Other retainers endeavouring in like manner by the sacrifice of their own bodies to end the misery of the king have yet faltered at the final stage." 2125

"Whether he be with his retainers or without, he is doomed to death through me; from now on may your Majesty remain vigilant," with this declaration he set forth. 2126

In the event of the failure of the venture a possible flight might have been suspected . . . . . 2127

Going on the service of the sovereign he took with him two men-at-arms whose daggers were concealed in their gowns. 2128

The door-keeper having announced him as having been sent in person with Tāmbūla by the king, he was admitted into Sujji's presence while the followers were detained. 2129

And he beheld him in the company of a few of his retainers of high and low degree like a lord of the herd, in a hostile neighbourhood, with a very few elephants. 2130

Sujji accepted with due respect the Tāmbūla from the sovereign and having, with a smile, enquired what the king was occupied with and the like after a little while gave him leave for departure. 2131

Kularāja, apprehending the entry of people, hastened to speak to him, as if utilizing a suitable opportunity, thus: "A Kaivarta soldier under me has committed an offence. You might show consideration for me now by restraining your own subordinates who are keen on seizing him". 2132-2133

As if it were an impudent request he, bluntly rejecting it, replied in rigid words to him: "I refuse to do it." 2134

While he was going away as if in a rage his retainers spoke soothingly to Sujji. "That man should be treated with due regard", and having detained Kularāja induced him to come back. 2135

Thereupon he said: "Order that my two retainers who are present be allowed entry inside the portal so that they might submit a statement relating to this case." 2136

2127 There is a lacuna in the text in the second half of the verse.

He then willingly had this done and the treacherous Kularāja on seeing them admitted inside and having secured assistance put himself in readiness to strike. 2137

"Go to-day; in the morning I shall attend to your business"—thus Sujji turned his back to them and feeling sleepy he relaxed his body on the sofa. 2138

Moving away a little Kularāja turned back, swiftly drew his dagger, and ran up and struck him on the left side. 2139

As he was saying "fie! treachery" and stretched the hand for his dagger all of them together dealt him strokes. 2140

Before the thought of peril could arise in those who witnessed this it seemed as if the breath had left him since a long time. 2141

Among his dependents who through fear abandoned honour and took to flight, Piñcadeva was the only one who drew his sword on that occasion. 2142

As he smote he was wounded by the three of them who dealt an equal number of counterstrokes and, hard pressed and streaming with blood, he was driven out of that hall. 2143

They remained inside the hall putting up the bolts while the retainers of Sujji then prepared to kill them by blocking the doors and windows and surrounding them. 2144

While making a counter-demonstration at the window they lifted the corpse and pushing the cotton-padded couch placed it against the door which was being battered by their assailants. 2145

These showered blows with the sword, arrow, javelin, battle-axe, dagger, stones and the rest of it and confounded them by attempting to get in through the different entrances. 2146

Finding themselves in a tight corner, in order to wither the hopes of those who were attempting to enter, they now severed the head of Sujji and threw it from above into the courtyard. 2147

The ears and the white eyeballs were sanguinary with the flow of blood, both nostrils were closed with the dishevelled hair on the upper lip, the reflected images of the frantic crowd in the slightly dilated pupils conveyed the impression of a flicker of the eyes; the flesh at the neck having been roughly cut at the joints was uneven and clotted and the layers of coagulated fat made it appear as if it were moistened with turmeric; the hair and beard were powdered with dust, only the drop of saffron which was intact on the forehead

determined its identity; having fallen sideways it revealed the breaches in the teeth. On seeing this the servants gave way to loud lamentations and ran helter-skelter. 2148-2152

The king, on the other hand, who after the despatch of the assassins had remained in a state of mental agitation on seeing the people outside, at this time, in a state of ferment concluded that the desperate deed was done. 2153

Whether Sujji was slain or wounded considering it to be equally expedient he ordered the troops to get ready quickly and surround the residence of Sujji. 2154

Hearing the false report among the people that Sujji had been rescued, the king himself then caught the excitement for a battle royal. 2155

The king's lackeys, knowing that Sujji had been slain without doubt, arrested Śivaratha who was residing there and who was hated by all. 2156

This ballad of mine by relating to-day the glorious conduct of Kalaśa, son of Hilla, wife's brother to Sujji's brother participates in his merit. 2157

Bhikṣu and others behaved, when the end came, as was meet for heroes upon being attacked; he, although not in a critical condition, fell not from the standard of noble conduct. 2158

For on hearing the news in the royal residence itself he did not take to flight but proceeded to lay down his life by the side of his murdered lord. 2159

As he was banging at the door with kicks, the murderous soldiers of the king removed him and with difficulty saved him from a perilous situation. 2160

When he who had not been entirely overborne secured admission to another apartment, Kularāja and others obtained a lease of life and proceeded to the king. 2161

Forcing the entrance, he there slew a mighty warrior and was only killed with arrows from a distance by his assailants. 2162

While the country was seething with excitement the king sent Sañjapāla who had arrived and Ralhana, in a hurry, to kill Ulhana. 2163

Suspecting that he having taken to flight must have left the road, Ralhana scoured the country up to the bank of the Kṣiptikā; by the

time he was returning Sañjapāla, who had already arrived having blocked the passage of Ullāṣa, who was emerging from the gateway of his residence, was engaged in striking down many. Just then Sañjapāla's right arm was severed by the sword of some one and the bones and muscles being cut through it merely hung by the remaining skin. 2164-2166

After his family had been reduced to a state of unimportance, he by his ability had acquired prestige in other lands and in his own once more; just when the moment of fruition was approaching he was maimed in that very arm which was the guarantor of valour; fie on the churlish will of Providence! 2167-2168

If at the time of securing power, he had remained unmaimed as before this world would have judged of his amazing will power by its fruit. 2169

If Rāhu had not suffered the decimation of his body just when he had drunk of ambrosia then, foresooth, this world would have learnt of the ambition of that powerful personality who had been waxing strong since a long time. 2170

Ullāṣa, in agony from his wounds, watched his old uncle, named Śīla, being slain. 2171

In travail he was about to enter the house, when his usher and favourite retainer Jajjala was killed as well as two soldiers and a Candāla watchman. 2172

Since he would not come out but sat in the courtyard looking at his infant son, Rāhama had it set on fire. 2173

As he, blinded by the smoke, was being taken away under arrest by prominent persons in the army, at the gateway of his residence he was killed by some commoners though crippled by wounds. 2174

Even after seeing the head of him who had been the cause of the ruin of his ministers and subjects, the king's feeling was not assuaged. 2175

While being put to death with ferocity by the soldiers set on by the king, the retainers of Sujji of high and low degree performed deeds befitting their chivalry. 2176

The younger brother of Sujji, Lakṣmaka had to submit to the

disgrace of being fettered; after seeing the king he was killed in a yard of the palace by certain unmerciful persons. 2177

His paternal cousin, the virile Saṅgata, had the good fortune, on the arena of the royal quadrangle, to move as if he were an actor and to yield his life nobly. 2178

Mammuni, the insane brother of Saṅgata, had sought shelter in his own house, where he was killed by some miscreants of the Bāṇa family. 2179

The wife's brother of Sujji, who lived a gay life of amours, was a man of high descent; he, Citriya, was also slain while performing deeds worthy of him. 2180

His usher Saṅgika was wounded and died by slow degrees and also other dependents of Sujji came by death in different places. 2181

Two or three, such as Virapāla, owed their lives to the speed of their thoroughbred horses and joining the side of Koṣṭheśvara left behind the menace of death. 2182

Śaradiya, the brother of Saṅgata, as he was escaping had his horse stopped by a rising of malcontents near Subhatāmatha and was taken prisoner. 2183

Sajjala, son of Sujji, Śvetika, his elder brother's son and the son of Ullana, found themselves in prison. 2184

In this wise, the king and the minister having fallen under the sway of backbiters, occurred this disorder in the year nine on the fifth of the bright half of Āṣāḍha. 2185

Remembering that minister whose bold spirit was undaunted in any operation whatever the king, who has such distinguished officers, even to this day suffers from remorse. 2186

More difficult than the rising of a Vetāla, a jump down a precipice, masticating poison or embracing a viper is, in truth, the service of royalty. 2187

In front of potentates, in whom virtuous conduct has no concern with self-control as before wagons, the reins of which having slipped are beyond control, what person standing trustingly will not be crushed? 2188

The king considered the assassination of Sujji an unworthy act, on the other hand, the subjects deemed it proper and felt that it was the superior might of the sovereign. 2189

The king conferred the chief command of the army on Sañjapāla and on Kularāja he had the post of the city prefect bestowed. 2190

Having left Mallārjuna, Dhanya and Udaya arrived in the city and as before the two once more blossomed as the king's favourites. 2191

Fortune, having cut herself off from relations with others and having passed the stage of vacillation, settled with Citraratha on a firm footing in every respect. 2192

Although in the forefront of those who had amazing wealth, he oppressed the realm by repressive fines, and uncontrolled even by the king, failed to pacify it. 2193

At the village of Gandharvāna, the commandant of the fort having killed Tīkka sent his head to the king at Pārevisōka. 2194

Then Loṭhanadeva, of a sudden, occupied Hāḍigrāma with a small retinue. He had been repeatedly urged through emissaries by Koṣṭheśvara who, with his innate hatred towards the king, was at the moment infuriated at the latter having acquired prestige. 2195-2196

The king being everywhere closely united with the other Lavanyas, the Lavanya Koṣṭheśvara made peace with him and relating a mighty tissue of lies to Lothana got rid of him as he had come 2197

In the manner of Uccala and others, he had rushed to seize the throne but failing in his determination to achieve it, he had become a laughing-stock of the people. 2198

Thereafter the king was obsessed with the thought of killing Koṣṭhaka by making use of assassins, causing dissention in his troops, and other devices of various kinds. 2199

As if he were an equal combatant, having put out the eyes of the assassin rather than placate the king, growing wroth he planned to wage war against him. 2200

The king, on the other hand, having ordered the officers commanding the army to move from their respective areas, attacked him in person with the troops of all ranks 2201

Learning that the king had arrived impetuously with a small force, the powerful Koṣṭheśvara approached to surprise him but was foiled by his valour. 2202

Citaratha joined battle and though he had a large force he suffered, through Providence, a reverse from a detachment of his army. 2203

Owing to that rout which, it was said, was the starting point of



his misfortune, his self-assurance thereafter began to dwindle day by day. 2204

Having fought Rulhana and others, the Lavanya with his troops deployed for battle in the evening suddenly attacked the force of the commander-in-chief. 2205

The latter supported by less than a hundred soldiers, when his force melted away, bore the brunt of the furious onslaught of his forces like a mountain the stampede of elephants. 2206

How can that tiger among men be described, who waxes strong in battle till his protective coat of armour fails to be the measure of his height! 2207

When with such a courageous stand he had checked the impetuous onslaught of the foe, Trillaka and other Lavanyas arrived supported by the troops. 2208

Although out of regard for their own clansmen they stood aside in that critical situation they, in a measure, did prove useful to him who had by his own bravery succeeded in repulsing the enemy. 2209

Mobilization in time, maintaining vigilance at night, tactfully handling the troops during opportune times for occupying positions, withdrawals and the various strategic plans, and not yielding terrain which had been won, such were the merits of this ambitious man which, of themselves, compelled the enemy to flee, how shall we praise his offensive against the enemy? 2210-2211

Losing confidence, with treachery among his subordinates and hard pressed by a furious offensive Koṣṭhaka, now eager for flight, made a dive down the mountain. 2212

As the roads were blocked by untimely snow-falls, his opponent in pursuit frustrated his endeavours to secure a passage for his horses. 2213

Smarting under the humiliation he then proceeded to bathe in the Gaṅgā upon being driven out by the king from the realm. 2214

Now Somapāla, worried by his son Bhūpāla and sick of the sufferings of a prolonged civil war, proceeded for asylum to the king. 2215

He having given the two sons of Nāgapāla as hostages the king, who had a tender heart for those who sought refuge with him, promised him freedom from peril. 2216

That this knave had been the cause of the disaster to the Br̥had Rāja Lakṣmaka, the high-minded king, who was foremost in guile-

lessness and generosity, did not recall in the hour of his misfortune.

2217

To assist him, the king gave him his own army and once more restored him to his dignity by putting an end to the pretensions of his opponents

2218

After bathing in the celestial river Koṣṭhaka, in the meanwhile, returned and again espousing the cause of Mallārjuna strenuously prepared to stir up a civil war.

2219

On the occasion of a solar eclipse, the prince who had arrived at Kurukṣetra, had encountered the Lavanya and as a measure of expediency had abandoned his former hostility.

2220

Loṭhana, who had previously been invited and had arrived earlier, upon hearing that the Dāmara had formed a league with Mallārjuna felt mortified and departed as he had come.

2221

Although he had sworn by libation in the presence of Vijayaśa, the foulminded Somapāla connived at the attempted entry of the king's enemies.

2222

His son, however, in order to conciliate the king, got the various Thakkuras to plunder Koṣṭhaka as he passed through their respective territories.

2223

At this juncture, the Brahmans misliking Citraratha, who had obstinately insisted on an increase of imposts, held a hunger-strike at Avantipura.

2224

They were, through arrogance, spurned by him who held the king of no account; and many made a sacrifice of their bodies in the blazing fire through grief.

2225

When even the pasturage of cows given in charity was resumed by his subordinates, a cowherd, too, full of commiseration entered the fire.

2226

2224 Verses 2224 to 2257 contain an episode which describes in detail the urge and method of terrorist Direct Action. Soon after the defeat of Russia by Japan revolutionary activities were started with the object of putting an end to foreign domination in India and the first young men who laid down their lives for the freedom of the country studied the *Bhagavad Gītā* and derived

their inspiration from it. Sir Valentine Chirol describing the early Indian Revolutionary activities comments on the close association of religious and revolutionary beliefs held by the leaders and adds that the *Bhagavad Gītā* was the devotional manual of the revolutionaries. Verse 2256 is a quotation being verse 8 of chapter IV of the *Bhagavad Gītā*.

A youth named Vijayarāja, son of the learned Brahman Pṛthvirāja of eminent family, who being in sore straits was preparing to go abroad with his younger brother, having witnessed this catastrophe at that place, addressed his younger brother dissolved in glistening tears of compassion. 2227-2228

"Look how the helpless subjects are made to perish by the king through the wretch of a minister whom he, from courtesy, supports while they are being ignored!" 2229

"When the king connives at the arbitrary procedure of ministers, who else can then put an end to the hard lot of the down-trodden subjects?" 2230

"Or perhaps the principle of equity is this that, where through mutual rivalry a disturbance has occurred and one who restores order should inflict punishment, some other persons should chastise the one who has restored order for his mode of quelling the disturbance." 2231

"He who is unbridled and the essence of stubbornness should be laid prostrate by strenuous conflicts, such is the case sometimes of steel with rock and of rock with steel sometimes." 2232

"For the sake of a single fault, the king who is radiant with all qualities should not be hated; nothing else but the assassination of Citraratha, it seems to me, is indicated." 2233

"To destroy one vile individual for universal benefit would be pronounced a righteous act; even the Jina slew the dragon who put an end to living beings." 2234

"When the punishment for wicked conduct has been carried out by us, no functionary, fearing a mettlesome man, will venture any more to oppress the subjects." 2235

"If by the sacrifice of this body endless lives could be rendered happy, O brother! is not that the higher bargain?" 2236

When the latter agreeing had said amen and had taken the oath by sacred libation, he approached Citraratha and followed him thereafter in order to kill him. 2237

2227 Udbhata=Pre-eminent; or if it is a proper name here it may refer to the Bhatta Udbhata (IV. 495) who was king Jayāpīḍa's Sabhāpati. Udbhata is

also mentioned in VII. 482.

2234 For Jina See III 28n; *Album*, Vol I. pp 119, 243

Even in this age of Kali, said to be marred by the enfeeblement of the sacred Law, the prestige of the earthly gods sheds, to this day, uninterrupted lustre. 2238

No one whose merit of a former existence is not wholly exhausted has the hardihood to hurl defiance at the Brahman, who have the ability to root out the impious and the wicked. 2239

Sujji who had inflamed the twice-born, met his death at the hands of a Brahman and again by a Brahman, Citraratha, who had caused humiliation to the Brahman, was killed. 2240

The mind of this youth, in fact, was overwrought with the glamour conjured by the Brahman, since he compassed the assassination of Citraratha by throwing away his own life to no purpose. 2241

For, at the very time the Brahman had consigned their bodies to the flames, the hatred towards Citraratha had led to a pitched encounter, in which his retainers had been massacred. 2242

Unable either by day or night to get at Citraratha, who was surrounded by numerous troops, the slayer had to pass no end of sleepless nights. 2243

For, Citraratha, when he went about, had the road lined with an endless number of his vawls and remaining in the centre of a crowd of his folk he was visible and passed out of sight at the same time. 2244

On one occasion he was followed swiftly by Vijayarāja, unrelenting and amazing in perseverance, just as he had passed over the staircase in the royal residence. 2245

Then as he tarried in front of a pillar, Vijayarāja of impetuous courage, struck him with his short sword on the head while he was in the very midst of the grandees. 2246

As if he were about to die, he being unnerved lost consciousness and there while his eyes rolled, it happened that the contents of his bowels passed out. 2247

Believing that he had been killed by command of the king, his affrighted retainers, who had flung away morale, deserted him while he was reduced to such a plight. 2248

2238. Bhūdeva The Brahman acquired an ascendancy early through their learning. The *Satapatha Brāhmaṇa* says "Verily there are two kinds of gods,

for indeed the gods are the gods, and the Brahman, who have studied and teach sacred lore, are the human gods."

Thinking that life was extinct, the assassin did not strike him again and at the same time forbade his brother, who had come up by another stairway. 2249

He did not flee although all exits were unobstructed; "the king has caused Citraratha to be slain," thus repeatedly he proclaimed in a loud voice. 2250

Whereupon Citraratha's followers, who in his company were prominent in the enjoyment in regal state of fried meats and other luxuries—all those cowards fled in terror 2251

His elder brother Lotharatha took to flight and, in his alarm, laying his face upon her breast sought refuge with a dancing girl. 2252

When in that condition Citraratha was taken into the interior, "fear not, who struck you" with such words he was heartened by the king himself. 2253

When by command of the king a search was being made for the assassin, to the soldiers who were demanding, "Who is the slayer of the warden of the frontier", Vijayarāja disclosed his identity by announcing, "I am the man" 2254

The brave youth performing remarkable feats of valour which out-did his own heroism, after wounding twenty or thirty soldiers, was struck in the leg and killed. 2255

From his arm was recovered a little note on which the motive of this act was thus inscribed: "To safeguard the righteous, for the destruction of evil doers and with a view to reinstate the sacred Law, I come to life in each Yuga." His affirmation, at the last moment, in virtue of this verse has sanctified him. 2256-2257

Thereafter Citraratha, notwithstanding the healing of his wound, became, owing to the perforation of the joints of the forehead, a sufferer from disgust for food, melancholia and insanity. 2258

For five or six months he remained ailing, day after day, laid up with his lean and feeble body on the couch. 2259

In the midst of this turmoil, Koshaka, intent on an upheaval, having put forward Mallārjuna had occupied a hill fort environed by trees. 2260

As he toured round striving to hook his own partisans, the people who had not forgotten their sufferings feared the repetition of the dual contest for the throne. 2261

As if an untimely cloud had benumbed their limbs with cold, the

people's strength became paralysed by the rapid rise of the enemy's military array. 2262

The king laid siege to that well-wooded stronghold, by investing it for many miles all round and blockaded it through his ministers who occupied the jungle hamlets in its precincts. 2263

When Sañjapāla settled down in a camp with his Yavanas, the enemy simulated the trees which are rigid and moveless in a calm. 2264

Dhanya, too, who was excited by the smell of an enemy, like a lion by that of the elephant, garrisoned with his force the fort Śilikā. 2265

Rullhaṇa, whose troops were posted by the king at Govāsa, ranged the forest and compelled the enemy to hide as do screech-owls from the sun. 2266

By these prompt measures and tactics of the king, Kosteśvara was checked and in his movements was reduced to a cipher during three or four months. 2267

He had suffered hardships in other lands; ignored by the rulers of states on the border he was isolated from his own class and his efforts were baulked by the king's officers; through the inexperience of youth, he had been unable to understand the ways of kings and forgetting his guilt he, who had been cut off from his rank and dignity, longed to make peace with the king. 2268-2269

As he was anxious to remove the resentment of the sovereign, Sañjapāla, whose sole ideal was devoted service, thinking it would be open to censure to deceive him, fulfilled that wish of his. 2270

Though he had been so harassed, Sañjapāla did not chastise the king's enemy as he was anxious to bring about peace; that there was an absence of hatred for the descendants of Pṛthvīhara was not strange. 2271

Sañjapāla sent to the king his enemy; yet even by cutting his own finger he did not succeed in cutting out the wrath of the sovereign. 2272

2264. Yavana. The term was used for the Ionian Greeks (compare Arabic Yunān=Greece) and later for the

Hellenised people of Afghanistan. By K's time the Turks and Afghans had become Mahomādans.

He tied his turban round the neck, placed a shoe on the head and ate the humble pie, yet he could not bring the king to a favourable mood. 2273

Koṣṭheśvara had refused to acknowledge two or three royal writs, he had disobeyed various royal commands, and had altogether behaved with arrogance as if he were king. 2274

Meanwhile the king learnt that Mallārjuna, who had escaped, had been taken prisoner. In prosperity one success follows on the heels of another for the fortunate. 2275

Not being a good walker Mallārjuna was unable to bear the fatigue of route marches and perched on their shoulders was carried by his dependents. After getting away from various perilous situations, he had arrived at the village of Sāvarnika within the jurisdiction of Lohara where he was detained by the Thakkura, Jaggika, who placed him under guard. The king was now informed that, this vassal who had done a good turn had presented himself before him. 2276-2278

Mallārjuna who had been well-nigh imprisoned by the enemy and had somehow escaped from that fort was, however, taken prisoner by him. Who has the power to cross the purpose of Providence? 2279

The Gaṅgā ravished from her celestial course somehow emerged from the belly of one great sage, who had her stored up, to be swallowed up by another when she had done the replenishing of the depth of the ocean; none is strong enough to transgress what is willed to happen. 2280

Jaggika kept a watch on the immediate neighbourhood until the delivery of the prisoner and the very tactful king deputed the warden of the frontier. 2281

Because barring him who was pre-eminently patient, astute and courageous, the king did not consider that any of the other ministers possessed the firmness necessary for a delicate situation. 2282

Udaya, too, after traversing the passes, beset with danger from those who drew allowances from both sides, espied the king's enemy standing at a window. 2283

By resolute conduct, which was not genuine, Mallārjuna made a

2273 Bhuktavelah literally 'eating sand'

2280 Gaṅgāvataraṇa See III. 530 and App C.

show of courage externally when he had arrived outside and eulogising him with various phrases at last said: 2284

"You who esteem above everything loyalty to the liege-lord and are foremost among the shrewd have been dragged here by those who are aching for the tempting bribe." 2285

"For want of support from one such as you, who are like a protecting jewel, harm was done, during the early part of my rule to me who am a bad ruler, by many intriguers." 2286

"Kings, who like the sun are only visible with difficulty, ordinarily present no difficulty to the eyes of the general public when they are down in luck, like the sun on a winter's day." 2287

"That king deserves to be honoured who is brilliant at his end in the same way as he was at his rise like the sun with his blood-red disc. Blessed is the life of him, on earth, who at his accession could create a sensation in the women's world in the city as well as make the bevy of Apsarās lovelorn at the moment of his grim death" 2288-2289

"After having secured a status worthy of a nobleman and having accomplished a little of the main objective, I have grown up to find myself baffled in the final success, like a classical poet who has diction and has got some theme but is perplexed about the final dénouement." 2290

"By being true to your word may you now vouchsafe me the peace of my mind by a single boon which would not exceed what is feasible for you" 2291

Thus having spoken he then for assurance sake brought before the warden of the frontier a crystal Liṅga with a pedestal that he might touch it. 2292

Udaya bethought him in this wise "No doubt this proud prince wishes for a boon to fight it out in an open mêlée in a clash of arms with warriors showering javelins, lances and arrows." He touched the Śiva-Liṅga and made himself responsible for the boon as desired and then Mallārjuna thus addressed him again:— 2293-2294

"Without gouging out my sight, without being killed or wounded, I beg that you will take me before the king just as you find me now." 2295

2290 See below 2860 and 3265 K is constantly comparing the art of the

poet to statecraft and the difficult art of government.



Hearing his words reeking with cowardice, they were all stupified with shame and remained with faces inclined to the ground like foliage drenched by a shower of rain. 2296

Then recollecting the last moment of Bhukṣu, they revived and their mental equanimity found a reason to blossom once more. 2297

Mounted in a litter transported by men, as he was being removed by Udaya the shameless man, even when looking at people who were fostered by him, felt no emotion. 2298

While being carried along, he wholly gave himself up, like a beast, to feeding and sleeping, etc. of which en route he was not deprived and was not touched by any disquieting thought whatever. 2299

Seeing him in that plight being brought in by the guards, the people's hearts melted towards him and they did not felicitate the king. 2300

And they said, "Such a lack of sympathy is not worthy of the king, who is older by birth, towards his younger brother who deprived of his father deserves commiseration." 2301

"One can not have one's fill gazing at the figure of this prince, whose eyes are like the dark blue lotus; who could be so hard-hearted as to make it repulsive by torture?" 2302

Thus they, unable to conceive any logical sequence between antecedent and succeeding events, gazed upon him at the time oblivious of his guilt while they upbraided the king, in various ways, on the highway. 2303

What can be the measure of the youthful, the callow, and the like when the state of mind of even great men is not one of concentration on a single purpose at all times? 2304

The audience as they listen to the tale of the gambling, the dragging by the hair of the princess of Pāñcāla and the rest of it, their anger against the sons of Dhṛtarāṣṭra rises higher than against the Pāṇḍavas. 2305

When they hear of the drinking of the blood of the Kurus and of the battering of his skull whose thigh had been broken, the same persons are seen to be furious against the Pāṇḍavas. 2306

To be conversant with both sides of a question, one must be in

2299. "Man", said Confucius, "differs from the animal only by a

little, most men throw that little away."

the midst of affairs of state. In a bystander, how should the emotions not be stirred at the various incidents? 2307

Mallārjuna, seated in the litter, moving the citizens to tears and carrying in his lap a clay vessel with his cut finger, reached Śrīnagara in the evening. 2308

On the bright fifteenth of Āśvina, in the year eleven, the king lodged him under guard in the interior of Navamaṭha. 2309

As he gave up food in his distress for five or six nights, the king out of pity went to him, who was begging to be allowed to touch his feet. 2310

When the king had promised him the safety for which he had prayed, he spoke of Citraratha and Koṣṭhaka as being two traitors, who had the very same common design and who both deserved to be put to death. 2311

Now the king anxious to throw into imprisonment Koṣṭhaka, who was about to depart for his own domain, sounded five or six of his confidential men including Rūḥana. 2312

Finding the lot of them in drooping spirits, the king prepared to handle the affair in person, whereupon Rūḥana caught Koṣṭhaka in his arms just as the shark grips the fish. 2313

Deprived of the sword, he remained motionless engaged within the arms of that powerful man like one who is set upon by a ghost when blinded by slumber. 2314

The nephew of Kularāja, the hot-headed Bhūḥkharāja, through fervent love for the sovereign, with the short sword, pierced his neck. 2315

While, however, Pṛthvipāla of the blood royal was about to strike him on the head with his battle axe, he was forbidden by the indignant king. 2316

The piercing of the neckbone having caused a vital injury and made movement impossible Koṣṭhaka rolled on to the floor and remained drenched in blood. 2317

By men of great strength, prominent among whom was Kamaliya, his womb-brother Catuska too, was felled to the ground as a boulder is hurled down by elephants. 2318

Seeing both masters struck down, disabled and taken

prisoners, up rose the Brahman named Mallaka with a drawn sword. 2319

Striking down the royal retainers high and low he was noticed, as he rushed unexpectedly into the scrummage, by the king himself. 2320

While he was cutting down the various intrepid warriors, who coming from the direction of the king had attacked him, Kularāja rushed with his rapier at this man who was a great expert in fencing. 2321

Kularāja who was skilled in fencing could only hold him up against a wall being unable to kill him as his arm was quick to parry by counterstrokes. 2322

Kularāja found it as difficult to retreat or to maintain himself as to strike him and he continued to make many passes holding him who, unwounded, was at bay. 2323

While Mallaka was resonant with the stamping of his feet and the rapid movements of his arms, his eye was caught at this time by Padmarāja who was rushing at him. 2324

Thus finding a loop-hole Kularāja made a pass at his chest, but after the lunge, as his arm was in the backward motion, Mallaka cut off his thumb 2325

As Bijarāja, fast warming up was fencing with sheer effrontery and Mallaka was dealing counterstrokes these two then made rapid thrusts. 2326

Shaking off even these three assailants together, he rushed at the king whom he had sighted flitting towards the door of the four-pillared pavilion. 2327

As the king had become his target, Kularāja, in agitation, immediately gave chase and wounding him in the hip-bone checked his rush. 2328

Then he was surrounded by the whole lot of the combatants and after swiftly dealing death to the faint of heart and courageous alike, he sank on the couch of the heroes where the streaming blood formed his magnificent coverlet. 2329

Under the eyes of his masters, who though reduced to dire straits were yet alive, he performed laudable feats of valour and with his

2319 Verses 2319 to 2330 contain a graphic description, in the style of the

19th century French novelists, of fencing and swordsmanship.

enviable last moments, he alone was numbered among the brave. 2330

Outside, Kothika's vassals had faded away, only the Dāmara named Janakacandra with resolute courage bore himself so as not to cut a poor figure. 2331

He was unarmed yet snatching a battle-axe from one of the royal retainers, he made many, in the affray, his heralds to appear before Yama. 2332

As he was about to ascend to the solar world, the battle-axe clung to his hand with a longing to sever the carotid vein of the enemy, like that of the lunar light to share in the Susumnā ray. 2333

We have neither seen nor heard the like of what, at this time, the proud and virtuous wife of Kothaka did upon the imprisonment of her husband. 2334

Rejecting the advice of the relatives that being alive her husband may yet be restored to her, she entered the flames 2335

Fire, corrupted by the sinful thirst for the embrace of the Lady of Seven Sages, was purified by the feet of this lady when she went to the world of chaste women. 2336

That daughter of Vasanta, brother of Dhruva and Udaya,—the lady with the pride of her pure lineage—would not lend support to the course of conduct of the wives of the Lavanyas. 2337

Let the beautiful wives of the Lavanyas, even in widowhood,

2330 Loyalty to the immediate liege-lord was essentially a feudal idea

2331 *Adandratim uvāha dhruven* is rendered by a corresponding English idiom

2333 The moon is said to receive the light of the sun by the ray known as *Susumnā*. The souls of warriors slain in battle go to the solar world. See verse 3288 below

2336 The Seven Sages are *Mārīci*, *Atri*, *Angiras*, *Pulastya*, *Pulaha*, *Kratu*, and *Vasiṣṭha* who together form the constellation *Ursa Major*. *Arundhati*

is the wife of *Vasiṣṭha*, one of the Seven Sages. She was one of the ten daughters of the patriarch *Kardama* by *Devahuti*. *Arundhati* is the ideal of conjugal felicity and wifely devotion. She is invoked by the bridegroom during nuptial ceremonies and receives greater veneration than the Seven Sages.

*Agni* (fire) being a god now domiciled on earth looks vainly up and casts longing eyes at the chaste *Arundhati*, who twinkles below the *Ursa Major*, in the inaccessible sky!

from desire for wealth share with their loins the feast of love with village officials, householders and others. 2338

Though delirium had brought on melancholia, the proud Kōsthaka because of her and his two followers could hold his head high. 2339

Although his wound was healing, Kōsthaka for his sins was afflicted with maggots and after many a night in the prison, he fell lifeless 2340

Then Citraratha, who had withered away until he had become very thin, hearing that the king had been prejudiced by Mallārjuna, became exceedingly ill at ease through alarm. 2341

His one and only wife, the beloved and virtuous Sūryamatī who was the guarantor of his prosperity had ere this become a guest in the next world. 2342

With the body struck down by incurable disease, the house from which his wedded one had departed, the master prejudiced by animosity, he was not the least bit happy. 2343

Thinking that no harm would befall him from the king if he lived, even if guilty, in a sanctuary he, under the pretext of wishing to die, proceeded to Sureśvari. 2344

Thereupon the rich properties of all kinds which he, who was more opulent than the god of wealth, owned, were confiscated from various places by the king. 2345

His gold embroidered raiment, armour, horses, jewels, accoutrements and other valuables each, in turn, glittered as if in emulation to display their splendour surpassing each other. 2346

The tree of sovereignty, which had withered with the summer heat of the treason at Lohara, was freshened when watered by the mountain stream of his wealth. 2347

Although the disturbances had ceased long ago, because of the hardships usual in a life in the forest, Vijaya had never left the luminous Kalyāṇapura just as Hariścandra would not leave Saubha. In his residence was the royal Lakṣmī personified; kept as a prisoner she

2338. There were different standards of morals in the Middle Ages for women and men and, indeed, the difference survives to our own times K. condemns immorality among men also The Dāmara ladies apparently agr-

eed with Flaubert, 'Il manque quelque chose à celui qui ne s'est jamais réveillé dans un lit sans nom, qui n'a pas vu dormir sur son oreiller une tête qu'il ne verra plus'

had lost her sleep, and anxiety had brought on a pallor which made her look as if she were reflecting the gleaming white parasol. Vijaya, the son of Bhava, learning that an assassin had been employed by the king, slew him whose name was Ānanda and was himself killed by him.

2348-2350

In this fashion was passed that incomparable period full of all kinds of adventures by king Jayasimha, who was so devoted to the protection of the subjects.

2351

While Citraratha was staying in the sanctuary, his two subordinates, Śṛṅgāra and Janaka, anxious to secure the office of Pādāgra, indulged openly in intrigues.

2352

By tendering a heavy sum to the king Śṛṅgāra won him over, overreached Janaka and secured the enjoyment of his master's emoluments.

2353

The king restored Udaya to the office of the warden of the frontier of which he had been deprived for a long time, just as the season of the clouds replenishes the river up to the banks

2354

Evil deeds which inevitably have to be atoned having long cut him to the quick Citraratha, too, survived in legend at the end of eight months.

2355

Thanks to the power of familiarity, which in a manner unimaginable conquers prejudice and makes even a ridiculously ugly person appear normal, whereby one holds on to an evil smelling person, too, as a companion, and even accept advice from an absolute lout.

2356

Śṛṅgāra, during the early life of the king who having been a spoilt child had a wayward mind, had formerly won favour by reprehensible pastimes such as gambling and the rest of it. Upon the accession of sovereign power, the king began to send him with Tāmbūla to Citraratha which tiresome work by day and night he accepted; through serving on political missions, he secured an insight into affairs of state and came to be the latter's confidential man. Upon Citraratha's death he, colluding with the servants, disclosed to the king the treasure of Citraratha. At this time the royal court being

2348-2350 Hariścandra, according to legend, is the prince of the city of Śaumbha which is suspended in the air.

2355 Kathā-śeṣaḥ=survived as legend, was forgotten.

universally devoid of talent among the grandees and the ministers, Sajjaka's son Śṛṅgāra, secured the office of prime minister. 2357-2360

Habituated to prescribed regulations, he was narrow-minded yet his riches did not go for any evil purpose, since his charities though insignificant were bestowed on deserving persons. 2361

He, who had considered himself passing rich when he could provide his wife with food and raiment, became munificent in his gifts of rice to the Gurus. 2362

For having endowed a silver pedestal by supplying his own silver at Sureśvari which is extant, he became worthy of communion with the Supreme Being. 2363

At Nandiksetra by expending a large fortune such as even kings in modern times would be unable to sanction, he made a noble provision for the festival of Āsāḍha. To this end he was inspired by Caṇpaka and others and, in conformity with the times, he maintained it for five or six years. 2364-2365

He, who was believed to be worthless because of his amorous nature, put through amazing business, on obtaining office, owing to the strength of his master's affection. 2366

The finger-nail of the youthful Pārvatī ever ready in the sport of love, it was often thought, might hurt the snake while serving as a decoration for the neck of Śiva; even he did not break as he stretched himself upon the bow formed by the mountain by command of the enemy of Tripura. How should another not be endued with power on the strength of the master's authority? 2367

Taking shelter under him and under Rulliana and Dhanya, Janaka and one Śṛṅgāra by offering money ousted each other from office. 2368

On one occasion, Śṛṅgāra by imprisoning Janaka with his wife and sons forced him to shed tears as well as the pearls from his trunkets. 2369

And he, on one occasion, harassed and caused him to be dishonoured by depositing bribe money with the stern guards, asking for sexual indulgence. 2370

2367 The snake is Vāsuki. And the mountain refers to Mandāra See App. C.

2370. A life of pleasure for a person

in disgrace was against the old code of honour See II. 105-106, IV. 437-439, 441 and VI. 135.

When either of them once more obtained an official post, he made the people laugh by rubbing and fidgeting with his ring on the ring-finger with the thumbnail, twisting and pouting his upper lip while talking and half closing his eyes while the region of the forehead became uneven with the insurgence of the lines of his frowning brows.

2371-2372

With his indistinct speech and ungentle words, blinking eyes, shouting overmuch or laughing and clapping of hands the other, too, made himself conspicuous in prosperity.

2373

In fact considering everything during this unmentionable period, when decency has disappeared and men are like straw, Śringāra, I ween, deserves not to be condemned.

2374-2375

The king, who is all comprehending and unshakable in intellect, has by his charitable conduct attained foremost rank among those who are devoted to pious acts. Buddha-like he has conferred obligations on his enemy in distress as the sandal tree cools the scorched body of the man who has caused the conflagration in the forest. To the Gurus, scholars, Brahmans, orphans, and members of joint families he distributes gifts with due marks of distinction. The pure-minded king is a devotee of Vijayēśa and other gods; having had stucco put on the temples, the wealthy king made them vie with Kailāsa and as he has a passion for the restoration of ancient monuments, the repair of shrines, Maṭhas, pleasure gardens, ponds, canals and the like is his constant care.

2376-2380

Yet once having committed odious acts against his colleagues, the stupid go so far as to say that, he has reached the summit of cruelty.

2381

The magnanimous conduct of the celestial river in fostering the universe, supplying the seven seas, gratifying Brahmā, the other gods and the rest of it has been made light of owing to one silly act committed on a certain occasion when she touched the pile of ashes of Sagara's sons. The people have since considered her suitable for the deposit of bones as if she were a burial ground!

2382

At about this time, the wretch of an official the Brahman Śivaratha who was prolific in schemes of intrigues perished by tying a halter to his neck.

2383

2383. This verse shows that K. uses the term Kāyastha to mean a govern-

ment official; it has no reference to the caste now known as Kāyastha in India.



In this wise by removing thorns of every description, the king, subserving to his innate goodness, rendered the kingdom free from menace. 2384

Kings attain lustre principally by the removal of their opponents, who are impediments like sunbeams released from the clouds. 2385

This jewel of a king developed in time a charming personality, just as the vine growing to maturity attains greater sweetness. 2386

He sedulously encouraged sacrifices at which extensive Dakṣiṇās were given, as well as weddings, pilgrimages and other sacred observance and festivals 2387

For the ritual ceremonies of those who observed the ways of piety, he gave supplies from his own stores just as the moon supplies her lustre to the herbs of the noble mountains. 2388

During the weddings of the sons, consecrations, and other ceremonies of the residents of the city, he allowed the use of the requisite materials and equipments with unfailing interest. 2389-2390s

Although he is immersed in affairs of state, his fervent devotion like that of a Muni to the worship of Śiva is watched by philosophers with amazement 2391

From early morn until eventide, no activity on his part is noticed in which experts have not acted as his instructors. 2392

In the blinding darkness due to lack of knowledge, learning had shone at intervals during the periods of Jayāpīḍa and others like the evanescent flashes of lightning in the clouds. 2393

He, however, by disbursing wealth has made the halo of the portrait of his various virtues imperishable, like the lasting iridescence of a jewel. 2394

He made the scholars, together with their families, owners, as long as the planets and the sun and moon should endure, of villages with undivided and fertile fields. 2395

2386. The Vine (*vitis vinifera*) has grown wild in Kāśmīr since ancient times with the luxuriance of a tropical creeper producing abundance of fruits without pruning or cultivation Kāśmīr was famous for grapes which were known in India as Kāśmīrā K. proudly refers to them in I 42

The Vine lives to a great age under favourable circumstances Pliny men-

tions one 600 years old. Vines 100 year old are accounted young in the vineyards of Italy and there are said to be some in Burgandy upwards of 400 years old For other references to the Vine see IV 192 VII 498

2395 In charters and grants the words "so long as the sun and moon endure" are used to convey in perpetuity

For the learned he has constructed houses, the terraces of which are elevated to such heights that, they extend to the heads of the seven sages of the constellations by whom they are viewed as a marvel. 2396

With his prepossessing figure and instructive wisdom as leader of the caravan on the route, the scholars relying on him are assured of a faultless itinerary. 2397

As Āryarāja, when reclining for sleep, was very fond of the musical sound rising from the flowing water with which the Lingas were ceremoniously bathed, so he having done away with the flute, the lute and the like, at bed time, finds delight in the thought provoking conversation with men of learning who are free from jealousy. 2389-2399

During the reigns of the illustrious Lalitāditya, Avantivarman and other kings consecrations and other pious work, which had remained incomplete, were at this time carried out. 2400

As for those Maṭhas and temples, which were founded in his own reign, permanent endowments were created by him for all of them. 2401

The Vihāra of Ratnādevī, who was the soil in which her lord's affection had taken deep root, ranked first in eminence among all the foundations. 2402

Then Rilhāṇa, his friend of many virtues, came to be the foremost wayfarer in the long line of all the ministers put together on the road of pious acts. 2403

This pure-minded man was not able to part company from the anchorites, men of letters, and those grown grey in jurisprudence even when he was in his private apartments 2404

Because of his acts of kindness, principally gifts of blackbuck-skins and of milch cows with calves, as well as through the marriage celebrations of his god-daughters, his was a life replete with piety. 2405

The ritual ceremony of all who maintained the perpetual sacred

2396 The Seven Sages are the Constellation Saptarsi, the Great Bear.

See verse 2336 ante.

2405. Dharma-Kanyā = god-daughter.

fire was rendered free from impediments by this magnanimous man, by furnishing all the materials necessary for sacrifices. 2406

With choice dishes, the sixty-four castes regaled themselves during this sacrificial feast, a marvel of organisation on his part whose mind had no touch of narrow-mindedness. 2407

He embellished the cities of the two Pravarasenas, with splendid bridges and Maṭhas richly endowed with many an Agṛhāra. 2408

The temple of Rūḥaneśvara founded by him in the first city of king Pravara, excited wonder and gained pre-eminence among pious foundations. 2409

A Vihāra in the locality of the Bhaleraka fountain was erected by this meritorious man in honour of his wife Sussalā, who had departed for the other world. It came to be known by the name of her cat, who following her in death instead of forgetting her attachment as is usual among animals, had died. 2410-2411

Indicating jealousy and prejudice towards the husband, she would withdraw to a distance, as if she were human was this pet cat beloved by her. 2412

Since the day when Sussalā set out for the Tirtha, she moaned for her and refusing the food brought before her, relinquished her life through sorrow. 2413

Diddā among the consorts of kings and Sussalā among the wives of ministers have ascended to the highest peak on the path of religious benefices, through their multifariousness. 2414

Sussalā had rebuilt the noble Vihāra, which had been reduced to a condition when it survived only in name, with a stone temple, residential quarters and other structures. 2415

By the construction of water wheels, wells, hostels for students and like works, all her structures for charitable uses attained completion. 2416

By her Vihāra, which occupied the entire site on which stood the residence of a former royal dynasty, Śrīnagara as a whole was transformed into a vision of loveliness. 2417

Soon after the consecration of the Vihāra, worn out by phthisis she

2406 The worship of the fire is a survival from Vedic times. There are beautiful hymns addressed to Agni in the Rg-Veda.

2410. Cats were evidently popular pets. See VII 279, VII 139.

2415 See IV. 215.

found her death at Sureśvarī, which heralded her glorious communion with the Supreme Being. 2418

The Mathas and Agrahāras, founded by Dhanya in the name of his wife, did not acquire the desired celebrity. Whence can there be fame without merits of the former existence? 2419

Udaya, the commander-in-chief, however, who also like him had founded Agrahāras and Maṭhas, always heard the mention of his own name which was joined with them. 2420

The splendid Maṭha created by Udaya, the warden of the frontier, together with its group of residential quarters for Brahmans added splendour to the bank of the Padmasaras. 2421

His elder brother, the pure-minded judge Śṛṅgāra, too, founded Maṭhas, gardens, bathing pools and the like at Śrīdvāra. 2422

Alaṅkāra, the chief of the High Treasury, by constructing bath-houses, Mathas, residential quarters for Brahmans, bridges and the like embellished the land. 2423

This enlightened man was born in a gifted family to heal and ever to serve the ends of peace; renowned as a poet he combined open-handedness with renunciation. 2424

A peerless devotee of Viṣṇu he served the king and in his non-violence offered gifts of gold, food, and raiment; further, on the occasion of the pageant of Varāha he made gifts of cows. 2425

The convent of Śṛṅgāra Bhatta, in the proximity of the Bhaṭṭāraka convent, being like a well by the side of the surging ocean did not acquire any particular celebrity. 2426

Jatṭa the minister for peace and war of the ruler of Dārvābhisāra, who was devoted to works of piety, founded a shrine to him who is manifest in eight forms. 2427

Among trees the oleander alone offering the loving gift of a mass of flowers enjoys a charming privilege; its flowers are blessed by that marvellous Liṅga of Kāma's enemy, which has revealed itself spontaneously. 2428

2421. Padmasaras=The Vular Lake  
See IV 593.

2427 For the eight manifestations of the Creator, including the sun and moon, see the opening verse of Kālidāsa's *Śakuntalā*.

2428. Karavīra=Nerium, Oleander  
—a native of Kāśmīr and of the

Mediterranean region. It was known to Pliny who mentions its rose like flowers. The Greeks described it under three names rhododendron, Nerion, and rhododaphne. The Oleander is a very popular flowering shrub in Indian gardens.

Among all the ministers honoured by the king with rank and dignity, Jalha's younger brother named Bhutta truly deserved the highest distinction 2429

The self-originating Śiva on Bālakeśvara reveals himself and receives from him adoration in person, like Jyestharudra from Vasistha 2430

He there founded a town named Bhuttapura, free from impurity, with Vihāras, Mathas and splendid dwellings 2431

In Śrīnagara, too, he consecrated a shrine to Śiva named Bhūteśvara and constructed in Madavagrāma a lake, which was a mirror of the grace of religion. 2432

By constructing the Vaikuntha convent and other sacred dwellings, the grounds of her own Vihāra were firmly laid out by Ratnādevī investing her own money to embellish them 2433

At Ratnāpura—a very flourishing place with many gates—her spotless convent has the charm of a large aviary, where acts of piety represent the sportive swans 2434

The conqueror of death located by her in edifices whitened by stucco is brilliant, it seems he has created a white isle to cut transience out of human existence. 2435

Śūravarman and other kings, the builders of Gokulas, when she erected her Gokula, were reckoned as if they paid her homage making use of a wisp of grass. 2436

There in the grazing grounds, the cows provided with the glorious waters of the Vitastā roamed at will unobstructed and their bodies were free from sickness 2437

In that place the statue of Visnu holding up Mount Govardhana is the embodiment of noble bearing and marvellous beauty, which Viśvakarman could not have achieved 2438

After founding charming convents, she took up her residence at Nandiksetra and at places like the garden of Jayavana 2439

In Dārvābhisāra, also, a town was founded by her bearing her own name which enshrined the charm and refinement of royalty and was comparable to the city of Indra 2440

This queen who was tenderly loved by her servants created various

2436 To keep straw in the mouth as a token of submission was an ancient

custom, it is still current on the Afghan border

benefices in memory of those who had died, chief of whom was her esteemed chamberlain. 2441

Thus when it had been embellished in different places, this best of the kings founded his own Maṭha as the finishing touch of beauty to the land, like the patch on the forehead when all the limbs are adorned with trinkets. 2442

The unostentatious king endowed it with many villages and this prominent place was given publicity by the prescient with the appellation of Sindhapura. 2443

The daughter's son of the chief of Kārapatha settled in this place Brahmans born in the Indus region as well as Dravid Brahmans who formerly lived in the centre of Siddhacchatra. 2444

Or why praise the construction of convents and such other structures by him who restored to prosperity with its villages and the capital the entire kingdom of Kaśmīr? 2445

This land, which owing to the wickedness of the age had come to resemble a desolate wilderness, he set up once more with wealth, population, and habitations. 2446

Since from the very beginning, the king had pledged himself to donate what was prayed for, convents and temples were, in many instances, founded even by masons and other artisans. 2447

The treasure, apparel, jewellery and other possessions having been shared in company with them by the unselfish king, the citizens could celebrate the various big festivals. 2448

Even when harvests of rice failed owing to such misfortunes as untimely snowfall and inundations, abundance of food did not diminish during this period. 2449

Strange things happened when at night the voices of demons were heard, comets and meteors and other portents were observed, the subjects did not perish nevertheless. 2450

Koṣṭhesvara's younger brother, who had raised a revolt, was transported by the king to the presence of the Destroyer by means of fighting, espionage and repression. 2451

The king, having upset Vikramarāja planted Gullana as ruler at Vallāpura and other rulers in other principalities. 2452

2444 As late as the 12th century students in Kaśmīr  
Dravid Brahmans are mentioned as

Rulers of subjects in Kānyakubja and other places who were in enjoyment of magnificent territorial possessions felt, because of their friendship with this sun among kings, that they had been honoured

2453

While he was resplendent by his undisputed statecraft, it happened that the Rajah of the Dards Yaśodhara paid the debt to nature.

2454

Although he was a border chief, by rendering great services he had come to know the inner mind of the king, upon his death his descendants having fallen into the power of his ministers, an anxious situation arose.

2455

For Yaśodhara's own minister named Viḍḍasiha, who had won the love of his wife, had cunningly usurped the ruling power during the minority of the son

2456

While he was gradually gaining control over the land and was aiming at depriving of his rights the boy, who was the ruler merely in name, with a view to seize the territory for himself, another minister named Paryuka, in the meantime, put forward the claim of the second son of Yaśodhara and raised an opposition.

2457-2458

While with Kāśmīr to back him Paryuka was carrying on a struggle for power, the king, whose mind was seized with an ardent desire to assert himself otherwise called folly, superseded Sañjapāla and others who were fit for all onerous tasks and although himself skilled in statecraft, from regard for the proud position of him on whom he had conferred the office of prime minister and other powers, followed the plan of Sajja's son Śṛṅgāra, who was for despatching his own younger and inexperienced brother out of friendliness for Paryuka.

2459-2461

For a campaign in a country without previous experience what a contrast there is between the prestige of illustrious men experienced in state affairs, whose nerves remain unshaken in universal panic, and a person hardly to be differentiated from a boy, or a callow youth with no political sense!

2462-2463

With the help of their own officials who are opposed to the objective, they who are unaware of the real condition of the army, the terrain, the fortifications, the finances and the like, desire to strike at the enemy's proud position.

2464

Merely because of his exalted position, the rulers of states on the border submit to the king's policy. Enemies should be considered as

showing the face of friends to the extent only of the assistance rendered by them. 2465

When it comes to a matter of winning over the allies of the enemies by diplomatic pressure, what a contrast between a man inexperienced in negotiations in state affairs and fools who may be knaves as well! 2466

Immature persons could not seize the government of the Darads which had fallen into internal dissension, as a tree which having fallen through a landslide on the bank can not be carried away by a feeble current of water wherein it is lying. 2467

From Paryuka, who in his critical situation was longing for all kinds of bribes, Śṛṅgāra's brother, slack in his actions, was unable to take even Dugdhiaghāta. 2468

When the son of Sajja had retreated as he had come, Viddasiha concluded peace with Paryuka and harboured a grudge against the king of Kaśmīr. 2469

Śṛṅgāra, with whom the premiership had remained no longer than a monkey rests on a tree, at this juncture became friends with death. 2470

Until the death of Lakṣmika, the powers of the prime minister were confined in a single channel but thereafter they broke up a hundredfold like the waters of a cascade. 2471

Other ministers, too, who by command of the sovereign had enjoyed the privilege of exalted rank caught their death during this period through some fatality. 2472

How shall we praise the sympathetic sovereign, who confirms the infant son of his deceased minister in the rank and dignity of his father? 2473

The servants of the ministers, however, started an amazing course. They unhesitatingly took their master's wealth as one takes one's own wedded wife. 2474

For, after presenting it to the king, they appropriated the estates of their deceased masters while administering them for the benefit of the children. 2475

On the death of the treasury superintendent, named Viśva, the high tradition of the secretaries was maintained by one Sahaja only. 2476

2473 There was no hereditary nobility in India and sons of noblemen rose

to the rank of nobles of the court by personal merit and favour of the king



He, though asked by the king, did not assume the higher powers of the office, but rendered assistance to his master's son named Tista in order to instruct him. 2477

Alas! even after the discovery, in their devotion to duty, of a lack of efficiency the officials are promoted by those vested with authority, according to seniority, to higher and higher powers. 2478

The waters of the river of the three-fold course had of yore served for ceremonial ablution from a pitcher for the Creator, it next relieved the weary feet of the foe of the Titans after his fatiguing traverse of the universe; then Śiva found a place for it on his own head. Even for a blockhead, if at any time he has been employed by one ruler, all rulers will perforce have deep respect owing to their habit of following on the trodden path. 2479

The expulsion of Sujji had germinated as the plant of wrong policy; being sprinkled by the follies of Śṛṅgāra it had, in course of time, become ready to fruit. 2480

For two or three years thereafter, the sulky Viḍḍasīha had continued to ceaselessly excite the cupidity of Lothana for the throne through his emissaries. 2481

At a safe distance, with his ambition unimpaired he had taken shelter under the ruling chief Śūra and maintained himself together with his kinsfolk by agriculture, trade, and other occupations. The adventurous Lothana started intrigues with Alankāracakra and other Dāmaras who had formed marriage relationships with the councillors of the Dards. 2482-2483

Just at the outset of his expedition to join those who had the control of the hill forts, his friend, the base Janakabhadrā died. 2484

At different places in Karnādha and other districts wherever people saw him on tour, the minds of some were inclined towards treason while others were for good faith. 2485

Though he, with abundant endeavour, was in this fashion engaged calmly and cunningly in preparing for an invasion, the king took no notice of him and remained inactive through insouciance. 2486

The subversive propaganda fostered the rebellion with the financial

2479 K is here making fun of princes who honour people merely because they have been honoured by other rulers.

2482 Apparently princes and their relatives did not consider it *infra dig* in those days to maintain themselves by agriculture and trade!

assistance sent by those who longed for unrest; thereupon Udaya, the warden of the frontier, was despatched by the king 2487

While he was mobilizing the army in the city of Śankaravarman, he heard that Lothana had made a junction with Alanikāracakra. 2488

Furthermore, he received the report that a son of king Sussala, named Vighrahañāja, as well as Bhoja, son of Salhana, had arrived with him. 2489

Then in order to crush them at the very outset he, by forced marches, in one day covered the road which would have taken several days to traverse. 2490

He had failed to rope in the members of his class by fabricating lies, and reduced to helplessness when Udaya's offensive struck at his movements, that Dāmara took to flight. 2491

Thereupon they all took refuge in the fort as Śīraśīlā which is encircled by the river Kṛṣṇagañgā and the streams Madhumatī and the Muktaśrī. 2492

The warden of the frontier scoured the country at great length, but could not ascertain for certain whether Alanikāracakra had plunged into the forest or was holding out in the fortress. 2493

When, at last, it was confirmed that he had climbed up to the fort, even Providence was not in doubt that the power of the king would be invincible. 2494

During that insurrection all the Dāmara thieves shared in the eagerness to rise, like fish in a pond burst by torrential rain. 2495

Then Trilaka and others who were secretly disloyal once more made use of Lothana, a son of Pṛthivihara, who was an expert in conspiratorial intrigues. 2496

He had been burning down towns, villages and other places and had become inaccessible to his pursuers and although every now and then he was reduced to a critical condition, he was saved by his partisans. 2497

On the horizon flashing everywhere becoming visible and disappearing, he, appointed by fate, seemed to be like the comet Brahma-putra which rises at the end of the Kalpa. 2498

2498 The comet which according to the *Bṛhat-Samhitā* is to appear at the end of the Kalpa in different directions

is a sign before the annihilation of the world.

When the weary ministers with a view to temporise pressed for a compromise, the people believed that the entire territory of the Maḍavarājya was lost. 2499

Meanwhile, owing to the lack of effective countermeasures, the enemy continued to gain ascendancy and the king after holding counsel together despatched Dhanya. 2500

When the task was entrusted to his shoulders folks spoke in this wise "The warden of the frontier will be humiliated and cease to take an interest or even turn antagonistic." 2501

"Bhikṣu was single-handed and so, too, was Mallārjuna—these three together, however, who have formed a league are unfortunately difficult to overcome" Such was the view of all the subjects. 2502

The warden of the frontier, however, who in his dealings was free from jealousy, desiring success for the king even at the cost of his own fame continued to strive for it with all his heart. 2503

He alone who while engaged on his master's mission is never baffled, who does not resort to sulking through resentment, who, when the master is influenced by a coterie, is free from jealousy in the conduct of affairs and intent on gaining the objective; such a minister is not for him, the merit of whose past life is scanty. 2504

Sasthacandra, younger brother of Pañcacandra, whom the king upon the latter's death had placed in his fief, also marched forth for the campaign. 2505

Dvibāhuka and the rest the principal. . . together with the musicians followed only in the train of Dhanya as well as other royal servants of the outer court. 2506

While Dhanya and the rest posted themselves on the bank of the river which passes by the fort, the warden of the frontier, who was at the watch-station, barred the routes in the rear. 2507

Refraining from reckless assaults, bootless encounters and jealousy of the leader, he acted with fortitude and calmness in withering up the enemy. 2508

On the bank of the Madhumatī Dhanya set up with the help of bands of mechanics and wood-cutters and other workmen rows of houses which vied with those of Śrīnagara. 2509

This capable chief filled the forest glades with habitations and built

a camp, which was barricaded by trees and illuminated and richly equipped with all comforts. 2510

In a region where the winter season is severe with deep snows, the very terrain which was the objective of the campaign was, through the glory of the king's good luck, emblazoned with sunshine. 2511

The despatch of stores, which were a wonder of the world, by the king who was anxious for victory was not interrupted even at a time, when owing to civil war the royal authority had shrivelled. 2512

Although the menace was being overcome as soon as ever it had arisen still it was the wailing of the villagers, harried by the transport of loads, which acquired the similitude with the expiatory oblation. 2513

By showing his displeasure against those who had deserted owing to the depression caused by the prolonged campaign and by gratifying with honours those who had been steadfast, the king restored the morale of the army. 2514

Though for three or four months the troops in this fashion held on stoutly, they altogether failed to capture those who had sought shelter in the fortress. 2515

Because, nothing uncomfortable had taken place which might have caused despondency in those arrogant persons, such as a blockade cutting off their exit, food supplies and the like. 2516

Looking forward to making a display, at the end of the snow drifts, of their own power the Dāmaras, burgeoning with delight stood by like the hills with the trees in bud. 2517

Cultivation was abandoned by the cultivators and the recital of the Vedas by the Brahmans who, ready to rise in revolt in the villages, everywhere took up the sword 2518

Awaiting the melting of the snows on their mountain passes the Darads, longing to raid, held themselves with their horsemen in a state of readiness. 2519

The mass of snow seemed to the royal army as if it were shaped like Death's couch of cotton; the troops lived in perpetual dread of snow-fall. 2520

Thus without judging the material and moral resources of his

opponents, the king had in vain commenced operations and now entertained misgivings about their success. 2521

To deceive those, whose wits are saturated with shrewdness, fate has this sole extraordinary method whereby they become doubtful of their strength and ruin their endeavours by too much deliberation as against even an enemy who is in a quandary. 2522

He, who is afearcd of the enemy's host which has an existence only in rumour, imperils his success through his own wits being obscured by disquiet. 2523

"With the help of the bees it might swiftly pierce me or deliver an attack with its leaves or fetter me with filaments" if, in this way, an elephant were to be affrighted by the exaggerated fame of the means of the lotus-plant then his limbs, enormous though they may be, succumbing to fear would turn him away from the risk involved in uprooting it. 2524

For, when Lothana and the rest somehow made good their escape from Karnāha and had joined Alamkārācakra, it was felt that the government had been vanquished. 2525

In vain, however, had his colleagues woven a fabric of lies—how should the warden of the frontier else have fallen upon him and delivered an impetuous onslaught? 2526

Lacking the strength for resistance thereafter, he sent away the cadets of the blood royal to the fortress and upon the following day he himself followed them. 2527

The fortress stood on a hill which narrowed down towards the river while possessing an expansive ridge at the back; they gazed at it as if it were a stork absorbed in snapping up the fish. 2528

Seeing it void of resources, like an elephant stable without an elephant, they abandoned the hope of success and terror possessed their hearts. 2529

"From there with arrows and from here with a shower of stones are the assailants to be repulsed; that way for the protection of the stream and from here are the stones for the catapults to be guarded"—while the Dāmara, having taken them along, was calmly explaining in this wise, they reckoned that he was seeking solely to protect his own self and was not firmly resolved to wage war. 2530-2531

Then as the offensive of the opposing army began to unfold itself

at Tilagrāma and the freebooter became incapable of resistance, they were all worn out by anxiety. 2532

Loṭhana, on the other hand, whose intellect and sociability had remained undeveloped owing to his isolation, openly reviled the Dāmara who was fully occupied with his duties. 2533

But Bhoja saying, "He might descend to treachery against us," checked his infuriate uncle and complimented Alanikāracakra with simulated praises. 2534

Towards the unfriendly Loṭhana, the Dāmara was unflinchingly deceitful, while owing to Bhoja's conciliatory words, the Dāmara considered that he had in a certain measure the ability to give counsel and maintained a friendly understanding with him. 2535

Bhoja dissuaded his uncle from asking to be allowed to depart by saying, "He will not let us go thinking that the king would kill him when we have escaped." 2536

Bhoja, then, held forth in a reasoned manner to the Dāmara thus: "You and we—all of us are together besieged; the arrogant enemy not apprehending any hostilities in their rear from any one would continue to strive unswervingly. Whatever they might attempt would have a chance of success. Therefore let me out just by myself. By inviting the other Lavanyas or the Darads I shall soon raise the siege,"—and he made as if he agreed, in a measure, with his protégé. 2537-2539

"I shall let you go during the night to-day or perchance to-morrow," saying thus with undiminished courtesy, he deceived him every moment. 2540

As their opponents who were at a great distance had failed to cut off their communications which should have been done, they continued to pass their days with the food stores brought from the outlying villages. 2541

Apprehending that the operations might end in disaster, Dhanya and others now prayed to the king to make peace with the enemy. 2542

The king, considering the negotiation for peace as incompatible for a number of reasons, ordered them to surround the ramparts of the stronghold. 2543

And he sent the message: "The Dāmara, on being bribed by my kinsmen, will let them go and they will sneak away to their own estates having won publicity." 2544

"If even in a grim struggle we are not firm in action and lack in

*Savoir faire*, we shall have to repent the non-performance of the task when denounced by the subjects." 2545

"If king Harsa had not relaxed his efforts for seven days, then he might have secured the stream of milk, even a stranger on hearing this feels a twinge." 2546

"Everybody gets what is in store for him in the three worlds as a result of his own actions whether good or bad, yet the people will throw in one's face the waste of one's opportunities." 2547

"The winged ant despite its feet and wings can move neither on earth nor in the sky but only in a hole; of what avail are resources if the scope of action is subject to determinism." 2548

"For the course of the sun with his thousand feet Aruna, despite his being without thighs, has come to be the proximate cause; if he had both his feet what more, to surpass this, could he possibly have achieved?" 2549

"Therefore give up being spectators and surround the entire fort even if in this enterprise were to pass, in our case as well as theirs, a lifetime." 2550

"The indefatigable wind engenders a feeling of affection even as the flame, by the continuity of its action water breaks up even the noble mountains, when affairs of state have emerged as living problems, perseverance, unostentatious and energetic, leads to results in this world of inconceivable value at every turn" 2551

Hearing the grim order of the king, Dhanya and others thereupon immediately left the river bank and climbed up the very path leading to the fortress. 2552

While the garrison wondering in what manner they would lay siege and how they would hold their own were pouring down arrows and watching with keen interest, Dhanya, in the meantime, transformed that region with huts to resemble a town and from below, with incessant assaults, harried them though they were high up. 2553-2554

Thereafter with the incessant fighting, at every moment the casualties among the troops became altogether innumerable in both the armies. 2555

2546 Stream of milk is an idiomatic expression meaning all that one could desire

On the day following having had the sight of the goddess Śārādā, the son of Garga arrived and made an addition to the population of Indra's city by the number of soldiers who were slain. 2556

Alaṅkāra, officer in charge of the king's outer court, who was a dauntless man, in many an assault of a super-human type killed the antagonists. 2557

How could those who dwell on the plains vie with the mountaineers? Nevertheless, the endless military machines have to be reckoned with which cause inconceivable havoc 2558

The garrison numbered few, the besiegers were in superior numbers. Hence the former although they killed many were themselves reduced by small losses. 2559

After being stormed twice or thrice, the fortress with the closed wickets of the portals appeared as if it had closed its eyes through terror. 2560

Seeing Dhanya and the rest pursuing a policy of winning over the defenders, causing internal dissension, and probing for weak points, the garrison began to lose confidence. 2561

To prevent sleep they shouted to one another during the night and kept awake; by day, however, while they slept they made the fort, with its stillness, appear deserted. 2562

During the night they were alarmed by the sound of the kettle-drums of the various regiments at the hour of the watch, like sparrows in the hollows of trees by thunder-claps. 2563

With boats which patrolled by day and night the royal troops cut off their supplies and threw them into confusion in every way. 2564

Their movements being stopped, they were cut off from water yet they bore the withering thirst for a while; they were, however, reduced to despair when their foodstore was exhausted. 2565

The starving kinsmen of the king, yearning for delicious fare worthy of royalty which is the glory of good luck, had, at this time, to satisfy the desire for food with wretched stuff. 2566

Their ambition had receded in the distance, and more and more in their starving condition, day after day, they began to envy the very servants who shared in the king's board. 2567

"If we are all herded together the requisite task cannot be done," because Bhoja had spoken out thus, Alaṅkāracakra had him separately lodged in the central turret. 2568



Alaṁkāracakra considered only him to be a fit claimant for the throne realizing that one of them Lothana was old and the other Vīgraharāja was the son of a concubine. 2569

Believing that but for him the antagonist would not worry so much on account of the other two, he had a false rumour spread outside that Bhoja had got out. 2570

It came to the ears of Bhoja who was daily investigating every thing that the faithless wife of Alaṁkāracakra who, from love at sight for Śaṣṭhacandra, had melted into loving tenderness, desiring her husband's ruin had been betraying the secret plans of the fort to those outside. 2571-2572

Bhoja fearing a counter-charge of betrayal disclosed her doings to Alaṁkāracakra, whose mind was enveloped in the mist of love, and then begged to be allowed to depart. 2573

Alaṁkāracakra was forgiving and realizing that in the maintenance of a firm friendship lay happiness, he had schooled himself to overlook; he did not bear her a grudge for the fault, like the Bodhisattva who feels no anger even towards a sinner. 2574

The hatred of the sweetheart though it might be great and even the cause of one's death is forgotten by the one who loves her at heart, as the elephant on his back is forgotten by the Śarabha. 2575

Then Bhoja was allowed to depart. When he had well-nigh passed through the very camp of the slumbering enemy, he was hurriedly made to turn back, either through a treacherous design or through fright which had upset his morale, by the son of Alaṁkāra who had escorted him and who brought him once more before his father inside the fortress. 2576-2577

Alaṁkāra having rebuked his son said to Bhoja that he was to leave the next night and kept him concealed by day telling all and sundry that he had left. 2578

Dhanya and others having now been warned that in the absence of a decisive result one had escaped and that two were about to escape on the morrow, all of them kept awake during the night. 2579

2571. Verses 2571-2574 show the influence of Buddhism on K. Compare III 484-525

2575 Śarabha=a mythical animal, enemy of elephants, said to be able to fight at a time a group of elephants and

to carry one off on its back. A picture of this animal appears in patterns of old Kāśmīr carpets. In Alberuni's time this mythical animal was believed to be the native of Konkan. See Vol I, p 203

Thus when Bhoja, at night, was preparing to set out he saw from the bastion of the fortress that all round the camp which was lit up with flares all were wakeful; the blaze illumined the forest in such a way that even an ant emerging from the main path could not have escaped the observation of the expectant enemy. 2580-2581

The buildings in the flickering light of the flames appeared to be tremulous as if shaking their heads to dissuade Bhoja from the reckless adventure. 2582

He was thus not able to leave. At day-break following the night, the Dāmara had him lowered down the precipice fastened with a rope. 2583

Accompanied by a Dāmara chief named Ksemarāja he got down to a rock in the middle of the precipice which was about the size of a Vitardikā 2584

Having clambered on to this rock which was just sufficient for them to sit, the two of them passed five nights without sleep for fear of falling. 2585

The two of them managed to exist on barley cakes which they had carried in their hands and from that very place they dropped excrement like a couple of nestlings from a nest. 2586

Their figures were undiscerned for both of them remained as if they were woven in a pattern and they were amazed at the splendour of the enemy which they could see from the top 2587

And they felt grateful to the warmth of the fire of Jayasīmla's glory, which made them forget the intense cold. 2588

On the sixth day, when the two of them had nothing left for food, the clouds started pouring down snow which was like caustic on a wound. 2589

And thus their hands and feet suffering from the perishing cold instead of striving to do the proper thing by their teeth, which were making music like the lute, preferred somnolence. 2590

They both thought, "To-day smitten with hunger and cold we shall surely fall into the enemy's camp like a couple of nestlings caught in a snare." 2591

2584. Vitardikā=A wooden divan without a back. It is a special feature, which survives from ancient times, of

Kāśmīrī homes, nowadays it is called a 'Takht.'

"To whom shall we halloo? Who knows about the two of us that he might pull us up from here, as the lord of the herd pulls out two baby elephants floundering in a marsh?" 2592

Thus the two who had been in such a sorry plight, during the night, beseeched the Dāmara who had them drawn up with a rope and caused them to be lodged in a solitary cell. 2593

They strove to withstand the cold by warming themselves at a straw fire and forgot their sufferings in the sleep which they found there after a long time 2594

Worse than this was the plight which was shared by Lothana and Vighatārāja; they were eyesores, and from the folk there fell not even gentle words for either of them. 2595

The two of them had cakes of unhusked oats and Kidrava and their bodies as well as their clothes, through lack of ablution, lost their colour. 2596

When the food supply of Alamkāracakra ran out altogether, Dhanya won over by gifts of food stores both Hōla and Yaśaskara. 2597

Thereupon the Dāmara, unnerved by starvation and in fear of betrayal by his subordinates, agreed through emissaries to sell the king's enemies. 2598

The morale having oozed out owing to excessive sufferings which proved difficult to go through, his mind coated with sin ceased to be nervous about unrighteousness and infamy. 2599

He hoped to safeguard his own self by retaining some of the king's enemies and to clear his honour by hanging on to any straw. 2600

Upon the suggestion of his varlet named Uḍayana, he kept the son of Sālhaṇa concealed in that fashion, but hastened to deliver the other two. 2601

Believing that, in the absence of Bhoja, the king would be sparing of punishment on the two of them and that he might himself escape unscathed, he reckoned that this action would be in the interest of all. 2602

The plight to which he had been reduced through the lack of foodstuff nor this plan were known to Dhanya and the other ministers, when they were about to conclude an armistice. 2603

Through some excuse or other they were longing to go away from

2599 Pāpopalīpta=coated with sin.

there—"what more can he do when he has promised to deliver the two kinsmen?" 2604

Dhanya appointed his brother's son, Kalyāna, to supervise the carrying out of the terms for the delivery of those who were to be surrendered, the withdrawal of the army, and the rest. 2605

When composing a literary work, placating an adversary who is camouflaging his resentment, when a mighty serpent is being captured or while occupied in intricate diplomatic negotiations, he will hold the floor of all success who sustaining the requisite devotion to the task speeds up with great firmness and energy up to its very culmination. 2606

The hardships arising from their prolonged absence from home had stripped the king's officials of their elegance and at this time they had been reduced to a state of slackness in action. 2607

That minister is difficult to find who can boldly tackle an affair, bristling with difficulties during its dénouement, as if it were the frame work of a novel. 2608

After learning that the armistice had been concluded, the soldiers marched out the next moment with their faces set homewards unmindful of the generous treatment of the sovereign. 2609

Having secured the rations sold by them, the Lavanya began to prolong the affair while Dhanya and others owing to the paucity of troops found themselves in a quandary. 2610

They had their eyes pinned on the path leading to the fortress in expectation of the arrival of the wanted men; by not delivering those two on that day he tormented those besiegers. 2611

With difficulty was that night of the wailing cry of the Cakravāka passed by them and they could see no other course but to relinquish their lives. 2612

"The affair which had materialised through sedulous care has been ruined by the feebleness of our wits; the other ministers pretending to join in the regret for what has been lost will make fun of our various expedients and while sympathizing will surely upset the sovereign who will be far from polite in his speech when he receives us. To-day those who are impatient with the changed situation of the campaign will not look at the devotion to duty and will cast shame upon us." While others said, "That free-booter has staged this jugglery in consultation with the other enemies of the king and his plan having succeeded is

now sitting up there laughing at us." While they spun out many a thought, with minor details and without, in this fashion, that night which had given infinite subtle worries ended in a new dawn. 2613-2617

Then, early in the day, the minister for justice, Alamkāra, keen on a bold venture, ascended to the fort and by diplomatic threats brought the Dāmara under control 2618

Having put up with the delay of one day Alamkāracakra, whose patience was exhausted, plainly told Loṭhana on that day to quit. 2619

Thereupon, some proud men made suggestions to that man what he should do which could wash away disgrace and put an end to the loss of fame. 2620

"This is an age which has obscured the vision of the mass of the common people yet is capable of proclaiming the everlasting glory of the noble Ksatriyas. Sombre like the cloud, the sword blade, it's a wonder! even while in the company of the heavenly ladies, is in a hurry to indicate its clear predilection for the solar region." 2621

"Kings gain, foresooth, one realm only in the event of a victory, but by giving up their bodies in the field of battle they attain the solar orb as well as, at their sweet will, the orbs of the breasts of ageless nymphs moist with the transports of love." 2622

"For herein no suffering arises from beds which are constantly surrounded and whose surface is hot, nor do the joints develop pain which is enough to cut the very soul to the quick, nor is one heart-stricken with the distressing sound of the wailing kinsfolk—thus, of a truth, is the happy death and wondrous fair the region which may be attained." 2623

"By routes where massed sword-blades formed the canopy, your father went to heaven, your brothers roaming in the bristling jungle of sword-blades earned salvation. Resorting to this path, trodden by your family, enter straightaway, through chivalrous conduct, the solar region on high and here below the hearts of the valiant" 2624

"Providence brought you sovereignty more than once which was lost through imbecility, over and above this, at an age when self-restraint was meet you have behaved like a youngster; for that you now have the opportunity of a penance offered by the Creator; do

not let this also slip, like the crown, through your being mum in the discharge of your duty." 2625

"The realm, though it had been secured, was lost in feeding on the victuals off the platter of persons of unequal rank; time was wasted, the term of his rule became the cause of the universal destruction of the people, these conditions obtained in the case of king Bhiksācara, while he wielded power, yet worthy of himself was the remarkable display at the time of renouncing his body whereby he has been exalted above everyone." 2626

Though stirred in this fashion, he being devoid of spirit did not catch the fervour; being without substance the monkey's fuel is not ignited by contact with fire itself. 2627

His self-assurance being dead he, on the other hand, with the rising tide of fear longed to cry with the pouting underlip like a little boy whose sleep has been interrupted. 2628

When the Dāmara had made him over, the king's liege-men who were preparing to take him away seeing him in that plight addressed him, out of pity, to put him at his ease. 2629

"Do not despair. In His Majesty's breast, lit up with the rising moon of mercy, grows not wantonly the darkness of animosity." 2630

"He is the ocean of the ambrosia of gentleness, he is the celestial mountain of calmness, he is the sandal tree to remove the fever of suffering of those who approach him." 2631

"On seeing his figure which is blessed and bright, like the flowing river in the heavens during autumn, your mental ebullition will assuredly be allayed." 2632

"With courteous behaviour he will receive you without distinction comparable to your forbears who were untainted; and he will relieve you of shame the ground of which is humiliation" 2633

"Even enemies who have injured him but are sunk in misfortune, he recognizes as his real benefactors since they provide an opportunity for the test of his forbearance." 2634

When they had thus spoken, he was cheered and he then emerged from his room with his bushy beard waving and his cloak hanging down, like an old ox from his stall. 2635

Seeing him arrive, seated in a palanquin, bereft of trinkets, with faded and worn out clothes and weapons, Dhanya felt subdued by a sense of shame 2636

With his eyes which were moveless for a long time and his figure with the shoulders covered by his coarse thick hair, Lothana looked like an owl that had strayed from his dwelling in a hollow. 2637

The mountain was lit up when upon withdrawal they set fire to the camp; it appeared to have transformed itself into a touchstone for the gold of royal prestige. 2638

After the camp had been raised, the sky which sent down heavy snows removed the doubt of the subjects regarding the divinity of the king. 2639

Had the snow fallen earlier, the soldiers would have sunk in it and perished in no time, like insects which have found their way in insect powder. 2640

Thus in the year nineteen on the tenth of the bright half of Phālguna, Lothana who was round sixty years, was once more taken prisoner. 2641

To welcome the troops returning from a prolonged campaign, the unassuming king went up a lofty terrace. 2642

As was seemly having gratified the army with gifts, honours, inspection and a harangue, he dismissed it and gave interviews to Dhanya and others who had presented themselves before him. 2643

Then the king got a glimpse of Lothana as he was being announced by the ushers. He could hardly be seen in the courtyard where he was surrounded by a big throng. The soldiers of Dhanya and the rest had, however, gripped him with their hands under his armpits, his face was concealed by the edge of the garment which was drawn up to the nose; the coarse white hair of the beard disclosed the painfully thin cheeks and spread to the lobes of the ears which were devoid of ornaments. Every now and then he looked from the corners of his eyes, with pupils pitifully moist, at the throng of citizens who were loud-mouthed with comments of all sorts. He had suffered from diffidence, depression, terror, fatigue and hunger owing to the evil eye of misfortune. His limbs from lack of sleep were quivering like a cow benumbed by frost. He felt as if the earth had gone astray, that the mountains had been upset and that the heaven had fallen and the dry lips . . . "would that there were a divine intercession,

or a dense darkness would prevail or the winds would wear out the royal palace which is well-nigh reached! I, who have done him all manner of wrongs, how shall I stand before the king?" Musing in this way he stumbled in his progress at every step. 2644-2651

The king's order was communicated by the sign of the brow and he ascended to the hall of audience which, with the eyes of the spectators, appeared as if it were replete with undulating lotuses. 2652

When by a glance he was given leave to stand in the immediate proximity, he threw himself on his knees on the floor and touched with his head the lotus-like feet of the sovereign. 2653

With his two lotus-like hands, the monarch supported his forehead which was bent down and raised the head of that prince, who was subdued by nervousness. 2654

The touch of those hands, studded with jewels and herbs cooling like the moon, removed his mental agony as well as the aches from his body. 2655

And he was instantly touched in his heart by the emmence and the reassuring courtesy of the king, who was of a merciful nature, through the manifestation of the merits of a former life. 2656

"Have no fear" would be arrogant words, "happiness will still be yours" such a phrase would mean a disappointment being a commonplace, "towards you there is not that resentment now" if this were said it would be tantamount to reopening former acts of enmity, "you are our kinsman" would be an irony at the present moment, to refer to his hardships would be to talk of the power of our own military domination.' Musing in this wise, the king merely looked at him and refrained from speech. 2657-2659

As a prayer for safety Vīgraharāja bowed the head to his feet; the king on his part touched his hair with his foot 2660

"How do I deserve an honourable reception"? while he thus protested the king, with importunity, induced his uncle to accept Tāmbūla which he offered with his own hand. 2661

2648 There is a lacuna of four syllables in the text.

2661. For the king to offer Tāmbūla was a mark of the highest royal favour. It was the duty of the recipient to humbly accept it. If the French trav-

ellers are to be believed, the Great Mogul got rid of those who were politically obnoxious to him, by giving them poisoned Tāmbūla which they had to eat on the spot!



To the warden of the frontier, who was bowing, he said smiling, "You have had a strenuous time and he touched Dhanya and Śaṣṭha who stood before him with his left arm. 2662

When Loṭhana saw that he was endued with kingly virtues such as tact, generosity, composure, and courtesy, he considered himself a contemptible person. 2663

Then conveying an assurance through the mouth of Dhanya, the king courteously folded both his hands and sent his uncle, who was bowing, shamefast, to a splendid dwelling-house. 2664

As during an offensive so in diplomacy the king, who kept his eye on them, had the same colour of countenance—unperturbed—when the fruit was secured. 2665

The ocean does not get hot with the seething submarine fire nor does it become chilly with the invading waters from the snow mountain. Remarkably alike is the demeanour of men of unruffled minds in moments of dejection as on occasions for exultation. 2666

By continued kindness and unfeigned acts of civility such as are seemly among relatives the king, in due course, removed the humiliation of those two who had survived the loss of their manfulness. 2667

From the very lips of the kinsmen the realm had been pulled out, yet the king on account of Bhoja continued at heart to worry, like a charmer about the tooth of the viper of unrest. 2668

Because, his own people, who had too soon abandoned their efforts fearing the rigours of the campaign, had made the ambitious king relax his vigilance although the foe was still at large. 2669

The son of Salhana, on the other hand, since his rescue from the precipice living in a solitary cell had no news whatever of his uncle and Vīgraharāja. 2670

When, however, he saw from above Alamkāra of the royal household coming to see the Dāmara, he began to think increasingly of the possibility of treachery. 2671

And he observed later the divisions of the army in line of formation, the extent of which was difficult to discover owing to the distance, on the road which led to Śrīnagara. 2672

Thereafter he espied a litter, occupied by his uncle, whom owing to the distance he could not recognise, between the two palanquins of Dhanya and Śaṣṭha. 2673

And he wondered, "What could be the reason of the march of the

troops from here and who could be the third person seated in the litter between Dhanya and Śaṣṭha!" 2674

Being questioned by him, some menial full of joy then told him that peace had been concluded and that Lothana and Vighraharāja had departed for Śrīnagara. 2675

The thought of treachery ceased with the rising sense of doubt and casting out fear, he for a space remained in a state of anxiety from affection for his kinsmen. 2676

On the withdrawal of the army the desolate river, where the birds with loud cries had foregathered, he imagined, was crying for those two who had been taken away. 2677

"The Lavanya himself may detain me and Dhanya and others on learning of my presence here may come again, in due course, to take me away"—thus he then speculated. 2678

At intervals, when he heard the roar of the cataracts, he felt alarmed that it was the din of the royal troops who had come back to carry him away. 2679

At this time the world grew dark with the gathering clouds frustrating the light of midday, the glory of which appeared as if it were chafing under midnight. 2680

From that time onwards until the month of Vaiśākha, the clouds appeared to be hanging on to the earth for the ceremonial performance of a sacrifice with masses of snow as the offerings 2681

Then the free-booter Dāmara sat before Bhoja and spoke thus in self-condemnation, "I who played a confidence trick have been disgraceful, impious, and devoid of shame." 2682

Remaining unperturbed, having regard to the circumstances, the son of Sallhaṇa checking his wrath and pretending to sooth him said, "There has been no misdemeanour on your part in this matter." 2683

And he added, "You have done this to save your dependents, children, kinsfolk and others who were in a critical situation. In this connection no one has the right to reproach you." 2684

"If your intention had been treacherous, you would not have shown any sympathy towards me. Hence what happened was a matter of compulsion due to exigent circumstances." 2685

"Like the descendants of king Harṣa we ought not to be extirpated, but kept in restraint by the king in pursuance of the tradition of royalty." 2686

"Discredit to your own self, injury to those two, and the pursuit of a wrong course on the part of the king as well, have been averted by your good sense in keeping me in reserve." 2687

To him who had thus spoken, the Dāmara, as if throwing off the load of mortification, said eulogizingly, "You alone are my witness everywhere and at all times." 2688

Presently Bhoja said, "Let me out now" to which he replied "as soon as the snow drifts are over I shall do so." 2689

"Alamkāra learning of your abstaining from food will attribute it to a grudge on your part in this connection" some one having suggested this to Bhoja, he partook of food. 2690

As Bhoja touched food he thought to himself, "This has at last been procured by the sale of the two of them", and he felt that he had fed on the flesh of the bodies of those two kinsmen. 2691

The robber, however, while saying—"On the morrow for certain or perchance to-day I shall send you away when the snowfall ceases" did not release him for two months. 2692

"On learning of my presence here when the king starts operations after the melting of the snow, the Dāmara would sell me to him," considering thus Bhoja began to press for departure. 2693

Every single excuse which Bhoja put forward in favour of departure, the robber having found a snag cut it out in order to prevent him. 2694

Rājavadana, whose mother was of a noble family, was begotten by a Balahara named Tejas; he had had a happy childhood and had worn a long Kambala. During the civil war which was the touchstone of the chivalry of many a virile man, he had attained in Sussala's army distinction for gallantry and an honourable position in the banquet row. Later on he was fostered by the king with whom his father was intimate and, in due course, came to hold the charge of Evenaka and other districts; when Nāga of Khūyāśrama had turned the king against him, Rājavadana desiring to fight protected Bhoja. 2695-2698

Mildness from his having been a liege-man and, from the fact that he was not a Lavanya, his inability to offer resistance to the king, was what every one imagined. Thus the prince of the blood royal was not delivered, by Alamkāracakra at this time, to him who was

planning a contest for the crown and who was making urgent requests. 2699-2700

Treating as present before his eyes the impatient Udaya, although he was at a distance he, who was inclined to treason, was unable to give up Bhoja. 2701

Then the king despatched Alaṅkāra with moneys to arrange the transfer of Bhoja and he arrived at the watch-station being invested with authority over that region. 2702

"If you go without letting me depart I shall relinquish my life" thus, on the other hand, spoke Bhoja to the Dānara when he saw him preparing to go before Alaṅkāra. 2703

"Early to-morrow morning I shall see you", was all that he muttered on this occasion and Bhoja, without any mention whatever, at the time of the drum of the night watch, slipped out. 2704

While Bhoja in pouring rain was impatiently groping his way to get on the road, Alaṅkāra heard, when the night had ended, that he had escaped. 2705

Then failing to hinder him he, during the day, pursued Bhoja, who had a start, up to the sanctuary of the goddess Śārādā with a few of his followers. 2706

In the absence of the two kinsmen with whom he had started for a common object, Bhoja, from *bien-séance*, was unable to face the ladies of his kinsfolk as if he were culpable; he thought to himself—"though advanced in age, Loṭhana had risked an adventurous throw five or six times, while Bhoja though a young man is a nincompoop"—such would be the scandal about himself. Thus his plan of giving to Durāṇḍa fell to pieces and having resolved to fight by gaining the support of the Darads, he betook himself to the road by the bank of the Madhumatī. 2707-2709

In some places slabs of ice with sharp edges hurt like the pointed fangs of Death, anon the clouds shut out daylight causing blinding darkness as if from the lasso of Yama, at times the falling avalanches seethed like elephants arrayed for battle; in some places his body was hit, as if with arrows, by the hissing spray of the cataracts, at

2707. *Dākṣiṇya* = the French word *bien-séance* is the nearest in meaning. Bhoja was unable to face the brave

Kṣatriya ladies, his kinswomen, after a defeat,

tunes the piercing wind burst upon his swelling skin, while at other places the sunlight reflected from the dazzling snows affected his vision. The flat surface he felt was a steep incline; where there was no flat surface he felt as if the way was clear; often he fancied when he was scaling heights that he was going down a steep decline. Having thus passed six or seven days on the way, made trying by the season of snow, Bhoja reached a hamlet on the frontier of the Darad principality.

2710-2714

The commandant of the fort of Dugdhaghāta, having privately furnished him from his own stores, put an end to his humiliating state of impecuniosity and having bowed accorded to him a respectful welcome.

2715

His messenger having reported Bhoja's arrival, Viḍḍasiha who was at a distance, sent a parasol, musical instruments and other insignia such as were meet for a king.

2716

Through the commandant of the fort, he conveyed a message of congratulation and placed his own treasure at the disposal of the prince of the blood royal.

2717

Thus Bhoja went to the royal residence and while he was playing the role of king, there came to pay homage the son of Rājavadana, who invited him to support the latter's cause.

2718

His father who, to all intents and purposes, had now been alienated from the king had sent him to Bhoja, who considered that of the powerful meshes of enemy diplomacy he was like a decoy.

2719

With a message which was correct as a combination of appreciation of the issue and lack of trust, Bhoja sent him away neither accepting nor rejecting at the same time.

2720

"As to whether I belong to the king's intimate circle or am wholly estranged from him, you will come to know me by and by."

2721

In order to demonstrate to Bhoja his grim determination, Rājavadana took to fighting against Nāga and his people upon the pretext of a family feud, although the king had already pronounced that they were not culpable.

2722

Lacking in resources, this resolute and relentless man by slow

2710 Those who love mountaineering and the joyous efforts of climbing

will appreciate this picturesque description of the hardships of Bhoja.

degrees came to hold his own, later he equalised and, in due course, acquired superiority over them by his encounters. 2723

He gained such prestige that the kindred of Nāga born within his territory, felt no shame in accepting service under this remarkable man. 2724

For, ornate with open-handedness, forbearance, patience, absence of covetousness, and the like virtues he was sought after, though he was just rising, as if he had always been accustomed to exercise power. 2725

The perseverance of Pṛthvīhara and the others who had vassals was not a marvel; the extensive show which this man, on the other hand, who lacked support made was worthy of admiration. 2726

He then roped in large bands of thieves, woodsmen and herdsmen and raided villages while waiting for Bhoja and his people. 2727

Thereupon the other Dāmaras, too, whether on account of the conflicting opinion of the mutually envious ministers or from love of rapine, abandoned good behaviour. 2728

Their plan of an upheaval which had been ruined by the capture of Loṭhana now ramified a hundredfold. 2729

Trillaka and Jayarāja, who had been brought up by the king, yielding to the heat of passion, failed to drag themselves away from the conspiratorial league. 2730

As is the precipice for the owls, consumption for ailments, the infernal region of the demons, the ocean for the monsters of the deep, so was Trillaka, seething with machinations, the resort of all the Dāmara thieves who having inveigled the superintendent of Devasarasa raised a revolt. 2731-2732

Then the Brahmins longing for his overthrow and anxious to safeguard the country started a hunger-strike, directed against the king, at Vijayēśvara. 2733

That was not the time to exasperate the Dāmaras was the king's view which when represented to them they did not accept whereupon he, from decorum, concurred in the desire of their assembly. 2734

When the king got ready to march Jayarāja, who was the senior among the insurgents, died having developed a fatal abscess. 2735

Lucky in one direction the king thereupon proceeded, in order to placate the Brahmins, to Maḍavarājya where his domination had increasingly isolated the free-booters. 2736

The Brahmans, instigated to perversity by the ministers and intoxicated with their own knavery, then objected to the minister Alamkāra, who was dismissed by the king from his milieu. 2737

He had ever striven for the rehabilitation of the Dāmaras in distress and to the other ministers who were filled with envy, he appeared to be a purveyor of their wicked conduct. 2738

"I shall root out Trillaka after having broken up the rebellion of the Pretenders"—with this promise, the king prevailed upon the Brahmans to give up the fast. 2739

The affrighted Trillaka then caused trouble through all sorts of hostile acts, like some hidden disease through other affections. 2740

Yaśorāja, the younger brother of Jayarāja, had been assigned the latter's fief by the king; upon Trillaka's advice Rājaka attacked him who was his brother's son. 2741

To save Yaśorāja who was beset by insolent enemies, Sañjapāla proceeded to Devasarasa, but owing to the smallness of his force his success became doubtful. 2742

Rāhmana having learnt this news thereupon came up to the seething field of battle and was the first guest towards whom the goddess of victory cast her coquettish glances. 2743

Then, while Mandāra-like he churned the ocean of enemies, Sañjapāla was enabled to pick up the minor enemies as the cloud the particles of water. 2744

Even after Rājaka had been defeated, Yaśorāja without his benefactor was not able to squat on his own estate like a child in a desolate place. 2745

Waiting for the contest for the crown to come to a head, Trillaka temporised with the king by feigning submission on various occasions. 2746

Thereafter at the opportune moment, the men who were thorns in the side of the country and who had been secretly collected, he sent forth in all directions like a porcupine throwing the arrow-like quills from its own sides. 2747

At this time Pṛthvīhara's son, Catuska, the younger brother of Koṣṭhaka who, with his brother, had been confined by the king escaped from prison. Trillaka being his son-in-law gave him asylum on his own estate and helped him to raid Śamālā, equipped with numberless Dāmaras. 2748-2749

On hearing his call, the freebooters in hiding came to the surface like the fish in a pool at the call of the osprey. 2750

At this time Saṣṭhacandra, son of Garga, had held up the arrogant Rājavadana, as the cliffs on the coast obstruct the sea when attempting to cause an inundation. 2751

The two of them, whose forces continued to augment and to diminish, were like the ridges of the snow-cliffs in summer showing mud as well as snow. 2752

Jayacandra and Śricandra, the two younger brothers of Saṣṭhacandra, who drew their allowances from the royal household had become deeply offended. Apprehending that harm might befall them from their elder brother who was honoured and loved by the king, owing to his services of the highest importance, they knew they could get no rest. They deserted from the army and went over to Rājavadana and, although they were brothers-in-law of the king, joined the opposition. 2753-2755

With the help of countless Khaśa wretches, who had come marching over the mountains, Rājavadana, coveting the treasure bestowed by former kings, then had the shrine of Bhūteśvara looted. 2756

Helpless in the grip of the plunderers, the weak massacred by the strong, the entire realm as if it had been without a king was reduced to a sorry plight. 2757

Thereupon the king, ordering the commander-in-chief Udaya and Rājhaṇa to attack Catuska, ruefully re-entered Śrinagara. 2758

By the troops of these two, the son of Pṛthvihara was held in check, like an incurable disease by means of medicine, but could not be destroyed. 2759

For conniving at temporising or the wicked designs on the part of his own adherents, the reputation of even Rājhaṇa had grown dim at this moment. 2760

Vidḍasīha, on the other hand, on learning the tidings about Bhoja, had despatched emissaries to invite a large number of the chiefs way up in the North. 2761

From the regions which form the hem of the Himalayas including those which have known the secret amours of the women-folk of Kubera; also, from those whose cave-cells are resonant with the songs of the city of the Gandharvas, those, too, which relieve from heat the sea of sand by circulating coolness at one end and even from



those which with the breezes from the mountain peaks gratify the Uttara-kurus, came galloping the Mleccha chiefs, obscuring the directions with their cavalry, into the camp of the ruler of the Darads

2762-2764

While the ruler of the Darads was organising a conspiracy of the chiefs, his feudatories from all directions presented themselves before Bhoji.

2765

He took a delight in watching those who spoke an unknown tongue

2763 Viddasīha's allies were perhaps from the regions of Astor, Skardo and Gilgit who, at this time were no doubt still pagan. The word Mleccha applied to them suggests that they were a backward people outside the pale of Kashmiri civilization and culture. Uttara-kuru, according to Alberuni referred to the regions of the north including Chitral, Badakshan and Kafiristan in Eastern Afghanistan. Kafiristan still largely remains a land of mystery. The tract of country enclosed between Chitral and Afghan territory is the land of Pagan mountaineers who maintained their independence until 1895 when by the terms of an agreement entered into between the British Government and Abdur Rahman Amir of Kabul, the whole of the Kafir territory passed under the sway of Kabul.

In his *Memoirs*, Babar mentions the Kafirs and their taste for drinking every man having a leathern wine bottle slung round his neck. The *Am-i-Akbari* too, makes occasional mention of the Kafirs and contains a passage which has given rise to the theory that the Kafirs are the descendants of the Greeks. According to Sir H. Yule, however, this passage refers to the claim to descent from Alexander the Great of the rulers of Swat (Sk. Suvastu). Even at the present day, many of the petty princes of the Hindu Kush States take pride in declaring themselves to be the descendants of Alexander the Great from a princess miraculously sent down from heaven to wed him. Benedict Goes travelling from Peshawar to Kabul in 1603 heard of a country where

no Mahomedans might enter on pain of death. Hindu travellers were, however, allowed to visit the country but not the temples. Benedict Goes tasted the Kafir wine and from all that he heard suspected that the Kafirs might be Christians.

The Kafir language is of Prakṛta origin. Every village has a temple dedicated to Gush where the goat is sacrificed which the hereditary priest offers together with flour, wine and butter. The offerings are sanctified with the sprinkling of water by the officiating priest pronouncing 'Such such' (De Pure). Music, dancing and songs of praise were acceptable to the gods and every Groom, (Sk. Grama) village, has its dancing platform and dancing house furnished with a simple altar. The Kafirs worship family and tribal gods, Gush the war-god is by far the most popular. It was his worship which kept the Kafir so long independent. In life as a hero and after death as a god, he symbolized hatred to the religion of Muhammad.

During the British occupation of Kabul in 1839-40 M. S. Elphinstone tells us a deputation of Kafirs journeyed to Kabul to invite a visit to their country from the Europeans whom they assumed to be their kindred. In 1895 after the British took Chitral from Kashmir and gave Kafiristan to the Amir Abdur Rahman, the latter invaded Kafiristan. All opposition was ruthlessly put down and the boys of the country were deported wholesale to Kabul where they were converted to Islam.

descending from the mountain ranges and who like monkeys grew familiar with kind treatment. 2766

Jayacandra and other Kaśmīrīs and Kīras sent by Rājavadana also came to the side of the prince. 2767

Those who were in his entourage as well as those who were at a distance—chief among whom was Balahara—Bhoja maintained with gold, having an enormous treasure under his control. 2768

Then as the insurrection had been well launched, Rājavadana who had instigated the conspiracy met Bhoja without diffidence. 2769

While they settled the details of the task which had not been done, they came to be on good terms and very soon their lack of trust withered away. 2770

While Bhoja in the absence of the Darads was unwilling to commence the offensive, Rājavadana in his overweening pride desired no assistance other than that of a limited number of horse. 2771

When Bhoja expressed himself thus: "If our enemies should withstand the very first onslaught of this army there might arise an equilibrium or, what is more serious, even a defeat which might break down our league. Therefore it is desirable, in my opinion, that the issue of victory or defeat be confined to a single battle in an offensive with all arms lasting for one day," he in his conceit, however, ridiculed this and led the Darad force without waiting for the army which was to come. 2772-2774

At the end of the gorge as he was in the rear of those who had marched ahead, the prince now heard that the ruler of the Darads had arrived. 2775

To meet him he returned to the fort, while Balahara occupied Mātigrāma with his force. 2776

The son of Garga then saw the horizon full of horses like roaming antelopes; possessing innate resolute wits he did not lose fortitude. 2777

All the Dāmaras of Nilāsva who were with him as well as his own soldiers, making common cause with the adversary, deserted from his army bent on treason. 2778

In that perilous situation even when entreated by his advisers to

retreat, he replied, "I am not able to see the sovereign with a drooping countenance." 2779

"No one has been born in the family of Sūryavarmacandra but has been of service to the descendants of the House of Malla " 2780

Viddasiha, on his part, having together with the other ruling chiefs received Bhoja with honour, bade him farewell to march to victory accompanied by the élite of his own nobles. 2781

And he then marched, mustering an army swarming with a host of Mlecchas and separated by just one march, remained in Bhoja's rear. 2782

The force which followed him having created a universal sensation, the son of Salhana in his wild enthusiasm, believed that the entire earth lay in his hand. 2783

Reinforced by cavalry and the Mleccha chiefs, the army then secured a firm foothold in a place known as Samudradhārā after it had been terrorised. 2784

Rājavadana, radiant with such a first class invincible force, believed that Saṣṭhacandra was as good as doomed between the grinders of Death. 2785

Then the land, inundated by a deluge caused by the monsoon cloud-burst, was so transformed that land and water became indistinguishable. 2786

The earth was like a wassail-bowl filled with water instead of rum; the submerged trees, of which only the tops were visible, bore the semblance of floating blue lotuses. 2787

Realizing the critical situation of Saṣṭha, the king now despatched with the remaining troops Udaya, the warden of the frontier, as well as Dhanya. 2788

The river barred their passage and they followed a trail as Sāryaki and Bhīmasena had done on the route taken by Arjuna. 2789

In the sky with the pendant clouds and on the earth's surface filled far and wide with water, the lightning with its uninterrupted flashes, free from thunder, appeared as if it were sewn. 2790

Retaining a glittering retinue which would suffice for pomp the king, on this occasion, had all the forces in the field. 2791

Trillaka from the beginning had no faith in the uprightness for

2787 Pāna-pātra=wassail-bowl See 3105 supra.

fortitude of Rājavadana. He sent messages to the Darads, through emissaries, that another prince should not be thrown away on this occasion. While assisting the son of Prthivihara to gain ascendancy, he planned so that, through the might of either of the two, Cataska or Rājavadana, Bhoja should fall into his own hands. 2792-2793

Now Trillaka had been watching the extraordinary strength of Balahara, which could paint a fresco without a wall; he also felt that the power of the king, whose whole army was divided in all directions in different critical situations against the enemy, was immediately vulnerable; he laid bare his wicked diplomacy and, behaving like a puffed up porcupine, released as a second quill, a wicked and violent man, whom he had personally harboured for a long time. 2794-2796

Furnished with resources by Trillaka, Loṭhaka, son of Prthivihara, on a sudden, fell upon Śūrapura with many Dāmaras. In the gathering darkness and the blinding network of clouds, he was the whirlwind of dust. He was aware of the great efforts of those who whispered evil in the ears to cause a cleavage in the two wings of his own party. With unwearied vigilance he nused, to the fullest extent, in different precarious situations disasters for the king, who had carried out the extermination of his family. 2797-2799

He had long been weaving his fabric of intrigues and his hostility when it overflowed was noticed, as in the case of a lake upon the bursting of the dam in the rainy season, when filled to the brim. 2800

Like the universe which emerged at the will of Upendra from his belly as he lay asleep, the force, which he had collected, became visible at the advent of the clouds. 2801

Pñcadeva, the commandant of the watch-station, with followers who would not have sufficed even to count such a large force as Loṭhaka possessed and among whom were included only few soldiers with scarcely any food stores, made Loṭhaka's soldiers the guests of the river and of Yama's domain. 2802-2803

Owing to the reflection of the rows of funeral pyres ignited on the river bank, it seemed as if the final honours were being paid to those, who had found 'cath in the waters of the river. 2804

In this fashion<sup>15</sup>, Loṭhaka, oblivious of death, fought the battle which lasted the day and was with difficulty induced to withdraw by friends the next day. 2805

In that town, which had been evacuated, as he was rallying the troops on all sides, he reckoned that he could easily capture Śrīnagara in two or three days 2806

His ardour for attacking Padmapura was made feeble by Trillaka, from fear of Yaśorāja and the commander-in-chief who were in the rear. 2807

His followers could not carry out his plan, although the other Lavanayas were ready to obey, because of the refusal of this single Dāmara of Holadā. 2808

Even in the civil war during Sussala's reign, such a reign of terror had never been witnessed as there arose during that of his son on all sides 2809

Now ignoring Catuṣka as if he were comparable to a disease of the foot, Rūlhana was despatched by the king to expel Loṭhaka, who was comparable to an abscess on the neck. 2810

As he was marching to destroy him, he was pursued by the people of Śamālā like Arjuna by the confederates when he was proceeding to slay the prince of Prāgjyotiṣa. 2811

Turning back, he fell upon the hostile demonstrators and scattered them like pursuing bees by the elephant heading for the lotus pond 2812

Tired after the fighting, he spent the night at Rāmusa where the roar of the cataracts served for the welcoming challenge of the hostile forces. 2813

At day-break as he was about to enter Kalyāṇapura, Loṭhaka appeared in front of him, who having once more filled the horizon with his forces, had approached and blocked his way. 2814

As soon as Loṭhaka attacked, he made his opponent's infantry arriving in front of him flee at sight like goats before a gaping python. 2815

Before his whirlwind onslaught, the infantry fell away from Rūlhana like leaves in autumn from the tree 2816

Under his very eyes those knaves, as they were melting away, felt no shame Before the transcendent desire for life whose sense of propriety does not evaporate? 2817

When his own people besought him as they were retreating Rūlhana recollecting his devotion to the sovereign which he placed on an equality with that to the Creator, spoke with a smile. 2818

"On my face, as in a pond which is the repository of the dark blue lotus and later on of the white ones, the dark line of moustache has become white with age in the service of the sovereign's feet."

2819

"While he is withering away, would the uninterrupted enjoyment of the sportive graces of Dame Fortune heightened by the play of her bee-like eyebrows not be a mockery?"

2820-2821

"That is the way of cowards never of the brave that from fear of a little strain they turn their face away from bliss."

2822

"Only in taking off one's clothes is the nervous feeling engendered by cold; after the bath in the water of the sanctuary, one gets a joyous exhilaration comparable to the unequalled bliss of Brahman. Those who are about to give up their lives in battle thus have a tense moment at the start, later on, however, comes measureless peace in experiencing a delight which may be called the highest bliss."

2823

Having thus spoken he, single-handed, plunged into the enemy's force encountering arrows which came hissing, causing the delusion as if they were the breath of a lion's nostrils.

2824

With the golden sword-hilt glinting like the yellow orpiment, Rilhāṇa was on the crest of the wave in the battle-field like an actor armed with sword and shield on the stage.

2825

As his sabre struck down the swords of the enemies their souls, forsooth, rose up to cling to it as if by a magic trick like wisps of straw attracted by amber.

2826

In the battle, he was followed by those who deemed the enemy to be lower animals and their lives vanished like wisps of straw.

2827

Rilhāṇa, who had entered the mouth of Death, emerged from it through some unknown exits, just as water escapes through the gills of a whale when its mouth is closed.

2828

Having made repeated charges, he came away to rest after his exertions and his force having been considerably thinned reached the pitch of excitement against the foe.

2829

Suddenly from the rear there fell upon him, just at this juncture, Catuska with numerous troops, whom a while ago he had believed to be some one arriving with reinforcements for himself.

2830

2825. *Haritāla*=the yellow orpiment. It is used even now in villages as a rubber to efface writing. From it is

derived the word '*Hartal*'=strike—the method of effecting a political or other grievance.

Upon seeing the hostile army facing him both ways, he felt no tribulation; on the contrary, like a peacock at the sight of a double-faced snake, he danced the Tāṇḍava. 2831

Then by alternately attacking and retreating, he wore out those two fronts in the fight just as the churning mountain did with the ocean on both flanks. 2832

Gallopung on his charger he constantly kept on the move between the two just as a weaver . . . . . 2833

Bhāsa, on his behalf, bore the brunt of one army, as the rushes on the edge of an islet break on one side the impact of water. 2834

By him, the enemy array with its circle of weapons set aquiver by his impetuous onslaught, was rendered incapable of heroics as if it were a woman with tremulous gold ear-rings whom the ardour of his passion had rendered incapable, in the sport of love, of assuming the role of man. 2835

As he caused sweat to drip from the faces of his enemies, who were pale with fright, as if it were water from the pots, he was, I trow, having the ceremonial water poured over the king for his coronation a second time. 2836

2831. Tāṇḍava=the dance of Śiva. It represents the five activities (Pūṇa-kṛtya) viz creation, preservation, incarnation, destruction and deliverance. The scene of the dances is the cosmos which is represented by the enveloping aureole of fire (Tiruvāṣi).

2833. Kuvinda=a weaver, it is a pity this verse has a lacuna.

2835. The reference is to Vātsyāyana's book, the *Kāmasūtra*, on the *Arts Amatoria*. It was well known in Europe in the Middle Ages. An Arabic book on the subject written in Tiflis entitled *The Perfumed Garden* mentions Vātsyāyana and gives quotations. A Kavi was expected to be acquainted with the arts and sciences, and this verse is intended by K. to show his knowledge of Erotics. Count Keyserling writes about Eroticism as follows: "It is not a higher impulse, and the highest manifestations of which it is capable will not bear comparison in human values with

other qualities. Nevertheless, its manifestations are not only beautiful as such, so that it would involve an impoverishment of the world if they disappeared: they are in such intimate, interchangeable relation to other higher qualities, that their existence seems to be absolutely tied to them, artistic culture can only grow and flourish on the background of erotic culture. The puritanical soul appears mean compared with the Catholic one, fanatics of morality are always cripples, non-sensuous natures incapable of religious profundity. In some sense every tendency leads to good; the perception of this significance in details is the fundamental problem of the art of life; to perceive it in its general relationship is the ultimate aim of human wisdom" (*Travel Diary of a Philosopher*, Vol. I, p. 181). This view is in conformity with the ideals of Sāṃskṛta Poetics. See V. 373n ante.

He and the son of Pṛthvīhara remained, at nightfall, in a state of readiness, mutually on the look out, like a sorcerer and the Vetalā for a loop-hole.

2837

On the following day, he forced the enemy to retire in the direction of the forest while he let the soldiers of the king who had arrived as reinforcement, become spectators.

2838

Recalling that Trillaka and the others had abandoned the clean fight, Sañjapāla on the third day came up to join Rāhāṇa.

2839

Oppressed by the king's martial glory, Loṭhaka withered away between the two armies, like a tree worn out by the timber pest in the heart of the forest is dried up by the months of Āṣāḍha and Jyēṣṭha.

2840

As the fire of the unattended funeral pyre is reduced by showers of rain so by skirmishes Catuṣka, too, was gradually compelled by Udayana to moderate his hot blood.

2841

The Darad army had descended the mountain passes, flaunting the gold trappings carried by their cavalry, spoiling for a fight.

2842

The folks, apprehending that the districts invaded by the Turuṣka people had fallen under their subjection, had felt as if the whole land were overrun by the Mlecchas.

2843

While Dhanya and the warden of the frontier were still at the distance of one march Sasthacandra, who had no support, had to bear the brunt of their sabres in the first instance.

2844

With its glittering trappings of gold that army of the enemy was held up by him, as the forest conflagration, with its flaming sheets of fire, is hampered by a mountain with its cascades.

2845

Having brushed aside Jayacandra and others who had opposed a forward advance, they had plunged, arrogant with their superior numbers into the field of battle.

2846

Against thousands of their cavalry, the son of Garga made an impetuous counter attack with his twenty or thirty cavaliers and routed them.

2847

Against those enemies, such was the superhuman valour displayed by him that, each one of them seemed to be confronted by him as if he had assumed the form of Viṣṇu.

2848

In a moment they broke; with their faces lowered on the pommels of their saddles, the cowards plunged into the mountains like Kinnaras.

2849



During the night Rājavadana, Jayacandra and others said to the Darads, "This reverse was occasioned through lack of knowledge of the terrain and stratagem; to-morrow, however, by taking us as guides, you will snatch a victory," to which they replied in the affirmative as a hoax while they were intent on a flight. 2850-2851

The powerful Balahata compelled Dhanya and the warden of the frontier to remain at a distance and attempted to prevail upon the Darads to hold on, by blocking the routes in the rear. 2852

Thereafter he made up his mind to lodge the prince with the Darads in an encampment at Tāramūlaka. 2853

While he was putting this into execution and the Dāmaras were blinded by their intoxication, the son of Salhana convinced that the entire realm was as good as conquered was filled with enthusiasm. 2854

Even in the absence of a victory being supported by innumerable feudatories of such rank, he at that time mused thus: "I am going to be an august person" and was overflowing with joy. 2855

By the destruction of lotuses befriended by the sun the elephant's tusks become obnoxious to the latter; at the rise of the moon who outvies the tusks, their maternal falls to pieces by itself while the sun-stones who share the solar lustre cease to radiate heat. During a crucial stage luck and ill-luck tend to arise in a manner which is inconceivable. 2856

Being a Dāmara, Nāga had been superseded even during the constant disturbances of Bhiksu and owing to his family connections with Tikka and others, he was regarded by the king as being at the head of the traitors. Not being a Lavanya and because of his amazing rise such as no other commoner had and later through his services during critical times, Rājavadana had come to be, so to say, at the top of the king's confidence. 2857-2859

Nāga watching the insurrection carried on by others, which he himself should have been doing, sorrowed like a poet when his theme nearing completion has been brought out by another. 2860

In order to get under his own wing the king's enemy, he then addressed him with a solemn visage in this wise, "Give up Rājavadana and rely on me" 2861

"Why are you waiting for the arrival of Tejas, Balahara's son in a litter, like a lover at the rendezvous keeping up for the woman?"

They, however, laughed at Nāga who had sent such a message, since it would have been like abandoning the Wishing-cow to hug a nanny goat. 2862-2863

Everybody from motives of self-interest turns to friendship or enmity; otherwise in the love or hatred of others no one is in the least interested. 2864

It becomes worthwhile for the nectar-rayed moon, whose lustre is menaced by the pair of ivory tusks, to damage them; the tusk's forehead is the favourite resort of the honey-suckers who have a mind to taste the ichor, the lotus, to whose abode the elephant is a constant peril, is not as a consequence enamoured of the moon and so, too, the bees do not become hostile to the elephant though he swallows up their friend, the lotus. 2865

Thereafter Nāga, to rob Balahara of his prestige, fomented a feud to endure for life against him with intent to benefit the king. 2866

Accordingly, he then communicated through his own men with the defeated Darads in this wise, "Thus Rājavadāna, who has not broken with the king, will possibly destroy you and Bhoja at the same time." 2867

The two leaders of the troops of the Darad ruler, the army chiefs, the renowned Kṣemavadana Malla . . . . . and the commandant of the fort, named Ojasa, who felt alarmed, spoke of this plot in confidence to Bhoja who, knowing the inwardness of it, laughed at them. 2868-2869

Then as, through a crystal lens, the consuming sunlight falls on tinder so, it was amazing!, did the burning light of the king—through the army which had held him up in front—fall on Viddasiha 2870

For, having been attacked by the disease of consumption, for his evil design of bringing disaster on the king, he had come to resemble the waning moon of the dark nights. 2871

When their master, who was their leader in war and the protector of their rear, had fallen a prey to disease and were themselves in a position open to attack, they were reduced to a state of panic and the entire Darad force abandoning Balahara, while he was at his repast, took to flight the following day with their horses and galloped away towards the mountains. 2872-2873

Realizing how much the son of Sallhana was honoured, they having humbly announced, "We shall come back in the morning" took him along. 2874

As he had formerly sworn an oath by libation, he felt helpless and had to follow them, but his object having failed, he had the sinking feeling as if he were slipping down a precipice. 2875

From time to time filled with excessive rush of blood from every vein it was as if it were burning, anon it resembled the stones of a stairway down which unclean water is rushing; often level with the ground as if he believed that the sky had fallen, was Bhoja's countenance, as he went along, in which the eyes could not be seen on account of his embarrassment. 2876-2877

And he came to the conclusion: "Fie on us, duffers, who even after having repeatedly seen his extraordinary might still think that the king is subject to the laws of the mortals." 2878

"Poets of a superior genius beaming with truth have the head, but none else to describe such fiery glory." 2879

"If it was not the sparks from the blaze of royal glory which had covered the land, whence came our lack of self-possession just when we had set foot upon it?" 2880

"Large numbers of the bodies of brave men could not have experienced thirst, though they had drunk en masse the water of the fine edges of weapons, but for the great heat of the flame of his glory!" 2881

"Unless it was due to the blinding effect of his smoke-screen, how could one have been bewildered in perceiving, despite wide open eyes, the distinction between the right and the wrong course?" 2882

Avoiding the Darads, who were encamped on the opposite bank of the Madhumatī, he then, secluded by the curtain of the waves, dwelt on arrival on the edge of the river. 2883

When, in course of time, his dejection was undermined, they took him to the interior of their own camp and endeavoured to restore his confidence, while growing keen in their desire for treachery. 2884

For, with the king, who was showering untold wealth, it was their

2875 Vaihvalya = 'sinking feeling.'

2882 Dhūma-mālandhya = Smoke screen.

plan to bargain with diplomatic skill and draw allowances for keeping him in custody. 2885

"This is not the season for a campaign—close by is the advent of winter, in spring we shall fit out once more a splendid expedition. If, however, marking time is insupportable, we shall take you immediately by the route through the Bhutta country to the estate of the puissant Trillaka. Rājavadana is supporting the king." Thus he was addressed by those mean men who intended cunningly to keep him a prisoner in their own principality. 2886-2888

For, in duplicity even the people of Rājapurī are beaten by the Darads, like long summer days by the days of separation from the beloved. 2889

Now Balahara reproached him, through emissaries, for having retreated in that fashion saying, "I have been placed in a well while the rope has snapped." 2890

He remained in the field enthusiastically—despite this—confronting the son of Garga and gave no thought in his ardour to the approaching royal army. 2891

That with the sudden disappearance of the Darad ruler, Bhoja and the rest, he did not go to pieces was indeed the high water mark of his resolute courage. 2892

Even after the defection of his supporters with their strutting demonstration that he should have continued the campaign fighting haughtily—who but a superman could have achieved this? 2893

To gain time he employed dilatory tactics with Dhanya and the warden of the frontier who were anxious to come to terms in the hope that Bhoja might return. 2894

Then Alamkāracakra came up to take away Bhoja and approaching the Darads made his request on the ground of relationship. Learning that their assembly, despite his insistence, was recalcitrant and held fast to treachery, he resolved to persevere until death at the bridge-head on the highway. 2895-2896

2892. Paryāpteh ankanam=high water mark.

2895-97. The life of Hsüan-Tsang contains a remarkable episode of a hunger-strike. The king of Turfan, Ch'U Wen-t' ai, became his disciple, loaded him with special honours and tried to

dissuade him from proceeding to India. Eventually finding the pilgrim determined to proceed, the king forcibly detained him. Hsuan-Tsang threatened to starve himself to death "He sat upright and motionless, and for three days not a drop of water passed his lips.

Seeing him together with his vassals who were mostly young men preparing to die, the force of the Darad ruler suffered from contumacy and weakened through sympathy. 2897

The Balaharī stream appeared to avert the strife with her arm and to reproach the Darad forces with the murmur of her rippling billows. 2898

Put to shame by his women-folk and by the Mleccha chiefs, who were filled with jealousy, as well as by his troops who were scared by sin, Viḍḍasiha then gave up Bhoja. 2899

With the routed guardians of the bridge as his precursors, he crossed over to the further side while the rattle of his kettle-drums pierced the directions. 2900

In view of his own feeble condition and the weakness of his army, Viḍḍasiha now sued for peace and invited an envoy of the king to whom he said: 2901

"To vie with your master, whose might is superhuman, imagining him to be like a border chieftain is to do the work of a fisherman." 2902

"His statesmanship is inconceivable; Jayarāja and I will present ourselves before Yama, as heralds to announce his might, in heaven." 2903

"For me even a defeat at the hands of him who is of divine glory is victory; in a Tīrtha the fall of the pilgrim, through landslide from the bank, results in his elevation." 2904

Then he returned and having lingered for a short time in his own town, he entered Yama's realm where his evil reputation was displayed as the garland of welcome. 2905

Unaware of the approaching Bhoja, Rājavadana, on the other hand, made peace on that very day with the warden of the frontier and Dhanya. 2906

Having sent away the one who had come on horse-back and taking

On the fourth day the breathing of the Master of the Law was getting weaker and weaker. Ashamed and terrified at the consequences of his severity, the king prostrated himself on the ground and offered him his respectful excuse "He swore before the statue of Buddha to let his guest depart; only then did

Hsuan-Tsang consent to take nourishment.

2899 See App B

2902 The verse is literally translated. To catch fish is an idiom which survives in the Hindi, *Jhakh mārnā* (Sk *Jhasa* =fish)

with them Saṣṭha, the foremost among the strong-minded, the two then presented themselves before the king. 2907

Either from self-assurance or folly having laid aside their judgment, the two of them did not take into consideration prince Bhoja who was unscathed. 2908

Though repeatedly invited by the sovereign who entertained a wayward longing for him, Rilhana, however, who had not finally destroyed the enemy, would not return. 2909

He would not stand in front of the master when the task was not finished, just as a *chef de cuisine* is anxious to win appreciation but not to enjoy the food at all. 2910

Kept apart by him in the campaign, the two sons of Pṛthvihara, like the body of the lord of Magadha cut up by Bhīma, became incapable of action. 2911

As if into his mother's lap Loṣṭhaka reduced to straits in the campaign fled to his own territory, just as the serpent cut to pieces by Arjuna betook himself to the Khāṇḍava. 2912

Catuṣka, abbreviating himself and shedding his pride, retired to the impregnable residence of Trillaka, like a tortoise withdrawing his body under his shell. 2913

Rilhana, having finally accomplished the task by his valour alone, went to present himself before the monarch to get the lustre of the nails of his feet as his turban. 2914

Through the glory of the king, the insurrection had withered away in this way, yet owing to grave errors on the part of the ministers, it once more displayed its shoots. 2915

For Rājavadana, who should have been chastised, had instead been pacified with gifts and had fearlessly supported Bhoja who was approaching once more. 2916

With blackmail as his end, he then had Bhoja lodged at a place called Dinnāgrāma which was the seat of the wretched Kṛāśas. 2917

And he said to Bhoja "if you had arrived yesterday, the warden of the frontier with his limited following would not in the pursuit have escaped from the range of my vision." 2918

Rājavadana quivering with recklessness was restored to steadiness by Trillaka himself by diplomacy, like a gondola in the rapid current by extending a rope. 2919

Resolved to compel the protector of the subjects to surrender

to the growing unrest, that villain took up the leadership in the disturbances once more. 2920

Although his advisers, Alamkāra and the rest, endeavoured to keep him quiet, he would not give up intrigues, just as he who has no self-restraint cannot give up his caprice. 2921

Just as a surgeon letting alone the disease which is unripe proceeds to incise the mature boils, so ignoring him the king proceeded to root out the others 2922

“Please come to our support if we are shaken” —having thus addressed Bhoja, Alamkāracakra set forth bent on rebellion. 2923

The Dāmara freebooter Jayānandavāda, son of Ānandavāda, as also other natives of Kraumarājya who were distinguished fighters, followed him 2924

The minister for justice, Alamkāra, who confronted them with a small force was regarded by them as nothing but a dam of sand against the rapid current of a river. 2925

He, however, carrying on the fight singly against many, afforded to the subjects the thrills of the passage of arms of Balarāma and the rest. 2926

As the blood began to flow, the battle-field soon came to resemble a tavern wherein he displayed dexterity in confounding his enemies as if they were demons stimulated by their carousals. 2927

As a tornado would do with a heap of cotton—what else need be said—he drove helter-skelter the formidable force of the enemies in no time 2928

To become morsels for the vultures, kites and swarms of other birds Ānandavāda’s son, slain by him with an arrow, was left on the battle-field. 2929

Between Bhoja who was yearning for an uprising and the king who was anxious to catch him, there existed a state of things like the parable of the francolin in the mud pursued by the fowler; for as the francolin, through weakness, becomes unable to fly so the fowler while running falls in the mire yet trails after it day after day. At the crucial moment for an adventurous throw, Bhoja would thus become a prey to lassitude while the king planning to seize him suffered from errors of judgment over and over again. 2930-2932

2930. Krakara=commonly called Chakor which closely resembles the

French partridge It is very common in the Hills

While Bhoja was staying at Dinnāgrāma, Rājavadana thus occasioned the gibes of the sovereign : "What! are the thieves and the vandals in clover once more?" 2933

The Dāmaras, whose associations had been broken up, thereafter again began to close-knit a fabric of intrigue excelling their past record and once more became bold. 2934

So long as the warden of the frontier attacked them, they were unable to bear the brunt of his incredible charges; they aimed solely at wearing him out. 2935

At this time there arrived to save them and to get others to rise, the son of Salhana whom Alamkāracakra had drawn to himself by furnishing a hostage. 2936

With them on the following day, Bhoja with his weary force repeatedly attempted to make a junction at Hāyāśrama, when the warden of the frontier got news of him. 2937

As if he were unaware of this, the warden made a mock truce with them on some pretext and marched to Tāramūlaka situate across Bhoja's line of march. 2938

While he halted there, Bhoja hearkening to a distant hubbub in the evening was considerably perturbed and mentioned it. 2939

Though he was laughed at by his own set for this groundless apprehension, he did not cease to feel nervous and accordingly kept his horses ready. 2940

Now the affrighted Alamkāracakra who had been enquiring, "Where is the prince?" soon fled from Daśagrāmī. 2941

Then from the midst of the township a terrific rattle of kettle-drums and the din of the army, heralding an attack, arose with the face of the night 2942

Unnoticed in the pitch darkness Bhoja made good his escape, while Alamkāracakra was busy with the necessary preparations for the battle on the morrow. 2943

The fire ignited by the warden of the frontier lit the mountain tracks and conferred on Bhoja's people, who had lost themselves in the darkness, a boon at this time. 2944

The Dāmaras, who while waiting for Bhoja had been patient about the truce with the warden of the frontier, on learning these tidings, took to flight. 2945



... .. 2946-2947

At the burning of Tripura heat was radiated from the arrows, at the churning of the ocean it sprang from the submarine fire. Having associated with the churning mountain nowhere did the lord of the snakes have a life of comfort. 2948

The sons of Alamkārācakra, when Bhoja arrived in their own territory to end his sufferings from starvation and thirst, longed once more to take him prisoner. 2949

Either upon their father's advice or it was their own idea that they had conceived this plan; he, however, frustrating their devices got out and entered a different territory. 2950

Thereafter, being convinced that with the help of Balahara alone could success be achieved and losing faith in the other Lavanyas, the knowledgeable Bhoja once more proceeded to Dinnāgrāma 2951

Meanwhile the warden of the frontier, though determined to safeguard the country from the enemies, was incapacitated by a sudden eye-disease and rendered *hors de combat*. 2952

The Dāmara who had desired to give his two daughters to Bhoja in marriage gave them to Parmāṇḍi and Guḷhana, sons of the king, when he was worsted. 2953

The disease having become aggravated just when the time had come to inflict punishment, the warden of the frontier, in his helplessness, entered into negotiations. 2954

During the period of conflict, Saṣṭhacandra, too, son of Garga, capable of bearing any burden, died worn out by the disease of piles. 2955

Just when he was laid up with the malady, his own two brothers flaunting their arrogance caused disorder in the land by violent attacks and like disturbances. 2956

Trillaka, who was engaged in promoting a league with other powerful persons, having concentrated on war did not accept even a pacific message from the king. 2957

Saṣṭha having gone to his final peace and the warden of the frontier,

2946-47 The text is mutilated, and these verses have therefore not been translated

2948 Tripura=The city of the Titans

destroyed by Śiva in the eternal struggle between the gods and the Titans For the churning of the ocean see App C

too, struggling with disease, the king appointed Dhanya who marched forth to Tāramūlaka. 2958

"Bhoja, when he has fallen out with this one, might fall within the purview of other powerful persons and acquire prestige or having escaped from the country might become unassailable." Reflecting thus the king, who was anxious to capture him by negotiations or other devices, ordered Dhanya to start without losing time and get on with the offensive. 2959-2960

This mistaken policy, the dangerous consequences of which had not been realized, recoiled on the king to his injury like a viper dragged with the posterior bruised. 2961

Finding that Rājavadana had the power while the king was powerless, the men of the inner court as well as the outer court gradually fell into discontent. 2962

As there always are pitfalls in the policy of government which are as easily met with as when gliding through the chasm towards the nether world, if their number increases, then the one who has embarked upon that course may traverse it through some incomprehensible decree or suffer downfall. 2963

The Balahara when asked by the king to surrender, Bhoja stated, "He might desert having run through his money," and thus got the latter to grant a maintenance. 2964

Finding this swindle had gained publicity in the royal party, he began to look for an opportunity to try other tricks with diplomatic skill. 2965

For concluding pacts at each step with Balahara and others and making trips to and fro, Dhanya became the laughing-stock of the people. 2966

He could not get to the end of the affair of state which was constantly being set back, like the rope on the mechanism of the water-wheel with the pots. 2967

His diplomacy although it was sharp was not able to penetrate or even to reach his objective, like an arrow at a moving wheel. 2968

The protector of the subjects, who had captured two royal personages

and was bent upon the remaining one in the campaign, was bewildered as if he were playing chess. 2969

He had formed no objective in order to yield as a ruse, nor did he pay any heed to the enemy, who were destroying his knights, footmen, and the rest. 2970

While the freebooting Dāmaras held fast to their leagues and awaited the end of winter, Balahara apprehended that Nāga might extirpate his own people. 2971

As he with his power and active hostility had woven a web of aggression and Dhanya, too, was on the offensive, Rājavadana was perpetually in fear and trembling. 2972

Then having held a consultation with Bhoja he sent a message to Dhanya : "Arrest and hand over Nāga to me; I shall, thereupon, deliver Bhoja to you." 2973

Rājavadana hoped to achieve in a large measure his own objective by bringing about the imprisonment of the enemy; Dhanya, owing to the stress and strain, had failed to discern this plan of his. 2974

That kings with their wits led astray from rectitude in the hurry to achieve their selfish ends do any unclean act is nothing new. 2975

Even the chivalrous Rāmacandra, in the search for his beloved, being keen on securing Sugrīva, blinded by selfishness, committed a wrongful act--the murder of Vālin! 2976

Suppressing his eternal truthfulness, with his mind befouled by the pride of sovereignty, even the Pāndava king who regulated himself by righteousness had his preceptor slain! 2977

2969-70 The similes in these two verses are from the game of Indian Chess called in Sanskrit Caturāṅga (literally the fourfold military array technically known as the *Hasti-aśva-raṭha-padātī*), from which is derived the Persian *Shatrang*. According to legend Rāvana, king of Laṅkā, was the originator of the game. The game is played differently in the West and in Japan. For a description of the game as it was probably played in Kāliana's time see *Alberuni*, Vol. I. pp. 183-85.

2975 R. is at pains to explain away the king's acts such as the assassination of Nāga for a political reason. Jayasinha, like Akbar, was touched by remorse at such brutal but necessary acts. Employ-

ment of assassins and secret execution in the time of Jayasinha apparently caused no horror. See verse 3311 below.

Mustapha Kemal is reported by Upton Close to have replied when asked about the use of assassins "They are the tongs with which I pick up dirt!"

2976 The reference is to the story of the *Rāmāyana* where Rāmacandra in order to gain the support of Sugrīva killed the latter's brother Vālin.

2977 The reference is to the episode in the war of the *Mahābhārata*: the truthful Yudhiṣṭhira is induced to make an ambiguous statement relating to the death of Aśvatthāmā in consequence of which the latter's father Dronācārya dies broken-hearted.

Since the campaign of Bhikṣu Nāga had always been a traitor though for the time being he was neutral; the attack upon him from a motive of self-interest found no condemnation, on the contrary, that he should have been imprisoned by the king without having taken any security for the delivery of Bhoja for which it might become an impediment and hence there was, in some measure, indignation on the part of men of discernment.

2978-2979

If, however, the king had acted having thought over and held this act to be for his advantage in the future, in the way in which it turned out, then his intellect was superhuman.

2980

As if he had fallen out, Bhoja, on the other hand, sent a message to Nāga as follows: "Balahara is willing to surrender me to the king if you are handed over as surety."

2981

For, disbelieving that he had been arrested and that on learning this he might resort to neutrality through fear of the king, Bhoja had thus addressed him.

2982

After Saṁhacandra had gone to his final peace, the king, through Jayacandra whom he had won over, then arranged to have Nāga brought before himself.

2983

"If brought under his wing by the king, this man will kill us"—owing to this fear Bhoja had conveyed that warning to Nāga even when he was on the march.

2984

"Alas! knowing that to be so I, who am being dragged before the king by these fellows, am unfortunately not master of myself." Thus through emissaries Nāga, too, replied to him.

2985

Surely the ears of a creature, drowning in the depth of the stream of destiny, are incapable of hearing what is being said by some one on the bank.

2986

Upon the imprisonment of Nāga, the affrighted members of his family approached and sought shelter with Balahara, but that wily man rendered himself difficult to interview.

2987

Taking him who was to form the payment in the sale of Bhoja, Dhanya then together with Rilhana hurried to Balahara.

2988

Laughing inwardly, he cozened both of them and saying, "First hand over Nāga to me then I shall deliver Bhoja," he put them in a quandary.

2989

Having gained a firm foot-hold, he was unassailable and that entire

army of the two ministers, which had come such a distance to fight, was rendered subservient to his plan of action. 2990

Then he said to them who were down-hearted owing to the rain, the fighting, casualties and the rest "If the two of you withdraw from here I shall act according to your view." 2991

When they had taken up their position on the road at the distance of one march, through disappointment from the impasse in that affair, he caused bewilderment in their minds. 2992

In Balahara there was a remarkable perfection of resolute courage and character, which in these common place modern times is indeed unique among the brave. 2993

Thus it was that he was not treacherous towards Dhanya who having precipitately fallen in with his views had been deflected from his objective, nor even towards Bhoja through greed 2994

"If through error of judgment the ministers do hand over Nāga to me then I shall make an appeal and restore him to his own seat." Thus he resolved in his mind. 2995

With the object of making secure the wealth which he had got hold of in Nāga's absence, a nephew of Nāga, named Losthaka, who was secretly hostile to him, induced Dhanya and others to destroy him. 2996

Nāga having been killed without reason by the ministers, misled by his enemies, the king was blamed for this ill-advised act by his own people as well as by the opponents. 2997

Thereupon all the hostile Dāmaras furious at the murder of their clansman as well as the followers of Nāga flocked to the support of Balahara who became powerful. 2998

Even to a person, who through nervous breakdown caused by a sudden calamity is erring on the way and is actually marring things he ought to make, divine Providence may grant success. 2999

A person, obsessed in his mind with the growing affliction of his slender means, wandering aimlessly in his helpless state suddenly falls down a precipice where another has deposited a treasure. By its discovery, despite injury to limb, relief from his wretched condition is extended to him by Providence, if by good luck it is favourably disposed.

Bhoja was not aware that Nāga had been killed without any judicial investigation in that manner by the diplomats; on the other hand, growing alarmed he soliloquized in this wise. 3001

"This atrocious act of the ruler who is a man of letters and who had yet to benefit under the terms of the pact, cannot be supposed to have been for achieving his purpose." 3002

... .. 3003-3004

"Since the upheaval caused by Bhikṣu which has brought in its train an abundant crop of treachery, is it not conceivable that this Rājavadana himself, through covetousness, may prove to be its soil?" 3005

Then the wretched Khaśas, in order to remove the nervousness of the suspicious Bhoja, swore an oath by libation by putting their feet on a skin wet with blood 3006

He having expressed his apprehension at being kept under guard, Balahara came to him unattended for his assurance. 3007

The mission having failed owing to the deficient judgment of the ministers, the king, experienced in affairs, was obliged to put it right and calmly set himself to do it. 3008

Does not the king Jayasinha during a period of depression put life into an affair of state in the same way as does the month of Caitra in a cops of trees, the advent of monsoon in the waters of a rivulet, a respectful welcome in the case of homage to merit, intimate association when there is love at sight, hard work in the case of opulence and deep and undaunted perseverance in achieving a victory? 3009

In persisting in a course opposed to the current, one can not succeed in putting through the matter in hand any more than in reaching the opposite bank where the current being strong carries one away in midstream. 3010

Thus the shrewd king, who was erroneously believed to be a simpleton by his enemies, by demonstrating his simplicity strove for a rapprochement. 3011

For, his plan was to ply those who were round about Bhoja with all manner of wares and to render them an object of distrust in every way. 3012

To the elephants even the rivers will appear as if they are in flames, if their edges smell of the odour of the lion. 3013

Just as within a perforated nest a bird shrinks with fright and knowing that if it emerged it would altogether fall into the net fastened in front of the exit is alarmed, so Bhoja, without trust in the men of his entourage and his passage abroad barred by the king, felt nervous even to depart. 3014-3015

At this time he became a prey to uneasiness so that he would not, for a moment, see anything to divert his mind or do an act worthy of this world or the next. 3016

Alas! one, who has suffered, is grieved and readily melts at the severe hardships of another which follow his own. Imprisoned in the dimple of the lotus, the bee is even more wrung with pain at the cry of distress of the Cakravāka separated from his sweetheart. 3017

Bhoja happened to see a certain Brahman whose wounds received in an affray were filled with coagulated blood, his hair was torn, foam issued from his mouth and he was groaning in travail. 3018

Being questioned, he related how the rebel Dāmaras had robbed him of every thing and had wounded him to boot and denounced Bhoja for being unable to afford protection 3019

Bhoja's mind being afflicted by his own sorry plight day after day he was grieved at this misfortune as if a fresh wound had been rubbed and spoke to give him solace as follows 3020

"Oh Brahman! I do not deserve to be reproached by you; on the contrary, being myself in such sore straits, I deserve your sympathy"—to which he then rejoined. 3021

"Say, prince! what purpose will be served by this wicked persistence on the part of yourself who can discriminate between the substance and the shadow being a young man of high lineage and honour?" 3022

"By placing your life in jeopardy, bowing to the vulgar-minded and harrying the subjects with afflictions what achievement do you visualise?" 3023

"And he, whom you fancy you could vanquish, is it not known to you that where plunging into the flame of the enemy's heroism is concerned, he is like the antelope purified by fire?" 3024

"Where the point of the sword fails in splitting the crystal, can it be effected by the cup-like leaf of the blue lotus?" 3025

"He who has defeated Pṛthvīhara, the Avatāra and other antagonists what, indeed, in a conflict with him are these miserable wretches?" 3026

"Are they really worth being proud about now that you know the doings of those who live by civil war? Those whose conscience is in the keeping of their servants resemble snakes captured by snake catchers." 3027

"Beshrew the young cobras, born in the line of the Hydryad who supports the globe of the earth, for gladly accepting the food morsel in the cavities of their mouths opened by the snake catchers; the latter do this in order to earn a living by begging through them and not to add to the importance of the snakes, whom they compel to jump in and out of the leather bag to frighten the people." 3028

Bhoja having assuaged him who had thus spoken gave him leave to depart and at that very time it happened that discernment blossomed in him. 3029

The possession of a noble soul is, forsooth, necessary to be able to exult in the greatness of peace; otherwise attitudes of mind may be indeed gentle or cruel. It may feel hard when touched by the foot yet it is marvellous how the moon-crystal, although it is a stone, begins ardently to melt when touched by the feet of the cool-rayed one whose light is ambrosia. 3030

Though born in the royal family, he was not taught to be domineering and he pondered a great deal over the difference between himself and the king. 3031

"Owing to the courage, statesmanship, open-handedness, uprightness, character and other virtues of the sovereign even the rulers of yore are dwarfs; what indeed in comparison are we insignificant persons?" 3032

"He displays, even during the era resplendent with power, his strength which is cool with forbearance; even in the numbness of decline there is on the part of us fools much heat" 3033

"Even when closely thronged by snakes and harassed by the Bamboo



conflagration the tall Sandal tree maintains its coolness; even during the period when the season of snow has effaced heat, in the bottom of the low down well a very warm temperature prevails." 3034

"How can any one achieve his purpose unless this king ceases to be vigilant and in any case is not an objective which is about to be achieved marred by blunders" 3035

"The limpid water of the cataracts which flows from the hills is either obtained somewhere by them or is secured from the clouds; tainted with impurity it ceases to be excellent. The water of the rivers in flood flowing towards lower levels, were it not drawn by the sky, would not attain the dazzling brightness of the eternal snow on the peaks of the Himalayan range." 3036

"For this very reason when a man, who has control over himself is requested in favour of reconciliation, against whom a fabric of disaster had been woven, he should not be touched by anger" 3037

"Should he, who set fire to the forest to burn the Sandal tree, approach it and be singed by the fire while the Sandal tree is hale, would it not do him a good turn, by allaying his burns from the conflagration?" 3038

In all difficulties as if he were the remover, Dhanya laboured to save the king, the patron of his people, again and again. 3039

While Bhoja was seeking the means to placate the king, he, on this occasion, saw a royal emissary arriving singly at Balahara's place. 3040

Bhoja, when proceeding to the territory of the Darads, had seen him and known him before. As he was bowing, Bhoja had him brought before himself and then spoke to him feigning a smile. 3041

"What is the use of the king negotiating with others? He should conclude a treaty of peace with me; for the wise get a physician to prescribe the diet for an invalid. 3042

As the emissary regarding it as a joke smiled unconvinced he, by palaver in various ways succeeded, in a measure, in creating confidence. 3043

Owing to the sincere words of Bhoja which invited trust, he then, in the course of conversation, came closer and spoke to him in praise of the king. 3044

"O prince! of this king, who is noble and of charming disposition, the shelter of the feet like that of the mountain of gold is obtained by those who have merits of a former existence," 3045

"Through compliance however yielded one can safely remove prejudice from him, just as the warmth of water due to the glare of the autumnal sunshine is removed by the moonlight." 3046

"And do you recollect that having been employed for espionage by the king, I once appeared before you as you were entering the territory of the Darads?" 3047

"On my return from there and after having reported the important news about you in order to pass time while giving details I spoke to him" 3048

"When weary with hunger, thirst and the sufferings of the road his own retainers on seeing me began to revile you, Sire, Bhoja after reproving them, spoke in this fashion." 3049

"He is as it were our divinity, the ornament of our dynasty; it is we who lack in good deeds of a former life that we cannot get to serve the feet of the sovereign." 3050

"We count for something though strengthless in the extreme because of our relationship with him. The wood which is mistaken for sandal is that which is scented with the perfume of it." 3051

"No sooner had he heard this than he was seen to have passed into a mood of melting sympathy towards you and as if he were your father, he again questioned me, 'What does this youngster say?'" 3052

On hearing this Bhoja's heart, too, melted; gulping down his tears, he saw the man still standing before him trying to console him 3053

One, who is so simple as to realize only what is very obvious having no knowledge of the motives of a man of affairs, fails to perceive what is in his inmost heart. 3054

Distrusting the intentions of Bhoja, whose situation was not precarious, Dhanya, to whom the emissary came back entrusted with his mission, placed no reliance upon it. 3055

"It is a game, what happened in the case of Nāga should not recur, I am gambling with the king to delude him by stratagem." Thus did Bhoja fearing lest there should be cleavage speak to Balahara with feigned straightforwardness. In secret, however, he hastened to conclude peace. 3056-3057

One who in this exigency was fitted to act confidentially and who was also an adept in diplomacy, the son of a man from the plains, was then immediately appointed by him to be his emissary. 3058

"He through youthful inexperience being ever wayward might be

engaged in some personal intrigue." Thus Balahara had entertained no suspicion against Bhoja. 3059

Then upon his return, the messenger informed Bhoja. "The king whose favour has been sought awaits a relative as a messenger for peace." 3060

As Bhoja had no other relation present on the spot, he sent his own nurse named Nonā, who being a woman was not assertive, to appear before the king. 3061

His father having died and being left without a mother, who had followed him in death, Bhoja had been looked after by this worthy woman who had stood in a mother's stead to him. 3062

Bhoja had set his heart on securing the mediation of the queen Kalhanikā, thinking in this wise: "For the happiness of her husband she, in whom the flame of jealousy has been extinguished, has acted as a friend to his other wives by arranging reconciliations where there was lack of harmony, open breach and other misunderstandings. The king never sees this brave Ksatriya lady upset whether in failure or success since she takes decisions on affairs of state with her advisers after considering what would be suitable action. At the coronation of the king, she assumed the diadem of the queen consort desired for her by her father-in-law as well as by the subjects. Though lured by attachment to her children, love of luxury, and the desire to gratify her husband, her mind does not run into undesirable channels; whether among her own people or elsewhere once an alliance has taken place, her mind is never disparate from her husband; she is free from overweening pride during the dawn of good fortune and the record of her virtuous life is unbroken. The inner mind of her husband, since his early youth, is known to her and she would not plunge into an affair to pursue a wrong course of conduct, being a lady who would safeguard honour and family." And she arranged for the stages of his journey extending up to the limits of the frontier. 3063-3069

For the security of the intermediaries huge sums for bail bonds and the like and ample gold from her own treasure for travelling expenses and furthermore eight Rājaputras of very high lineage for his protec-

3061. The foster mother was an important person in royal households. She is selected to act as plenipotentiary in this verse.

3063-3069. In these verses K. gives us a fine sketch of the character of the queen Kalhanikā.

tion did the queen send, which was all according to the terms of the agreement. 3070-3071

Receiving her message, Dhanya arrived and prevailed upon the king to give the foster mother an assurance regarding the fulfilment of her set purpose. 3072

The king would have liked straightaway to put his trust in her, yet being firm in his duty as the sovereign his mind rocked in the swing of misgiving. 3073

For, he held the view: "Either through disgust or as a make-believe he is giving up opposition; he must be relieved from his critical position lest he should revert to enmity." 3074

"Until the network of clouds has finally disappeared, the sun though visible may not, like a judicial investigation while disorders of a serious nature are lingering, shed light for long." 3075

"Or else knowing us to be fools, since the murder of Nāga, without an enquiry he has, in order to achieve his own ends, forged this political device." 3076

"In a young man who has made his mark, whose resources are not exhausted, who is efficient, is thronged by supporters and who observes the code of Kṣatriya chivalry such a decision has nowhere been noticed." 3077

"The saffron flower is without a stem, the Kṣīrīn bears fruit without a blossom and in high-souled men secession from desire is not limited to the passage of years." 3078

"He must not be left to himself, if this prince is a diplomat of such depth; if, however, he has transformed himself in this way, what merit will our eyes have gained if they have not put a sight on him?" 3079

"The queen is of opinion—and these Rājaputras have been predicting the ruin of his prestige—that it is very clear that for him save a straightforward and magnanimous course no other possible one is indicated." 3080

"The rambling and serpentine course of a river is not noticed by everybody, like water dripping from the tresses of one's sweetheart, as a rule." 3081

Thus after giving his consideration to the political measure as be-

3077 *Labdha-lakṣa*=made his mark

3079 The meaning is, 'our eyes have

been in vain for not having seen Bhoja'

seemed a sincere and wise man, he sent away the other ministers and confided the action to be taken to the ears of Dhanya and Ralhana. 3082

"For the purpose of implementing the very ends you desire, the son of Salhana is anxious to meet you in conference"—thus was Dhanya addressed by emissaries and induced to go 3083

Lest the prince who was suing for peace might be nervous about the army, Dhanya, with a limited number of his retainers, stayed on an island in the river while waiting for him. 3084

That river had knee-deep water but the warm weather having melted the snows it grew formidable with the waves embracing the sky. 3085

The river seemed to have been seized with malice and became unfordable even for elephants; and thus hemmed in by the river he then fell a prey to his enemies who were on the look out for loop-holes. 3086

In the midst of the islet, the edges of which were enveloped on either side by the waters of the river, they acquired a semblance with foam as in their white clothes they huddled together. 3087

While thousands of the wretched Khasas remained in readiness to kill Dhanya in that predicament, whom they believed to have fallen into Bhoja's power. 3088

During this turmoil with his appealing eyes, as if touching the ears to ward off a sacrilege, the guileless son of Salhana spoke to them rebukingly: 3089

"If the murder of one who is free from deceit and who has hurried to us in trustfulness is committed, then at all events without guilt I should surely fall into hell." 3090

"Nor in the event of his death, would the king who has many officers suffer diminution of his power; it is not the damage to one wing which would destroy the velocity of the eagle" 3091

"If kings could be denounced for inflicting injury in such circumstances on those who trust them, how should one who is mindful of his responsibility injure one of equal rank?" 3092

"And as he, devoted in service to none but the king, serves him professionally, it is also my endeavour to do likewise in seeking service with the latter." 3093

As they were immovable in their resolution even after they had been

addressed by him in such seemly wise, he held them back by obstinately vowing to slay himself. 3094

Later, at night, in order to guard against a loop-hole for any such mischance, he prevailed upon them to swear an oath by libation, and Dhanya, too, was warned about this state of affairs. 3095

Dhanya having reported this straightforward conduct, the serene king, whose wits were not inexperienced, then pondered over the completion of the pact for peace which had been imperilled and without revealing the decision or his state of mind to others, he sent the queen on the journey to Tāramūlaka accompanied by the ministers. 3096-3097

From exigency of state policy, she imagined that harsh measures might become unavoidable and acceding to her husband's request regarding the journey then spoke thus: 3098

"Even among ministers, who are extraordinary, having repeatedly observed a wicked course of conduct, it is a matter which deserves consideration whether one should trust the adversary." 3099

"How should those, who are embodied in mortal frames, fathom the nature of thoughts which perhaps have a superhuman origin?" 3100

"The protection of your person at the cost of my life is my constant care; but the rule of conduct of a virtuous woman does not tolerate what may be permissible in statecraft." 3101

"You being the foe, Sire, an open display of good manners through oral messages is necessary for negotiations pending strife; and Bhoja has commenced to sell snow on the Himālayas." 3102

"The common people nowadays do not keep the peace, do not recognize the distinction between themselves and others and generally flaunt their arrogance which is wrong." 3103

"When his mind is prejudiced by his sons, ministers, women and others even a good-natured king, in anger, acts precipitately to the detriment of an unsuspecting person." 3104

"Your Majesty, who does not transgress a promise and whose word is infallible, does indeed share with me as from the one wassail-bowl his drink of glory in the three worlds." 3105

"On the other hand, if I should disregard life in order to save from destruction those whom it is my duty to save, I believe I should be selfish in tasting glory and appropriating it to myself." 3106

When after saying thus she had fallen silent, the king was reticent

about calming her misgivings; true to his word he, having taken counsel together, sent the noble lady on the mission. 3107

And all the people marvelled—"A defeat and altogether a wrong policy! What is he contemplating, this king, that he is preparing to extend protection and even to fix a pension for him?" 3108

"Or perchance no other remedy remained which he could try since all the ways and means have been employed even to the extent of sending the queen on the mission!" 3109

Those few Dāmaras who had remained neutral either through dissensions in their own party or while watching the strength or weakness of the king which was being tested—all of them, whether small or big, wore out the fetters of decorum and started weaving a web of intrigue with the people of Bhoja's household. 3110-3111

They thought that, because they had continued to be bystanders in the contest for the crown, Bhoja had been in this predicament and soon they dropped their attitude of neutrality. 3112

Trillaka despatched his son to Bhoja at once and caused Catuska to raid Śamālā with ample forces. 3113

Those who during even the rebellion of Bhikṣu had maintained friendly relations with the king, the Dāmaras of Nīlāsva, too, joined the side of the adversary. 3114

From Lohara, Devasarasa and Holadā three Dāmaras and from Nīlāsva, a solitary Dāmara lady stood out. 3115

And without cease on the force of Bhoja, composed of the various Lavanyas, fell snow like, the ocean-like roar of falling waters maddened by torrential rain. 3116

Bhoja, on his part, learning the queen was about to arrive then said quite openly to Balahara, "In truth the desire to conclude peace has a hold on me." 3117

"All these days one man has been leading into error another man; when the ladies of the family undertake mediation, who can remain estranged from one's kindred?" 3118

"On an occasion when the crest-jewel of our family behaves with affection in such fashion, how can persons almost of no account like myself be acrimonious?" 3119

3115 The Dāmara lady who was own right.  
loyal must have held the fief in her

"And as for your statement that this is a ruse, then let it be so that I am diddled. Anyway for having been trustful I shall not become the abode of infamy."

3120

"Lest you might be entertaining the hope of victory with the thought 'we are all united,' we have witnessed similar arrays and have nevertheless climbed down from the heights"

3121

This and many such things as were expedient he spoke, and Bhoja could not be induced to alter his resolution by Balahara and the rest.

3122

But the chiefs asked him, "When the ruin of your adversary is at the distance of two or three days whence this *volte-face* on your part? and how does it happen when the time for the fruit has come?"

3123

While the queen stayed at Tāramūlaka, Dhanya and Rāhiana with their respective forces thereafter arrived at Pāñcigrāma accompanied by the Rājaputras.

3124

Learning that they had both arrived and had taken up their positions on the south bank of the river, Bhoja, too, in a wood on the opposite bank pitched his camp to await them.

3125

Watching the incessant entry of soldiers from all quarters in his camp, there were several in the royal army who did not feel secure about the truce.

3126

Rājavadana was ever full of the thought of slaying Dhanya and his people who had presumptuously advanced with a few soldiers and were not in a position to extricate themselves.

3127

After cutting the bridge from Suṃyapura, longing to massacre the royal army, some lay in wait secretly on boats on the lake Mahāpadma.

3128

While others, who had fallen away from the king on the look out for tidings of a bold throw on Rājavadana's part, had posted themselves at different places on their respective routes and eagerly waited to attack.

3129

An attack on the city of Śaṅkaravarman was contemplated by the Dāmaras of Bhaṅgila and other districts and a raid on the Kṣiptikā by those of Śamālā.

3130

Trillaka and the rest reckoned they could reach the bank of the



Mahāsarit and the Dāmaras of Nīlāśya were to endeavour to penetrate to the heart of the city. 3131

What else need be said? Together they were all preparing to slay the officials of the royal household, who were like ducks surrounded in the midst of water. 3132

The instructions became altogether doubtful and the mission was on a par with the chance of rain showers during a period of draught with an intervenient conjunction of planets. 3133

At every step, Bhoja was absorbed in the occupation of cutting down the plan of Balabara, who desired to rise and move against the royal army. 3134

At every moment, with a view to frustrating them in the peace terms which were being negotiated, Rājavādāna raised some obstacle or other 3135

Whatever the impediment to the rapprochement raised from either camp, Bhoja himself bent solely on acting righteously cut it out at once. 3136

The sycophants of the king, who were in clover while serving on the mission when things were going smoothly, were reduced to unbecifity, through nervousness, during the acute stage of the negotiation. 3137

They whisper into the king's ear what, with beat of drum, has been broadcast throughout the realm; they speak in an abject manner, their bodies doing the obeisance so that he may be ashamed of himself; they flatter, and unpleasant things which cut to the quick are openly discussed such as would not be done even by an enemy. In fact, whoever are the collection of knavery and folly they are the flatterers of the king. 3138

The harlequin in the dance hall, the epigrammatist in his satirical one-act plays, the dog of the cow-pen in the courtyard of his own dwelling, the marmot in his burrow on the hill slopes, and the sycophant as a knight of good cheer in the royal household, shows off his valour; elsewhere, however, they resemble a tortoise which has been dragged out of a pond 3139

3138. Udghosita=Broadcast.

3139. Khataḥku=From Khaṭa=but-row and Ākhu=rat, a marmot (which is from Latin mus=mouse and mous=

mountain) It is a rodent like the squirrel and is very common on the mountain slopes of Kāśmir. The marmot is a friend that greets us every-

Soon the daylight was rendering homage to the peaks of the towering mountains, when with the change in the brilliance of the sun the heat had died down. 3140

The sun had stepped into the circle of the rays of his brother Anūru, stretched forth the arms towards the crest of the mountains, and turned blood red in his disc. 3141

The Lady of the Twilight, peace-maker between the faces of Day and Night, was being worshipped by the people with hands folded hollow for offerings. 3142

As the moon was preparing to rise, cracks in the elephants' tusks, the melting of the moon-stones and the insurgence of the lord of the rivers were being indicated. 3143

As the lotuses were drooping with melancholy, the bees, threatened with the loss of their sustenance from both the lotus and the elephant, decided to lodge on the temples of the elephants only. 3144

At this time not seeing how the affair would end, with their troops on the river bank in a perilous state, the ministers chafed in anxiety. 3145

They felt they were in a rapid vortex and could perceive nothing to lean upon like persons being carried away by the rushing current. 3146

On the other hand, in Balahara posted on the opposite bank of the river the desire for a sudden attack was sprouting, but he was repeatedly held back by the son of Sallhana. 3147

That small force brought by the ministers, who had thought the affair to be over, was an easy matter to cut up for that formidable man. 3148

As is the case in Śrīnagara during the pilgrimage to the confluence of the Vitastā and the Sindhu, the people remained on the move tirelessly during the night. 3149

Through despatches issued by different highly placed officials of the inner and outer court, for the purpose of breaking up the Dāmara confederacy, the Rājaputras were closely knit together. 3150

His followers, living in an atmosphere of knavery, did not succeed

where in the valley. From its burrow it hops out as soon as the tourist approaches, sits erect on its quarters like a Teddy-bear and welcomes him with

sharp birdlike whistles.

3149 People still start from Śrīnagar in boats at night in order to reach the confluence of the rivers at dawn

in dragging the resolute Bhoja, even after raising tumultuous scenes, from either his patience or his determination. 3151

From lack of confidence in the assembled chieftains, Bhoja thought to himself—"If this Balahara is treated with contempt, unceremoniously, he may in his rage attack all of a sudden and cause a catastrophe and once the massacre is started by him, the Dāmara freebooters will come swarming in like birds of prey." Thus he carried Balahara with him by his pretended anxiety for the rebellion by saying, "We shall deliver an attack when the night is over." 3152-3154

"These chieftains who have come for my sake have had no food"—with this thought Bhoja, too, cadet of a noble house, from a sense of propriety did not feed. 3155

The ministers, however, who were not aware that his views were not opposed to their own, lacked trust and believed that the political mission was in jeopardy. 3156

Even at the darting of the fishes caused by the flapping of the wings of birds, they imagined that the enemy was about to deliver a sudden onslaught. 3157

So absorbed were they in their objective that they imagined that on the opposite bank of the river none but the Cakravākas felt the discomfiture. 3158

As in the case of Rāma's monkey spy, the Wind, his father, had helped in crossing the sea, so it now extended help to their spies to get to the further side of the river. 3159

Approaching close to the enemy, whose ears were dulled by the soughing of the trees growing on the river bank, the spies thus remaining awake passed that night. 3160

The night was worn; while the graceful sunbeams had not yet dispelled the solar illusion of molten gold and copper on the mountain peaks and from the gentle eyelike buds of the creepers, the nocturnal dew was trickling like tear-drops as if in sympathy at seeing the Cakravākas in separation from their beloved, the ministers espied a young man in a lovely dress carrying a battle-axe who, having emerged from the tree clumps, had just reached the river bank. He was mounted in a litter and accompanied by a limited number of infantry; he was urging the litter-bearers by touching their heads

3159 Hanumat was the son of Añjanā by the Wind-god.

with the foot while with his eye-glances he was, at the same time, repressing the ardour of the Dāmara warriors who, desirous of obstructing him, were hurrying from all sides. 3161-3165

When the ministers saw him with his curls on the forehead touched with sandal and with the emollient of saffron, they supposed it was Bhoja whom they had not seen before. 3166

He had spent the night cajoling Rājavādāna and at day-break after a hurried farewell had appeared in that fashion face to face with them. 3167

As the litter reached midstream, Dhanya and the others galloped their horses from the opposite bank and having approached him gleefully surrounded him. 3168

Thereupon from the two camps arose a tumultuous din, loud-mouthed in lament at one end and at the other overflowing with jubilation. 3169

On hearing the noise, the Dāmaras came running from all directions in a bellicose mood but seeing him join the opponents they beat their heads. 3170

A reception was held in his honour, the main feature of which was an address of congratulations by Dhanya and the others; it was free from supineness and sincere and their respective precedence was not surrendered. 3171

Controlling his exuberant exaltation of spirit which was altogether surging within him, Dhanya then paid him all sorts of compliments while praising him in this fashion: 3172

“O prince! by you who are of stable character and the home of noble thoughts, this earth has been hallowed as by the steadfast Mount Meru who is the abode of the gods.” 3173

“Of all spoken words, your word being unalterable is superior to the milk in the ocean of milk which is liable to alteration.” 3174

“Barring yourself who else has succeeded in escaping from the midst of the base-born to nestle in the bosom of one’s own kindred like the Kokila” 3175

Highness has, at the outset, struck the path of right conduct,

3174. The ocean of milk like all other ocean would be subject to ebb and tide and not be unalterable like

Bhoja’s word.

3175. See Tarahga III. 107.

it will not be surprising if ultimately we find ourselves travelling together higher than that." 3176

After he had spoken in reply to these and similar courteous addresses which had been delivered, they escorted him to a charger after he had passed through a triumphal archway amidst applause. 3177

The Lavanyas then followed him, shouting curses for some Kṛośas like crows after him who is being taken away by his own kin to be restored to the Kokilas. 3178

Thus it was that in the year twenty-one in Jyestha on the tenth day he, who was in the neighbourhood of thirty-three years, was won over by the king. 3179

The queen greeted him when he saluted her on arrival like a beloved son and, as his servants were weary, she thoughtfully arranged for his food. 3180

She noticed that he had many of the qualities not unmeet for one of the lunar race and not having seen him before, she felt that her eyes deceived her. 3181

And because of the absence of artificiality and on account of such qualities as frankness, gracefulness and sweetness, Bhoja reckoned that the king, too, must be of pure white character. 3182

Facial demeanour is the index to the state of mind, the splendour of the gateway to the prosperity of the house and the behaviour of the wife of the disposition of the husband. 3183

Towards the close of the day, while he showed he was sick of marching and was eager to depart, yet out of loving kindness no one said to him, "Enter appearance before the king." 3184

At this juncture, the ministers, who were anyhow opposed to a hitch in the pourparlers, declared that the king, whose resentment had not died down, desired that his instructions should be communicated. 3185

This phrase like a prologue to the statement "Appear before the king" acted like a dart in the orifice of his ears. 3186

For a long while Bhoja was as if cut to the quick; then recovering himself he looked round but the firm determination of the mediators, through generous regard, had been confined to their lips. 3187

3184. Rājñah Abhyarnam Viśa=  
'enter appearance before the king'

3185-3190. From these verses it ap-

pears that the ministers were charged with the mission to win over and conduct Bhoja before the king.

As he spoke bitterly desiring to lay down his life, they allayed his emotion with soft words while their heads were bent with respect. 3188

The behaviour of the eloquent Bhoja, though unfriendly, was just and no one felt it was possible, by a rejoinder, to control him. 3189

Then the brave Dhanya spoke softly and the gleaming light of his teeth revealed his complete devotion to the sovereign, which he bore in his heart: 3190

"With the course of the duties of royalty laid down for righteous conduct you are familiar and yet how is it that you have this delusion about the traditions, which have come down from generations?" 3191

"What kind of peace do you call it when you go away without seeing him with whom peace is to be made? How, in front of us, do you account for this?" 3192

"Having realised that the king is radiant with uprightness which is not easy to be found among rulers at the present day, the transformation has taken place in you regarding your duty as a kinsman." 3193

"He has no hypocrisy, conceit, inhibitions, persistence in dislike or a wicked word even for the dead, and in the purity of his exemplary good manners what a charm!" 3194

"Service under him will bring fortune which is not possible from the acquisition of sovereignty; can such light as is reflected from the sun come from a lighted lamp?" 3195

"The love of discussion about Nirvāṇa, such as is to be found in the resorts of those who have attained the inner poise, is in the king who at the same time is a Rṣi; he follows the consensus of opinion when he sits as a member of the assembly." 3196

"Thus when you can secure well-nigh complete bliss which is obtained in your own home, why worry about other places of fortune and other rulers?" 3197

"The hooded snakes have never reckoned those among them who following the season abandon the waters of their own pools to be fools; they cling to the cool sandal trees in summer while in the month of Māgha they enter their warm and ancient burrow." 3198

3196. Rājarṣi. The king who at the same time was a Rṣi was the ideal king according to ancient literature, such was

the father of Sitā, king Janaka of Mithilā, who though living in the world was not of it.

"The queen and the princes are the means which support the life of the king, in his interest whatever may be unseemliness is to them nothing but seemliness." 3199

"Like food which after the warmth has left it is warmed and has become cold your action will, through the warmth of repentance, once more become nauseating." 3200

Such a forceful speech he proved unable to refute with potency and any lingering sense of deception was dispelled, nevertheless, in the matter of the journey he continued reluctant. 3201

When, however, on the route he saw the inhabitants who had everywhere composed laudatory poems, the growing realisation of the correctness of his action was confirmed in his mind. 3202

The surface of the earth appeared as if it had formed an alliance with the sky through the hallucination of the dust swirled up by the feet of the infantry. 3203

Bhoja thought within himself : "I wonder if I shall ever get to the king! I wonder if an audience with him will be hindered by scheming persons." 3204

"In the household of potentates who can get a moment to display his merit, without being interrupted betweenwhiles by the satellites?" 3205

"The stream of water rushes from the Snow Mountain with the thought that it would be comforting to the ocean heated by the submarine fire. But at the very time it falls into the ocean it is swallowed up by the sea monsters." 3206

Being absorbed in these and similar anxious considerations, he failed to notice the excitement in the city and learnt that the palace was close by from the halting of their horses by the troops. 3207

The king, surrounded by the ministers, from the royal balcony, saw Bhoja as he dismounted from his horse. He was neither very tall nor overmuch gaunt; his face was tanned by the rays of the sun; his body was pale white like the pericarp of the lotus; he was at his ease and deliberate. His shoulders were powerful like the hump of a bull and the chest broad. The beard which was not too long revealed the fulness of his cheeks and neck, the nose was prominent, the lips like the ripe Bimba, the forehead broad and smooth.....He walked steadily with even steps. His clothes and turban fitted him well and

the sandal emollient.....with a line gleaming white like the moon kissed the parting of his hair. 3208-3212

Then sought by the king's eye which was lit up with kindness, he ascended to the hall of audience which was perilously packed with people straining their necks in curiosity. 3213

Having touched the king's feet by stretching his hand, he sat himself down in front and placed before the throne a dagger which he held in the hand. 3214

Thereupon the king, stretching his hand which bore the mark of betel-paper, placed his two fingers under Bhoja's chin and said. 3215

"You have not been captured in war nor are you even now about to become a prisoner, hein! Why then should we accept this weapon which you have handed up?" 3216

He made his submission to the king—"Sire! the reason for bearing arms is the safeguarding of the sovereign or for self defence." 3217

"While Your Majesty protects the seven seas by the flaming glory of your prowess, one sees that there is hardly any room for the use of one's own sword." 3218

"The shelter of the sovereign's feet is a haven even for the other world, that being so what need is there for other means of safety in this world?" 3219

The king replied to him, "You are now like the plaintiff who when the issue has been joined has discharged the onus; the burden on us, however, remains." 3220

Bhoja said, "I have not said anything at all to create a kindly feeling now in the Sovereign or by way of compliment save what is manifest." 3221

"What wickedness did I not plan, what harm not done to you? That which did not succeed did not come to light; this should be borne in mind." 3222

"Do we not recognise with our skinny eyes that in the House of Malla you, who are extraordinary and such as no other family has produced, have arisen as a remarkable elemental personality?" 3223

"Whenever Sire, we made a plan to do you an injury the earth each time..... 3224

3208-3212. There are lacunæ in these verses.

3216. Aṅga is an expletive in con-

versation and is used like the French *Hein!*

3224. There is a lacuna in the text.



"The shining glory which poets by their fancy have conjured up such, Sire, we see to be yours present before our eyes." 3225

"Neither on mountain peak, nor in the cavern, nor in the defile nor in snow nor in the sylvan glade was I able to rid myself of the fever caused by your oppressive valour." 3226

"From that time onwards I desired to surrender myself but the favour of rendering homage was not obtained by me in the absence of a pact or other agreement as I was far away." 3227

"Thus, whatever the wicked acts they have been done from a desire to remove cleavage and were intended merely to show that I was very much alive but not from love of strife." 3228

"Because of our relationship to you we were waited upon by ruling princes in all directions. It is from association from the water of the Gaṅgā that the glass jar is revered in the world." 3229

"Even to this day the name of the Śālu sheds lustre on an endless number of Ksatriyas abroad who lay claim to that lineage." 3230

"When even the chief of the mountaineers had formed a coalition against you, we had to face hardships and fall ill through bad nourishment and inferior food." 3231

With such..... and having said "now the sovereign's will be done", he again touched both the feet of the king with his head. 3232

Then, in the confusion caused by the obeisance, the turban fell off from Bhoja's head, but as he rose the king invested him with his own head-dress. 3233

His own dagger and the one Bhoja had surrendered, the king placed in his lap with conciliatory words and while he protested, the king, free from emotion, spoke to him with earnestness. 3234

"These weapons given by me you should wear or preserve them as sacred. You should not have any reluctance in accepting the weapons; this is my command." 3235

As he, whose command could not be disobeyed, insisted Bhoja, who knew how to behave in an emergency, in pursuance solely of the royal wish, placed the two daggers in the lap after saluting. 3236

Thereafter the king having abandoned reserve Bhoja became, at

3230 We learn from this verse that the cadets of the royal House of Kabul upheld the traditions of their family

until the middle of the 12th century. 3232. There is a lacuna in the text.

that instant, the recipient of jests and reconciliation, as if he had been an intimate for a long time. 3237

From somewhere appeared at this time the loyal Dhanya and made his obeisance. . . . . "Your Majesty! neither life nor wealth is of any account to us unless we hear praise of your virtues and what we want is unalloyed kindly feeling on the part of the sovereign. So may Your Majesty think this over." 3238-3239

To which the king replied, "That is so; further, if we were to give vent to what is in our mind it would hardly convey our meaning." 3240

For a while having engaged on various topics of light conversation, the king then went accompanied by Bhoja, to the private apartments of the queen Raḍḍādevī. 3241

Bhoja made his obeisance and seeing her radiant with kindness and other qualities, he thought the king united to her was like the Pārijāta united to the Kalpalatā. 3242

"He deserves to be welcomed oh queen! who has come here through friendliness and family affection", and the royal consort replied, "He is more than our sons to us." 3243

In order to let her participate in the welcome, the king, who was a fund of goodness, after this followed by Bhoja, went to the apartments of the wife, who had above all borne the burden of the affair. 3244

The shrewd queen said with a smile to Bhoja who had come with the king, "Already you have become an intimate friend of the king." 3245

Her face was lit up with the smile of modesty at the deep bow of her husband and in responding to it she spoke words of welcome referring to Bhoja. 3246

"Āryaputra! it should not be forgotten that he repudiated the advice of his own friends and that he to whom honour is the sole

3238 There is a lacuna in the text  
3242 Pārijāta=One of the five famous trees of Paradise. It was one of the jewels, churned from the sea. Kṛṣṇa brought it to earth and planted it, as a gift in lieu of his love, in the courtyard of Satyabhāmā who was in love with him; the tree, however, shed its flowers

in the courtyard of Rukminī, Kṛṣṇa's wife, the goddess Laksmī!

The verses that follow contain a charming account of the conversation and private life of the king. In verse 3246 we find the king bowing to the queen and in verse 3247 occurs the word Āryaputra, a term of address for

refuge, has been transformed through affection for his kinsfolk." 3247

"Lotuses in their growth from day to day lose contact with water—their former benefactor; those like you who are the lotuses of their own family, it is meet, that you should be superior to them" 3248

"If he had not come away succumbing to the difficulty of the task we might not have succeeded in preserving our exalted status nor in returning here." 3249

"In the flood if the tree which protects the river bank falls, the creeper, which has found shelter on its trunk, would surely fall with it." 3250

"Subservience to the policy of the husband and anxious thought about his life must be carried out in such a way that no need should arise apart from him to save one's life." 3251

The king replied to her "O queen! you who are an eyewitness of all my actions, you could hardly conceive that in this matter my behaviour to him could possibly be different." 3252

"For having punished Sujji and Mallārjuna, even though they were guilty, my conscience through penitence is not free from qualms even to this day." 3253

And so Bhoja was offered by the king residence together with his retainers in a splendid mansion, but he did not consider his position would be secure away from the royal palace. 3254

For he reflected that it would become difficult to achieve conciliation with the monarch by infrequent audiences which would be the result of the unprotective isolation of residence at a distance. 3255

He received sentries from the king and . . . . . 3256

The king appreciated his feelings and being gratified allowed him, thereupon, a dwelling place within the royal palace furnished with all appointments. 3257

The king, though serviced by his particular set as well as by others whose attachment was, in fact, dictated by self-interest, came to love Bhoja as if he had long served him. 3258

Further at the hour of repast, variety shows and other suitable

the husband, with which we are familiar in Sanskrit literature and drama Above all the freedom with

which Bhoja is introduced to the royal ladies is noteworthy.

3256. There is a lacuna in this text.

occasions, the king remembered him as if he were his beloved son and had him summoned to his presence by messengers. 3259

He placed him on his right, while he fed, in honour of the kinship and never failed to offer dishes and other things which he had touched or tasted. 3260

Such was the guileless affection which Bhoja entertained that. . . . . the royal children who were infants played with him as with a relative. 3261

And as his leaning towards a straightforward course of conduct became more and more manifest, the king, too, with his milieu came to place unequivocal confidence in him. 3262

Those of the inner court who, during the conflict for the crown, had been corrupt, he pointed out and had them dismissed by the king reducing at the same time disloyalty towards the king and the number of his own enemies. 3263

By his sincere application to business within the councils he proved that he was neither slow-witted, overbearing nor a hypocrite. 3264

If an act of state on the king's part failed through error of judgment or was either inadequate or had overshot the mark he, like a petty pund on the defect of the composition of a great poet, did not harp on it. 3265

He did not brag or offer to narrate his exploits; if incidently questioned about past events he did not bend the knee. 3266

Flatterers, who suggested equality with the sovereign on the ground of kinship and the like, were compelled to hold their tongue by his eyeglances which were firm yet not impudent. 3267

Even in close contact, such was his high character that knaves, repartecists, backbiters and others did not succeed in fathoming him. 3268

During the hours when light had ended, when there was agitation

3260 It was the custom for the king to send food from his own plate to his favourites. At the court of Clitor the bravest Śūanta who had distinguished himself in war or sport became the recipient of such favours from the king as we know from the ballads and history of Rājput mā

3261. There is a lacuna in the text

3264. Bakavrata=The stork is supposed to observe the vow of silence on the edge of the water while his real object is to swallow the unwary fish. hence stork personifies the hypocrite

3266. There is a lacuna in the text. 'Bend the knee' is an idiom like drawing the long bow

and like disturbances, he entertained no fear when going to his residence 3269

As the king from confidence in him progressively came to relax his hold on him he, in equal measure, like a trained horse did not bolt in a temper. 3270

He always led the way for the king elsewhere, yet, while moving forward to the ladies' apartments and the council chamber, even though unforbidden, he would tarry his steps and fall in the rear. 3271

For requests to obtain what was proper he made submission with great respect in person, and kept away from the intervention of others as his mind ever had misgivings about them 3272

Even incidents in a dream were related to the king. . . . . 3273

The mutual recriminations of the ministers and the staff of the Pure Interior, he did not recount but relegated them to oblivion like an evil dream. 3274

Although sensitive, he chimed in with ribald jokes and made repartees though at heart he was conscious of the depravity of the wit-snappers. 3275

In this way, through the actions of this prince of pure conduct the king, who was a judge of character, became attached to him and entertained greater affection for him than for his sons. 3276

And so a novel bridge was fashioned by king Jayasimha, to safeguard the dynasty, such as rulers in the Kali age would have found difficult. 3277

In this manner having liquidated without any remainder his troubles, the king turned his attention to Triloka. 3278

He, however, reflecting that an escape during the season when the mountain passes were clear of snow would be difficult to accomplish, delayed relying upon his instinctive cunning. 3279

Thus, while the man was prudently waiting for a favourable moment for the journey, Sañjapāla thoughtlessly launched an offensive. 3280

With a few select troops from the capital and accompanied by a large number of natives of Devasarasa, he set foot in Mārtaṇḍa. 3281

In his arrogance, Sañjapāla did not realize that the terrain offered no obstacle to the entry of the adversary and that the provincial soldiers were without morale. 3282

The following of Trillaka, despite the absence of archers, did not give up courage but joined battle with him. 3283

While he was engaged in an attack with all arms upon a Dāmara in another place the Lavanya Trillaka supported by an endless number of troops fought furiously in that place. 3284

Then all those, whose homes were in Devasarasa and who had loaded themselves with plundered wealth, deserting Sañjapāla melted away. 3285

While all round things were submerging, as if in a deluge at the end of the world, in the disaster caused by the enemy, the soldiers from the capital alone remained like the noble mountains. 3286

For a long time they bore the brunt of the enemy's fury under the fiercely burning sun and were slain, during the various phases of the struggle, after killing many of their opponents. 3287

When all the heroes were slain in battle, Mātaṇḍa, through his disc being pierced by those who were his very own, was not without a few wounds himself. 3288

Radiant in battle was the son of Sañjapāla, Gayāpāla who, owing to his dexterity, although three horses were killed under him, was not observed on foot. 3289

His younger brother Jarja, a stripling, who had his first opportunity in action, astonished brave men who had witnessed countless major actions. 3290

The right arm of the commander-in-chief could not do what the left could. The sun worries the mighty tuskers with the heat, the moon splits open their tusks. 3291

Sañjapāla looked brilliant as he galloped his horse with the glittering sword in his single arm; he held his ground like a forest conflagration with its column of smoke on a winged mountain. 3292

In the thick of the enemy, in the midst of arrows, slaughter, and rout when his passage was barred, his charger threw him off its back. 3293

Injured by impact with the hard surface of the earth of his heavy armour, he lost consciousness and was carried off by his two sons from the midst of the enemy. 3294

3288 The heroes go to the region of the sun after death in battle Mārtanda is the Sun-god.

The army having been altogether routed they lodged him in the quadrangle of the Mārtanda temple unobserved by the foe; the two of them then retreated. 3295

The king set out with such large forces as could swiftly deal with the Dāmara who was there and bottled him up. 3296

When the king arrived at Vijayaksetra, Sañjapāla, who had broken through the siege, burnt down the residence of the Lavanya. 3297

Despite the wrathful king's brows being knit to such an extent, Trillaka not being impecunious easily continued to find provisions from the various regions of the mountain valleys. 3298

But he lost support and was boycotted by his family and came to be the recipient of the taunts of his subordinates, who made a display of wisdom such as is facile in misfortune. 3299

Being isolated he then severed a finger off his palm but his prayer, like a request for fruit to a monkey, to the royal wrath for his own head, was in vain. 3300

Of the sons born of the body of queen Radḍādevī, the eldest was named Gulhana; the king had this illustrious prince anointed ruler on the throne of Lohara. 3301

The prince, who was six or seven years of age, excelled by his virtues those who were old in years, just as the mango sapling surpasses the grove of ancient trees. 3302

The queen had gone to assist at the coronation of her son; the iridescence of blood-red rubies on the tiaras of ruling chiefs paying homage, made her feet appear pink like the half ripe barley. 3303

On that occasion when the water of the coronation was being sprinkled, upon the earth parched by a severe drought the clouds, too,

3295 Pindita=bottled up

3302 The Mango has been cultivated in India from remote times. It is mentioned in the ancient Samskrta Mss, excellent representations of the Mango tree are to be found in Stūpas of about 150 B.C. including the famous Barhut Stūpa. The early Chinese pilgrims, who visited India, all mention it and have recorded their impressions. In the 17th Century Van Reede, native of Holland who visited the West Coast of India, described the numerous varieties of this queen of Indian fruits. Botani-

cally, in India there is only one species, the *Mangifera Indica* of which the enormous number of varieties are but sub-divisions. The word Mango is of Tamil origin. It is commonly known as Ām from the Samskrta Āmra. The Mango does not grow in Kāśmīr. K. mentions it with many other Indian trees following the traditional Kāvya rules. See VI 367.

3303 It is noteworthy that the queen receives the homage of feudatory chiefs by holding a public levee.

released the waters as if for the purpose of anointing the earth as the queen consort. 3304

Once again Rājavadana, anxious for a resurgence of disorders, attacked Jayacandra who was energetic under orders of the king. 3305

Supported by the nephew of Nāga, he defeated in a narrow pass the pursuing troops of Jayacandra, the son of Garga, who was bringing up the rear. 3306

The son of Garga for days remained with his countenance withered through this reverse, but subsequently in a skirmish captured the leader Loṣṭhaka, the nephew of Nāga. 3307

Being difficult of access, no one had raided Dinnāgrāma; Jayacandra swiftly marched therein and having set fire to it got away with a cheap victory. 3308

Despite this, Rājavadana did not give up courage; he neither came to terms nor did he wax wroth. 3309

Day after day with diminishing troops he continued to attack the king, but he suffered repeated reverses while facing Jayacandra. 3310

Then the statesman of the country, to the stretching of whose arms and nails there existed no limits, had him killed by assassins in the secret service in the very midst of the campaign. 3311

His head, as it swung from the line of the cheeks, soon reduced the broken tree of his fortune to small pieces just when it was eager to sprout. 3312

Under the agreeable plea of the extermination of Pṛthvīhara's family, the king killed also Loṭhana by the method of secret execution. 3313

Though, on one occasion, when he was besieged he had been saved by Trillaka by climbing down, he found himself in the meshes of the royal diplomacy. 3314

Mallakoṣṭha, Kṣūra, Jayya, Saddacandra, and others, though alive,

3304. As the prince was yet a boy, he had no wife who could sit with him, side by side, as his queen-consort. The ceremony of coronation according to ancient Indian rites required the presence

of the queen and the poet supplies the want of the queen-consort by the poetic description of the Earth acting as her proxy.

3309. There is a lacuna in the text.



were as good as dead and found their quietus through the hardships of penury. 3315

King Uccala deluded by his rise to sovereign power had failed to meditate upon the transience of life and his convent had lacked a fixed endowment. For this convent, which had been in receipt from each successive monarch of the estimated funds, king Jayasinha, the upholder of the dynasty, made a permanent endowment. 3316-3317

To Sullā Vihāra founded by his uncle and three temples by his father, the construction of which edifices had been half achieved, the king gave the final touches. 3318

He, of his own will, delighted the hearts of priests of unstained character and others with gifts of villages, stores and valuable market rights. 3319

In memory of his mistress, the lady Candalā with the moon-like face, who had died, he has founded a convent of surpassing splendour from whose gateway no pilgrim is turned back. 3320

Also the famous convent of Sūryamatī touched by the conflagration in the city was reconstructed by him, who is free from vanity, larger than it was before. 3321

Thereafter, when Sañjapāla had become a refugee in the other world, his son Gayāpāla was appointed to the chief command of the army by the king. 3322

Sañjapāla, though he had softened in his maturity, had been difficult to endure; his gentle son caused him to be forgotten as is the autumnal sun by the moon. 3323

During the hardships of the trying heat of summer, when the clouds make their appearance, realizing that the tree on the bank which shares its life in common is liable to destruction by a sudden fall of lightning, the flowing stream shrinks from desiring a prosperous increase in its own waters. 3324

Dhanya, from the demise of Bhikṣu up to the defeat of Bhoja, had pre-eminently borne the load of the yoke of state affairs in times of crisis for the king, whose affection for him was not shared with any one else; just when all the thorns had been removed, this devotee of the king found his death. 3325-3326

His own son at Madhurāvatta gave up his life, treating it as an offering of Ārti and Tāmbūla, to ward off disease. 3327

That king deserves to be guarded even at the cost of universal existence who, at every step, plunges into adversity firmly determined in his mind to save his subjects. 3328

From the side of the ailing Dhanya keeping company with those who were hoping for the best, the grateful king who had no sleep did not budge till the last moment. 3329

The set-back in the appearance of the king, who was devoted to his subjects, on the minister's account for a while, gave an impetus to his people in their existence. 3330

Under the dynasty of kings like Māndhātṛ and others, the subjects had been free from hardships—such at this time was the happiness enjoyed by the people. 3331

At a time when the realm was in a ferment owing to civil war, his undisputed ministership had broken through all the misfortunes of the new king. 3332

Time is indeed all powerful in public life. Under its compelling force who is not led to forget his former and later conduct? In the act of supporting the earth, Viṣṇu was enabled to be the vehicle yet later to dig it up in his incarnation of the boar. 3333

He, who upon the assassination of Sujji had become the prefect of Śrīnagara, had at first removed the maladministration of the district which had been growing since a long time. 3334

In sale transactions, the operations in Dīnnāras had ceased through lack of organization; he had checked the abuses and put them in circulation so as to prevent depression in trade and captious disputes. 3335

In the event of a lapse from chastity on the part of a married woman, the head of the household was liable to a punitive prosecution; this, upon due consideration, was stopped by him. 3336

With a single-minded devotion he had been a friend of the subjects

3327. The text in Stein's edition is evidently corrupt. Stein has not translated this verse. I have adopted the conjectural reading 'Ārātrika' in place of 'Āyātrika' which makes no meaning. The son of the minister died to restore his father to health just as Babar is said

to have done for the sake of his son Humayun. From the next verse it appears that the sacrifice of the youth to save an old man was considered justified because it was in the interest of the king.

in this fashion. Yet after securing the office of city prefect this very man, too, started the persecution of the people. 3337

He obstinately punished many persons who were alleged to have had sexual intercourse with dancing women who had been accepted in households as wedded wives. 3338

What use is it to dwell on defects which are like wisps of straw? As regards absence of disloyalty and freedom from covetousness, there was not another such as he was. 3339

Although owing to the exigency of the moment, he had sought shelter under Bhikṣu and Mallārjuna yet he had not sacrificed any interest of the sovereign nor had he destroyed. . . . . those two. 3340

Although he lacked unstinted liberality during the period of his prosperity, at his death, there was not money sufficient for the performance of his funeral ceremonies. 3341

What else need be said about the recognition of services on the part of the king, who honoured the dependents of Kularāja, like invited guests, as if the latter were still alive! 3342

In honour of his wife named Bijjā, who was a guest in the other world, Dhanya had commenced building a splendid Vihāra; upon his departure for the next world, the king completed the construction and made a permanent endowment for its upkeep. 3343-3344

Even those, whose sole occupation was a military life, acquired an enthusiasm for pious acts from the king's philanthropic disposition and bent their energy to works of piety. 3345

A cadet of royalty named Saṅgiya, younger brother of Kamaliya, made an endowment called after his own name. He was born in the race of those Ksatriyas who, as their native land lay within the territorial jurisdiction of the Turuṣkas, had learnt nothing but cruelty owing to an abundant harvest of enemies. He had found occupation in Kaśmīr during the very times of disorders when king Śiṣṣala was involved in the war with his rivals. 3346-3348

The Bāṇalinga, installed by him on the strand of the Vitastā, brings to mind the Avimukta sanctuary towering high on the bank of the Gaṅgā. 3349

3340. There is a lacuna of three syllables in the latter half of the verse

3349 The sanctuary, referred to by

K. who had no doubt visited it, still continues to attract pilgrims at Benares

Also the convent annexed to it, whose ornaments are its anchorites, is such that after visiting it the curiosity to see the world of Rudra is suppressed. 3350

In the spoliation of other sacred foundations in these present times and the gifting away of the property of the poor, this pure-minded man had no share. 3351

The wife of Udaya, the commander-in-chief, named Cintā, adorned with a Vihāra the strand of the Vitastā. 3352

The five chapels situated in her Vihāra seemed to be the manifestation of the Law holding up its hand with the firm straight fingers. 3353

The minister for peace and war, Maiikha, womb-brother of Alamkāra, became prominent by the foundation of Śrīkaṇṭha together with a convent. 3354

Through the convents, Agrahāras, restoration of dilapidated temples and his other works the younger brother of Rilhana, named Sumanas, attained equality with him. 3355

By erecting a convent at Bhūteśvara and also at Trigrāmī, he offered the waters of the Kanakavāhinī and of the Vitastā to the Manes. 3356

In the region of Kaśyapāgāra, where the stream which has its rise in the Nila flows in an easterly direction as if aspiring to rival the Gaṅgā, he, by building a bridge for cattle and the rest to cross, created a spotless piece of work capable of winning salvation from mundane existence. 3357-3358

Also in the city he erected a temple of Śiva called after his own name and a convent which contained a series of chapels to Śiva with the matted hair. 3359

He made a gold Āmalaka for the shrine of Mammēśvara and also made the precincts of Somatīrtha bright with ponds, a garden, and the rest of it. 3360

There had been kings in this dynasty who, being jealous of the high lineage or wealth, had deprived their ministers of lives, riches, or other property. 3361

Even the divine Indra hurled down in anger, from heaven, the king Māndhātṛ through jealousy of the new throne occupied by him. 3362

3351. The verse shows that the spoliation of religious foundations had become common by this time.

3360 Āmalaka = Āmalasīra; the crown on the steeple (Śikhara) of a temple common in Kāśmīr and Orissa.

But this monarch, on the contrary, with his undisturbed wits, seeing his subordinates elevated by pious acts day by day, thinks that it would add to his own glory and is delighted. 3363

His officer Rāhāna, by constructing gilt parasols after the clever invention of king Kalaśa, has caused him gratification. 3364

The gold sheeting at Surcśvarī on the temple, where Śiva and Pārvatī are in union, matches the lamps and the pots for illumination and is furnished with tiny bells. 3365

It seems as if Mount Meru from affection for his kinsman, the Snow Mountain, had come in the guise of the gold parasol to kiss on the forehead the daughter and the son-in-law. 3366

The flame darting from the eye of Śiva has ascended in the guise of the gold parasol having learnt this from him "the bodily union of the fair Pārvatī with me as her wooer, for the sake of which the god of Love had used his endeavour and had been burnt down, has in this spot been achieved by the loving Pārvatī." 3367

The large gold parasol erected by Rāhāna on the top of the shrine of Kṛṣṇa, Rukmīnī's lover, now throws brilliant beams of light in the sky. It seems as if the sun had arrived to gaze at Viṣṇu's disc, beautiful like his own, which having strayed in intoxication engendered by the drinking of blood has since found its way to its master. 3368

In that sanctuary which teaches the noble lesson of the friendship of Śiva, the conqueror of the god who 'churns the mind, and of Viṣṇu whose ensign is the eagle; the gold parasol with its decorated staff and consummate workmanship of the former lord seems as if powdered with the pollen of the lotuses of the Gaṅgā scattered by the hisses of the snakes in his hair, while that of the latter is vivid like the concentrated flash of lightning which abides close to his cloud-black hair. 3369

The golden parasol forms the covering lid of the golden cavity of the cosmic egg containing the sombre and bright regalia and splendid collection of jewels of the moon-crested Śiva and Viṣṇu. 3370

3366 Pārvatī is the daughter of Himālaya

3367. See I 11

3369 This verse illustrates the fellowship of faiths—Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism—

which is characteristic of Indian religious beliefs. There are temples of Hari-Hara where the features of Viṣṇu and Śiva are represented in one image as in the Ardha-Nārīśvara image of Śiva and Pārvatī.

The king had four sons, intelligent, virtuous and distinguished, born of Raddādevī, in succession to him who had become the ruler of Lohara. 3371

As Lakṣmaṇa from Rāma so is Aparāditya inseparable from Guhāṇa and is being brought up at Lohara, where he is in residence. 3372

The infant Jayāpīḍa is flourishing being looked after by prince Lalitāditya, just as Śatrughna was by Bharata. 3373

From the king, to whom as to the sun it is a pleasure to make obeisance, has come Yaśaskara, the fifth prince royal, like the early sunshine from the sun. 3374

With his caresses which owing to his tender age are inconstant yet full of charm owing to his confiding nature, it is amazing how Lalitāditya can make even a stone wall react to his mellow influence. 3375

His olive complexion, the lower red lip and patches to guard against the evil eye have the semblance of a golden lotus with bees on it lit up by the early morning sun. 3376

His conversation is pregnant with dignity though indistinct owing to tender age and his pronunciation is, like the sound of the ocean when it was being churned, soft with ambrosia. 3377

Born in an exalted family, the prince by his dignified bearing indicates in childhood his future blossoming. 3378

.. .. . 3379

Four daughters have been born to him—Menilā, Rājālakṣmī, Padmaśrī and Kamalā, whose lives are devoted to virtuous conduct. 3380

This blameless couple with such charming little children spread joy as if they were the monsoon and a flower garden with recreation grounds and pleasure parks. 3381

In this kingdom, hallowed by sacred shrines, the riches of queen Raddādevī attained a fortunate position through incessant expenditure. 3382

During pilgrimages to holy places the king's consort, with feudatories and ministers of state following in her train, appears as if she herself were the royal fortune. 3383

3379 This verse which describes a peacock returning from a pool of water seems to be a combination of different

verses. It makes no sense in this context and is evidently misplaced.

In this land of Pārvatī, the numerous Tīrthas, when the queen takes a dip, soon abandon their ardent longing to secure the touch of the person of Pārvatī at bath. 3384

In fine weather during such excursions, even when the rains are over, the clouds in order to get a sight of her are ever following her as if it were monsoon. 3385

When she sets out for a bath in the terrestrial Tīrthas, the celestial Tīrthas, forsooth, being jealous of them, seek to reveal themselves in the guise of showers of rain. 3386

Neither the mountains which kiss the clouds, nor rivers which corrode the banks which, *en route*, are difficult to traverse does this lady of delicate limbs heed on account of her zeal for the Tīrthas. 3387

Through her manifold foundations and restoration of ancient buildings, the lame Diddā has been outstripped in a wonderful manner by this resolute and shrewd lady 3388

The queen consecrated to the divine Rudra the shrine named Rudreśvara with a gold Āmalasāra; it is the ornament of Kāśmīr and the essence of the world's beauty. Executed in white stone, gleaming like the nectar-giving moon, it creates the impression by its loveliness as if Rudra, the remover of the sufferings of poverty, were making the ocean of milk flow, even to his day, for the thirst of Upamanyu. She has restored the temple founded by Aśoka who had extinguished sorrow. 3389-3391

She is the refuge of the officials when the king is hot with anger, as the Himalayan river Gaṅgā is the asylum of living beings in the sea when heated by the submarine fire. 3392

Secure in the sovereign's favour the punishment and reward of even

3389 For Upamanyu see III 276. For the temple built by Aśoka see I. 106 The Buddhist Emperor "who had extinguished sorrow" continues to rise in public estimation in the East and the West H. G. Wells writes in the *Outline of History* "Amidst the tens of thousands of names of monarchs that crowd the columns of history, their majesties and graciousnesses and serenities and royal highnesses, and the like, the name of Aśoka shines, and shines almost alone, like a star From the Volga to Japan his name is still honoured.

China, Tibet, and even India, though it has left his doctrine, preserve the tradition of his greatness More living men cherish his memory to-day than have ever heard the names of Constantine or Charlemagne" And V. Smith thus deplores the loss to India through deviation from his ethical system "I believe that the Buddhist monasteries and nunneries in the days of their glory must have been, on the whole, powerful agencies for good in India, and that the disappearance of Buddhism was a great loss to the country."

ruling chiefs takes place unfailingly, at any moment, at her will. 3393

The son of Somapāla, the ruling chief Bhūpāla, has been raised by this proud lady to exalted rank by marriage with the princess Menilā. 3394

It is marvellous how the prestige which in a large measure one develops as a matter of course in one's birth place does not miscarry to any great extent elsewhere. The disc of the burning sun is pledged to the removal of darkness within itself; the lustre emanating from it penetrates obscurity. 3395

In cleaning his empire which was the wonder of the world, the king had to play the part as a reliable surety. When the princess Menilā was married, her husband's father Somapāla, who had a splendid state the territory of which was covered with precious stones, having unreservedly abandoned his antagonism, bestowed the crown on his son. 3396-3397

When the ruling chief Prājīdhara had been killed in war by his enemies the younger brother Ghatotkaca looked forward keenly through the king's power to retaliate in revenge. This man of high sense of dignity took shelter under Raḍḍā and having gained the princess Rājyaśrī, O wonder! he obtained the height of royal fortune. 3398-3399

Together with the king's ministers who rendered him assistance he caused the overthrow of the ruler Pañcavaṭa, his brother's enemy, from sovereignty as well as of Prajī and Aṅgada. 3400

He traversed, owing to the king's glory which had in full measure sprinkled on him the waters of generosity, the river Kṛṣṇā which was in the enemy's sphere of influence as well as through their curved scimitars. 3401

By the defeat of Dvītiya, the ruler of Uraśā, he earned fame and through the glory of his Majesty he captured Atyugrapura which was held by the foremost warriors. 3402

In this fashion several commanders of the army, the undulating light from whose parasols gleamed like the moon, won renown at this time. 3403

3403. The age of Jayasinha was the age of Aryan Renaissance in Kāśmīr. As a result of the disappearance of the Śāhī

Empire after the raids of Mahmūd we know from his contemporary Alberuni that scholars and people of the upper



Twenty-two years had the king passed ere he secured the realm and since the acquisition of the crown by him an equal number has elapsed in the year twentyfive. 3404

The king's mellow wisdom is such as has never been seen in another ruler; may it endure for years,—through the subjects' merits of former existence—and outlast this Kalpa! 3405

Even water, which by nature is fluid, is in time congealed as hard as a stone, and the stone having grown to perfection dissolves into water and oozes. Despite amazing impertal domination change reveals itself through the unerring might of the Time-Spirit; in whose case, in this world, is character stable on the road designed by Destiny! 3406

When six-hundred fifty-three years of the Kali era had elapsed, there was in Kaśmīr, Gonanda as king by virtue of vassalage to the Pāṇḍavas. 3407

Thereafter came his son Dāmodara, his wife Yaśomati as well as his son Gonanda the second. Then passing over thirty-five kings whose grants, dynasty and names are unknown there was a king named Lava and after him his son Kuśa. 3408-3409

Then the latter's son and grandson, the two respectively called Khagendra and Surendra. Thereafter Godhara, who was born in another family, and his son named Suvarṇa. 3410

His son Janaka followed, whose son Śacīnara from the queen

classes migrated to Kaśmīr and to distant Benares. In spite of the constant fighting which took place in K.'s own times, the arts of peace flourished. The social position of women, it would appear, was at a high level. Monogamy was the rule. K. does not mention even among the ministers any instance of polygamy which was confined to the Royal family and there even it was apparently due to the need for alliances to eliminate hostility and possible sources of danger to the monarchy. After the destruction of Aryan rule, upon the defeat of Prthvirāj Chauhān polygamy seems to have been practised as a rule by the nobility and the upper classes generally among the rulers. Mirza Aziz Koka, the foster brother of Akbar, of whom the emperor said

"between me and Aziz is a river of milk which I cannot cross," is reported to have said "A man should marry four wives—a Persian woman to have somebody to talk to; a Khorasan woman for his house work, a Hindu woman for nursing his children, and a woman from Mawarannahr, to have some one to whip as a warning for the other three." Blochmann, *Am-i-Akbari*, Vol. I p. 327.

3406 K. hesitates to make any forecast about the future policy of king Jayasimha. He constantly refers to the ever changing political views of statesmen whose lives and conduct, he tells us, are moulded by the influence of Time and the exigency of the hour. See IV. 308-9, VII 792; VIII 3333. For the subsequent history see App K.

Sacī then was king; thereafter Aśoka, who was the son of this king's great-uncle, became the ruler of the country. 3411

His son was Jalauka and thereafter came Dāmodara who was of doubtful lineage, and after him the trio Huska and the others who were alike born in the Turuṣka dynasty. 3412

Then Abhimanyu and Gonanda the third and his son Vibhīṣaṇa. Next, Indrajit became king and Rāvaṇa in due succession. 3413

They were succeeded by Vibhīṣaṇa the second, Siddha and Utpalākṣa and after them came Hiraṇyākṣa, Hiraṇyakula and Vasukula. The latter's son became notorious as the slayer of three crores of people. From his son Baka was born Kṣitinanda and his son was Vasumanda. 3414-3415

Then Nara the second and Akṣa; from the latter Gopṭṛ and after him king Gokaṇa. After him was Narendrāditya whose son was Yudhiṣṭhira the Blind. When he was compelled to abdicate by his vassals, Pratāpāditya from another dynasty became king and then his son Jalauka. 3416-3417

Tuñjina, his son, having died without male issue, Vijaya born in another family followed and his son Jayendra, having been without a son, the minister Saṁdhumat became king. 3418

Then sprang from the house of Gonanda the illustrious Meghavāhana, son of Bhūpāditya, and grandson of Yudhiṣṭhira. 3419

Then Pravara the second, the son of Tormāṇa and nephew of Hiraṇya, acquired the country; his son was Yudhiṣṭhira. 3420

Thereafter Narendrāditya and Raṇāditya became kings in succession; the latter's son was king Vikramāditya. 3421

Next arose Bālāditya, Raṇāditya's son, and thereafter Durblabha-  
vardhana, the son-in-law of Bālāditya. 3422

The latter's son was Durblabhaka. Thereafter Candrāpīḍa and his younger brothers, Tārāpīḍa and Mukṭāpīḍa. 3423

Then became rulers the two, Kuvalayāpīḍa and then his step-mother's son Vajrāditya, who were both sons of king Mukṭāpīḍa. Next Pṛthivyāpīḍa and Saṁgrāmāpīḍa; then Jayāpīḍa became king and then his minister Jajja. Then followed in succession the two sons, Lalitāpīḍa and Saṁgrāmāpīḍa and after them came the exalted Cippatajayāpīḍa, who was born of the daughter of a liquor-distiller to the elder son. 3424-3426

He having been killed by witchcraft by his maternal uncle Utpala

and others; who by mutual agreement without seizing the throne for themselves placed in his stead Ajitāpīḍa, a brother's son of Jayāpīḍa and later the son of Saṁgrāmāpīḍa named Anaṅgāpīḍa. 3427-3428

Having uprooted him Utpalāpīḍa followed, but setting him aside Avantivarman, son of Sukhavarman and grandson of Utpala, was placed on the imperial throne by the minister Śūra. Then the brave Śankarvarman and Gopāla his son. 3429-3430

The latter's brother named Saṁkata, who was picked up from the street, came to be the ruler and their mother Sugandhā. Having upset her the Tantrm infantry proclaimed Pārtha, great grandson of Śūrarvarman, as king and Nirjitavarman in succession to him. Cakravarman and a son of Nirjitavarman were at various times placed on the throne to buttress it. The minister Śambhuvardhana, in the meantime, seized the crown; having killed the latter ruler, Cakravarman succeeded and on his death followed in order the impious son of Pārtha, Unmattāvantivarman, his son Śūravarman having abdicated the throne, the minister Yaśaskara was set up to rule by the Brahmans. 3431-3435

He was followed by Varnata, the son of his grand-uncle and after him Yaśaskara's son, Saṁgrāma, the Crooked-foot, sat on the throne. Later, after deposing him his minister, named Parvagupta, seized the realm by treason. His son was Kṣemagupta. Abhūmanyu, his son, went to his rest while under the guardianship of his mother. When thereafter his son Nandigupta and her grandsons Tribhuvana and Bhīmagupta had been killed by this very lady of cruel deeds who was known as Diddā, she carried on the government in her own name. She at her death nominated as king her nephew Saṁgrāmarāja. 3436-3439

Thereafter came his two sons Harirāja and Anantadeva, and Kalaśa, the son of Ananta. The two sons of Kalaśa, named respectively Utkarsa and Harṣa, became kings in succession. After ousting king Harṣadeva, Uccala of unbridled martial ardour attained the status of royalty. He belonged to the same dynasty, being the son of Malla, who was grandson of Diddā's nephew Jassarāja. 3440-3443

When he was slain by Garga, came Salha, the step-brother of king Uccala. Having imprisoned Salha, the powerful prince Sussala, son of Malla, womb-brother of Uccala, wrested the crown. When he was driven out by the disaffected vassals, the grandson of king Harṣa,

named Bhukṣācara, was set up as king during six months. When king Sussala had regained the realm after expelling Bhukṣācara, in due course, his trusted Lavanyas fomented civil war and murdered him. Having destroyed all those Lavanyas as well as the king Bhukṣācara, the son of king Sussala, Jayasimha, whose forbearance is without compare, at present delights the world as the sovereign of this country. 3444-3448

As the impetuous Godāvari with the seven mouths falls into the broad expanse of the ocean for final repose, so is gathered to rest after the swift progress of the seven resonant waves in the amplitude of the bosom of the illustrious Kāntirāja's dynasty this River of Kings.

3449

[Thus the Eighth Taraṅga of the Rājatarāṅgiṇī composed by the great Kavi, the illustrious Kalhana. Completed is the River of Kings, the composition of the great Kavi Kalhana, son of the mighty minister the noble lord Canpaka.]

## APPENDIX A

The late Mr S P Pandit<sup>1</sup> considered in detail the chronology of the *Rājatarāṅgīnī* in order to arrive at the date of the poet Vākpati whose patron Yaśovarman of Kanauj is mentioned by Kalhana as the contemporary of king Lalitāditya. The following extracts from the Notes of that learned scholar will be found interesting.

“As far as the account of the *Rājatarāṅgīnī* is concerned, it may be said that that work incidentally but unmistakably bears first upon the history of Yashovarman, and secondly upon his date. It may not be out of place here to give a summary of the particulars narrated by the *Rājatarāṅgīnī* which concern the hero of the *Gaudavaho*. They are contained in the account regarding king Lalitāditya of the Karkota or Naga dynasty of Kashmir. Lalitāditya is described as having held imperial sway over India, and brought several trans-Indian regions bordering upon Kashmir under subjection. He was most powerful and was dreaded by his enemies. He spent nearly all his life in expeditions of conquest. He levied tribute from the eastern kings, by which are probably meant the then rulers of Oude and Northern Behar, and wore the turban of victory in the Antardvī or the region between the Ganges and the Jamna. After the subjugation of the eastern kings the very first victory he obtained was a bloodless one over King Yashovarman of Kanauj. He is described as having in no time dried him up, even as the powerful sun of the harvest season dries up a stream that has been flowing down a hill-side during the previous rains. ‘The king of Kanauj showed himself to be one who eminently knew what was the best thing to do, when he gave his back to Lalitāditya, and became his obedient servant. But his allies were more proud than even he was, for the breeze bearing the perfume of the sandal, though only an ally of a flower-garden, is taller than the garden itself’ It appears that the peace was made between Yashovarman and Lalitāditya against the wishes of Mitrasarman, the latter’s minister of peace and war, and that Lalitāditya’s soldiers felt dissatisfied that a treaty was made between the two kings before they (the soldiers) had gratified their desire of fighting by long warfare. Mitrasarman appears to have indicated his dissent in the treaty when it was written. Accordingly, when the allies of Yashovarman showed fight, Lalitāditya took advantage of the adverse advice of his minister of peace and war as also of the bellicose attitude of his army, and, after the unsuccessful opposition of Yashovarman’s friends, deposed the king of Kanauj and rewarded his own minister with the five great titles. ‘Yashovarman, in whose service were the poets Vākpati, Bhavabhūti and others, having thus been conquered, became a dependent

<sup>1</sup>Edited, inter alia, several works of Kālidāsa for the Bombay Sanskrit Series, the Atharva Veda, the Rg Veda (incomplete), the Prakṛta poem *Gaudavaho*, compiled a dictionary of Prakṛta etc. etc.

of Lalitaditya employed in proclaiming his praises like a court bard. Why say more? The land of Kanauj from the banks of the Yamuna to the banks of the Kalika came under his sway, as if it had been a yard attached to his house. Having thus subjugated Yashovarma, even as the river Ganges goes down the Himalaya, his army proceeded to the regions of the Eastern Sea. Then we are told that he seized all the elephants in the kingdom of the Gaudas. He went on conquering one kingdom after another of the southern peninsula, including the 'Seven Konkans,' and the regions to the west, and, returning to the north, he subjugated the people of Bukhara, the Bhauttas and other peoples. Wherever he went he built towns and cities, and erected temples in them dedicated to different deities, giving lands for the maintenance of the temples. To the god Aditya in the city of Lalitapura, which he built and named after himself, he gave Kanauj with the territory attached to it.

Lalitaditya was a great and good ruler, or rather a brilliant and generous victor. But Kalhana, with true historical instinct, rarely to be found among the class of writers to which he belongs, mentions some acts of folly and injustice of which that king was guilty. Among the latter it is related that while living in Parihasapura, a city built by himself, he caused the king of the Gaudas to be murdered in Trigram. The followers of the Gaudian king were, the author of the *Rajatarangini* tells us, wonderfully brave, most loyal and ready to give up their lives in avenging the death of their king. They travelled all the way to and entered Kashmir under the pretext of visiting the goddess Sharada, and in a body surrounded the temple of Madhyastha-Deva, a shrine that was a favourite of Lalitaditya. The latter being absent in distant regions, the priests of the besieged temple closed the gates and shut themselves up within. The Gaudians attacked another god called Ranasvanu and, mistaking it for Parihasa-Hari or Madhyastha-Deva, rooted it out and broke it to pieces, which they threw in all directions. They were, however, pursued by the soldiers and mercilessly cut down, glad to die after having taken their revenge. The Gaudian heroes were as brave and impetuous, as if they were Rakshasa, and fell upon the prey, the god Parihasa-Keshava or Parihasa-Hari, the most favourite god of Lalitaditya. The prey was saved by the sacrifice of the god Ranasvanu. 'The world was deprived of the shrine of Ranasvanu, it is true, and the temple is still empty and abandoned, but the world is filled with the renown of the heroes of the Gaudian country, who sacked it in revenge of their master's death.'

This is all in the history of king Lalitaditya that bears upon that of Yashovarma. Lalitaditya, according to the *Rajatarangini*, must have come to the throne in 695 A.D. He is recorded to have reigned thirty-six years, seven months and eleven days, between 695 and 732 A.D. Accordingly, his conquest of Kanauj and destruction of the sovereignty of Yashovarma, if that was really achieved, must have occurred in the first ten years or so of the eighth century, if not earlier.

Out of the account given in the *Rajatarangini* we may safely accept as true without any doubt these facts: first, that Yashovarman was a contemporary of king Lalitaditya of Kashmir; second, that he did not, when attacked by the latter in his expedition of conquest, come off successful, and had to become his vassal, if, indeed, he was not entirely deprived of his throne; third, that Vakpati and Bhavabhuti were poets at his court, and fourth, that Lalitaditya reigned for thirty-six years, seven months and eleven days. I say the defeat, if not the total ruin of Yashovarman by Lalitaditya, may be accepted as a fact, because Kalhana shows throughout his part of the *Rajatarangini* that he is a safe witness as to the main facts of his narrative, not only as a compiler or chronicler of accounts, which he found in the old chronicles that served as materials for his own, but even as a critical and discriminating historian. He often relates incidents recorded by the previous chroniclers, but does not hesitate to throw doubt on their character, or even reject them as unworthy of credence, when he believes that such is the case. It is possible that the old records, which contained the narrative of Lalitaditya's reign and his achievements, may have exaggerated the extent of their greatness. But Kalhana's way of recounting the history of Lalitaditya's doings in the Doab, and the particulars detailed concerning the treaty at first concluded between the two kings, do seem to entitle the account to be accepted as true enough in the main. To these considerations may be added this one—viz that Vakpati, who began his *Gaudavaho* with the professed intention of narrating the circumstances, under which Yashovarman slew the king of the Gaudas, not only ends so far as we yet know, without saying anything about the matter, but has also given clear indications of doubts whether the slaying of the Gaudian king by Yashovarman should be narrated at length after all as if a great calamity had befallen his hero, which discredited his renown, and justified hesitation on the part of our poet, whether he should relate the achievement of his patron over his enemy, when he had himself been reduced or been deprived of his throne by a superior foe. It is somewhat disappointing that Yashovarman's enemy, the Gaudian king, is not even named by Vakpati, and more so, that Lalitaditya too is described by Kalhana as having caused a king of the Gaudas to be slain. This king too is not named, and might either be the successor of the one whom Yashovarman killed or a king of another part of the Gaudian country. It may be mentioned in this connection that a king of the Gaudas is mentioned and named in the narrative which Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* furnishes of the reign of Jayapida who is said to have married Kalyani, the daughter of Jayanta, the king of the Gaudas, and after having conquered the five Gaudian peoples, to have made his father-in-law Jayanta supreme king over them all.

Although, however, the duration of the reign of Lalitaditya as given by Kalhana must undoubtedly be accepted as correct, it is the opinion of some scholars that his date does not seem to rest upon the same firm basis of certainty and accuracy. The date is not, it is quite true, mentioned

anywhere by Kalhana, but has to be obtained by calculation; and although the results of the calculation, which fix the dates of many of the kings named by Kalhana, may be as a matter of fact quite correct as having, to him rested on independent evidence not available to us, part of the materials of that calculation are not quite so satisfactory in every respect as to put the conclusions to be drawn therefrom beyond all doubt on their uncorroborated authority. The chief materials from which the date is deduced are: first, the date of Kalhana, Shake 1070—or A.D. 1148, second, the date of Gonanda III, who reigned 2330 years before Shake 1070; and third, the names as well as the durations of the reigns of the kings that reigned between those two points of time. Now, though the date of Kalhana, as given by himself, must be perfectly correct, the same cannot be said, it may be urged, of the period that had passed from Gonanda III to the date of Kalhana, and of the durations of the reigns of the kings that had passed up to the date of Lahtaditya. The names of the kings and the durations of their reigns may be given here, I think, with advantage. They are as follows:—

*Kings of the Gonanda Dynasty—Group I*

B. C				Ys. ms. ds.
1184	1. Gonanda III.	reigned for	.	35 0 0
1149	2. Bibhishana I.	..	..	53 6 0
1095	3. Indrajit ..	..	..	35 0 0
1060	4. Ravana ..	..	..	30 6 0
1030	5. Bibhishana II ..	..	..	35 6 0
994	6. Nara I alias Kimnara	..	..	39 9 0
955	7. Siddha ..	..	..	60 0 0
895	8. Utpalaksa ..	..	..	30 0 0
864	9. Hiranyaksa ..	..	..	37 7 0
827	10. Hiranyakula ..	..	..	60 0 0
767	11. Vasukula ..	..	..	60 0 0
707	12. Mihirakula nicknamed Trikotihā, (killer of three crores of people)	..	..	70 0 0
637	13. Baka ..	..	..	63 0 0
574	14. Kshitimanda ..	..	..	30 0 0
544	15. Vasunanda ..	..	..	52 0 0
491	16. Nara II. ..	..	..	60 0 0
431	17. Aksha ..	..	..	60 0 0
371	18. Gopaditya ..	..	..	60 0 6
311	19. Gokarna ..	..	..	57 11 0
253	20. Narendra I alias Khumkhula	..	..	36 3 10
217	21. Yudhishtira I. ..	..	..	No period is mentioned

Total Gonandas, Group I .. 1014 9 9



*The Vikramaditya Dynasty—Group 2*

B	C		Ys.	ms	ds.
169	22	Pratapaditya I	32	0	0
137	23	Jalaukas	32	0	0
105	24	Tunjina I	36	0	0
		Change of dynasty ("Anyakulajo Raja")			
69	25	Vijaya	8	0	0
61	26	Jayendra (dynasty ends)	37	0	0
24	27	Sandhimati alias Aryaraja (Jayendra's minister)	47	0	0
Total Vikramadityas and others, Group 2			192	0	0

*The Gonandas restored—Group 3*

24	28	Meghavahana	reigned for	34	0	0
58	29.	Pravarasena I alias Tunjina II	"	30	0	0
88	30	Hiranya and Toramana (dynasty interrupted)	"	30	2	0
118	31	Matrigupta the poet, (Protégé of the great Vikramaditya of Ujjain defeater of the Sakas)	"	4	9	1
		The Gonandas restored				
123	32.	Pravarasena II	"	60	0	0
183	33.	Yuddhishthira II	"	21	3	0
204	34.	Narendra II alias Lakshana	"	13	0	0
217	35	Ranaditya alias Tunjina III	"	300	0	0
517	36.	Vikramaditya	"	42	0	0
559	37	Baladitya	"	37	4	0
Total Gonandas after the first restoration, Group 3				572	6	1

*The Karkota or Naga Dynasty—Group 4*

396	38.	Durlabhavardhana alias Prajnaditya	..	..	36	0	0
632	39.	Durlabhaka alias Pratapaditya II	..	.	50	0	0
682	40.	Chandrapida	..	.	8	8	0
691	41.	Tarapida	..	..	4	0	24
		Total Karkotas up to the end of Tarapida	..	..	98	8	24
					<hr/>		
Grand total up to the end of Tarapida					1,878	0	4

695 42. Muktapida alias Lahraditya

Deducting the period of 1,878 years, and 4 days from 2,333 years, 7

months and 15 days, we get 455 years, 7 months and 11 days before Kalhana (the end of Saka 1072) or Shake 616 years, 4 months and 19 days, or with the addition of seventy-eight years, two months and fourteen days, the difference between the Shake and Christian eras, A.D. 694 years, 7 months and 3 days, i.e. the 3rd of August 695 as the end of the reign of Tarapida or, which is the same thing, as the accession of king Lalitaditya.

Looking, however, over the list, we may observe, that besides the improbably long periods assigned to most of the kings of the first group, eleven out of the twenty-one kings have figures which are too suspiciously round (three thirties, five sixties, one seventy and one thirty) to reasonably demand unquestioning credence. Then we have the fact that the length of the reign of Yudhishtira I (No. 21) is not mentioned, but has to be inferred to have extended to forty-eight years and ten days, from the circumstance that the total period of the twenty-one kings of the group is stated by Kalhana at the end of the Taranga to be one thousand and fourteen years, nine months and nine days. In group 2 there is nothing extraordinary to raise suspicion, except perhaps the absence of months and days. The third group at once arrests attention at No. 35, Ranaditya, who is put down as having reigned for the extraordinary period of 300 years. It is said that Ranaditya married the goddess Kali, who was born as a princess in order to become his wife, and that through her he was enabled to live so long. It is probable that the period of three hundred years is like those of which Kalhana tells us the detailed history was lost, and that the name of one king only who reigned in that period being known, the whole period was assigned to a dynasty lost to history, or to anarchy, or to foreign government, or to displaced kings, is of course such as cannot be accepted as accurate without independent evidence, and it is impossible to say what was the exact period of which no history was forthcoming.

The list distinctly improves with the fourth group or with the beginning of the Karkota or Naga dynasty. There is in that group nothing that is suspicious. There the periods of reigns assigned to the kings also become more and more detailed by the addition of months and days, and appear to belong to easy and everyday probabilities by being short.

The remarks I have just made on the defects of the list up to the end of the third group do not, however, justify suspicions as to the general correctness of the periods assigned to the various dynasties or to individual kings, especially after the beginning of group 2. Though we may not feel prepared to accept the correctness of the periods assigned to the kings in the first group, there is no reason to doubt that from Gonanda III to the revolution which compelled Yudhishtira I (No. 21), to quit his capital and go into exile, the period given by Kalhana viz. 1,014 years, 9 months and 9 days, is the period that had actually passed. For Kalhana must have given the figure on the authority of the previous chronicles, lists of kings, memoirs and inscriptions which he mentions at the commencement of his *Tarangini*,

and which he must have critically examined. The period assigned to group 2, as also the reigns given to the six kings thereof, must likewise be considered to have been based upon the author's materials derived from the same sources similarly examined. Whatever may be said—and much can be said—against the years of the ten kings (28-37) comprised within group 3, we may safely accept as correct the period of 572 years, 6 months and one day, which Kalhana gives to that group. The four reigns of group 4 which produced the accession of Lalitaditya appear to be free from objection.

There is, therefore, no reason to doubt the correctness of the date of Lalitaditya's accession, A.D. 695, (which is the date, supplied as above, by the *Rajatarangini*, and not A.D. 696, as has hitherto been supposed), until independent facts are brought forward to show that it must be set aside in favour of another. General Cunningham in his learned, laborious and valuable work, *Ancient Geography of India* (Buddhist period), has adopted a correction of thirty-one years, so that the accession of Lalitaditya falls, according to him, in A.D. 727 (he takes 696 A.D. as the accepted date of Lalitaditya's accession) instead of in A.D. 695. My esteemed and honoured friend Professor G. Bühler has accepted this correction on the additional authority of the Jains, who state that Yashovarma was living in Samvat 800 or A.D. 744. Other orientalists, Professor Max Müller among them, have acquiesced in the correction on the authority of General Cunningham and Professor G. Bühler. Any one, therefore, who does not feel convinced by the view of the eminent scholars just named, can only venture to differ from them with considerable hesitation. Accordingly I need not apologise for a somewhat lengthy examination of the grounds of the correction, and of the reasons which might be relied upon in favour of the date supplied by the Kashmirian chronology. General Cunningham bases his conclusion in favour of his correction of thirty-one years on the following data, viz.—

(1) that when Hiouen-Tsang,<sup>2</sup> the Chinese traveller, entered Kashmir in A.D. 631, the younger brother of the king's mother came to meet him; that according to the *Rajatarangini* the reigning king in Kashmir in A.D. 631 was Pratapaditya II, but that Pratapaditya's mother had no brother, so that there must be a mistake in the history given by Kalhana; probably Pratapaditya's father Durlabhavardhana alias Prajnaditya was the reigning king in A.D. 631, that Hiouen-Tsang passed two years in Kashmir, and that, therefore, Pratapaditya must have come to the throne at least three years after the year 631 A.D., there is, therefore, a mistake in Kalhana's chronicle amounting to three years at least.

(2) that according to M. Remusat<sup>3</sup>, Chandrapida, the son and successor

<sup>2</sup>The spelling adopted by modern scholars is Hsüan-Tsang.

<sup>3</sup>*Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques* par M. Abel-Rémusat. Paris (Schubart et Heideloff)

of Pratapaditya, applied to the Chinese emperor for aid against the Arabs; the date of the application is A.D. 713, while, according to the native chronology, Chandrapida reigned "from A.D. 680 to 688," which shows an error of not less than 25 years.

(3) that about A.D. 720 the emperor granted the title of king to Chandrapida, Chandrapida must, therefore, have been living as late as the previous year A.D. 719, which makes the error in the Kashmirian chronology amount to exactly 31 years.

Now as regards the first point, it may be observed that the reigning king in Kashmir in A.D. 631 was not Pratapaditya, as General Cunningham supposes, but his father Durlabhavardhana or Praynaditya. and Pratapaditya, according to calculation, did not come to the throne till towards the close of the year 632 A.D. The inaccuracy, therefore, of three years based upon the supposition that Pratapaditya, who had no uncle, was the reigning prince in A.D. 631 must, it is clear, be given up as altogether untenable.

As regards the statement that Chandrapida, and Muktapida alias Lalitaditya applied for aid to the emperor of China, and that the date of Chandrapida's application is A.D. 713, whereas Chandrapida, according to Kalhana, must have reigned "from A.D. 680 to 688," I find that the reigns of both Chandrapida and Muktapida are given at great length by the Kashmirian historian. But during the reign of neither is any mention made of any trouble by the Mlecchas, as the Arabs would be called, nor indeed by any foreign enemy or invaders. Kalhana frequently mentions such trouble whenever it has occurred, or even trouble caused by the neighbouring tribes or enemies immediately beyond the border, but no mention of any foreign invasion, threatened or actual, is made in the account of the two kings. It does not appear, that the memoirs from which he was compiling his account of the two reigns were meagre or of the nature of summaries. Even little incidents, involving the grant of compensation for land taken up for building a temple, are noticed in the reign of Chandrapida. Peace, internal and external, is stated to have been the characteristic of Chandrapida's reign. As regards the alleged application by Lalitaditya, that appears even more improbable. The account of his reign is particularly detailed, and so full, both as regards his internal and external policy, that it is not credible that a mention or reference to an invasion of his kingdom by the Arabs could have been omitted. Nor is it likely that any invasion by the Arabs could have taken place or been threatened during his reign, which was one of aggression all round and full of brilliant victories. He is described as having carried his arms of conquest far beyond the borders of Kashmir towards the north and the north-west, and to have died in an expedition of conquest towards Persia (Aryanaka). No mention is made of any foreign invasion. I do not think it is possible that Lalitaditya could have or even need have applied to the emperor of the Chinese for aid. We have further to remember that, if invasions by the Arabs had taken

place or been threatened both during the reigns of Chandrapida and of Muktapida, the fact, on account of its repeated character, would have become so noted, (the difference between the accession of Chandrapida and that of Muktapida being barely eight years and nine months), that it would certainly have been referred to by the chronicler of the latter's reign, and then repeated by Kalhana in his own narrative. We must, therefore, reject as unfounded or mistaken, the statement that Chandrapida and Muktapida applied to the emperor of China for aid against the Arabs, even if we felt satisfied that M. Remusat correctly restored the Sanskrit names from his Chinese text, and correctly identified them with those of the Kashmir kings.

I am afraid we cannot treat in a better way the Chinese statement that the title of king was bestowed by the emperor of China on Chandrapida about the year A D 720. For, among other reasons, it is not enough, when we have to deal with such a list of kings as that given by the *Rajatarangini* from Vikramāditya, No 36, to Utpalapida, No 54, merely to say that there is some mistake amounting to 31 years in the native chronology, but we must show where exactly that mistake lies. For the periods of reigns of the kings comprised in the list just referred to have been given in considerable detail, presumably after they were verified by Kalhana with the aid of the inscriptions on temples and other public buildings erected by those kings most of which were extant in his time, as also by the various chronicles, memoirs, lists and other records, which he mentions at the beginning of his work.

As regards the Jain statement that Yashovarman was living in Samvat 800 or A D 744, it may be observed that, so far as we know there is nothing to make that statement, even if it be found to be based upon such reliable testimony as to be accurate, necessarily inconsistent with the earlier date of A D 695 being assigned to the accession of Lalitaditya. For Yashovarman may have had a long reign, beginning from some date anterior to A D 695 (a supposition not quite necessary to make) and ending by some year after A D 744. He may have continued to reign as a vassal of Lalitaditya after his subjugation by that king, and to reign even after the latter's death. But, as a matter of fact the statements of the Jains have little or no value at all as bearing upon the date of Yashovarman, as I have shown at considerable length in a separate note already referred to.

There is, however, a different way of arriving at the date of Lalitaditya's accession (A D 695), which satisfactorily proves that the correction of 31 years, which has been proposed, cannot be accepted. This method is the method of calculating back from the date of the finishing of Kalhana's *Rajatarangini* to the accession of Lalitaditya. I call this a different method, because the dates and reigns of the kings from Lalitaditya up to Jayasimha, the contemporary of Kalhana, rest on a far more sure and certain basis than those of most of the earlier predecessors of Lalitaditya. This will become apparent from the following continuation of the list

*The Karkota dynasty continued—Group 4*

A.D.				Ys.	ms.	ds.
695	42.	Muktapida alias Lalitaditya	reigned for	.	36	7 11
732	43.	Kuvalayapida.	..	..	1	0 15
733	44.	Vajraditya Vappiyaka alias Lalitaditya II	..	..	7	0 0
740	45.	Prithivyapida	.. ..	.	4	1 0
744	46.	Sangramapida	..	.	7	0 0
751	47.	Jayapida	..	..	31	0 0
	48.	Jajja (brother-in-law and minister of Jayapida's usurper)	..	..	3	0 0
785	49.	Lalitapida	..	..	12	0 0
797	50.	Prithivyapida II, alias Sangramapida II	..	.	7	0 0
804	51.	Chippatajayapida alias Brihaspati (son of Lalitapida by a concubine)	..	..	12	0 0
816	52.	Ajitapida, son of Chippata's brother, deposed and succeeded by	..	..		
	53.	Anangapida (son of Sangramapida)	..	..	41	0 0
	54.	Utpalapida (son of Ajitapida)	..	..		
Total up to the end of the fourth Taranga				..	260	5 20

*Change of dynasty—Group 5*

857	55.	Avantivarman (son of Sukhavarman, son of Utpala, brother of the concubine above referred to), from (Phalg. kr. 1) of 31 to Ashadh. s. 3 of 59	..	..	27	4 18
884	56.	Sankaravarman, up to Phalg. kr. 7 of 77	..	..	18	7 19
903	57.	Goplavarama	..	.	2	0 0
	58.	Sankata	..	..	0	0 10
905	59.	Sugandha, queen	..	..	2	0 0

*Dynasty changed*

60.	Nirjitavarman alias Pangu (grandson of Suravarman). He hardly reigned at all, when he was succeeded by his son, 10 years old, named.					
.	Partha, up to Pausa. kr. 1 of 97, i.e. for 19 yrs, 9 ms, 23 ds., less by 4 yrs 0 ms, 10 dys of Gopala, Sankata and Sugandha	..	..	.	15	9 13

A D.			Ys. ms ds.
923	Nirjitavarma or Pangu again up to Magh. kr. 1 of 98	reigned for	1 1 0
924 62	Chakravarma, up to Magh kr. 1 of 9	"	11 0 0
935 63	Suravarma, up to Ashadh kr 1 of 10	"	1 0 0
936	Partha again, up to Ashadh kr. 1 of 11	"	0 5 0
936	Chakravarma again up to Jyesh s 8 of 13	"	1 11 23
938 64	Unmattavanti, up to Ashadh. kr 1 of 15	"	2 0 7
Total years, Group 5, end of the 5th Taranga			83 4 0

*Dynasty changed—Group 6*

940 65	Yashaskara, up to Bhad kr 3 of 24, including	}	"	"	9 0 0
66	Varnata who reigned a few days before Yashaskara's death				
949 67	Sangramadeva, up to Phalg. kr. 10 of 24	"	"	"	0 6 8
950 68	Parvagupta, up to Ashadh kr 13 of 26	"	"	"	1 4 4
951 69	Ksemagupta, up to Paush s 1 of 34	"	"	"	8 6 3
960 70	Abhimanyu, up to Kart s. 3 of 48	"	"	"	13 10 3
973 71	Nandigupta, up to Marg. s. 12 of 49	"	"	"	1 1 9
975 72	Tribhavana, up to Marg s. 5 of 51	"	"	"	1 11 23
976 73.	Bhumagupta ..	"	"	"	5 0 0
981 74	Didda, Queen, up to Bhad s 8 of 79	"	"	"	22 9 3
Total years, Group 6, end of the 6th Taranga					64 0 23

*Dynasty changed—Group 7*

1004 75.	Sangramaraja, up to Ashadh. kr 1 of 4	"	"	24 9 8
1029 76	Hariraja, up to Asahdh s 8	"	"	0 0 22
1029 77.	Ananta, up to Kart. s 6 of 39, when he crowned his son Kalasa	"	"	35 3 28

A.D.			Ys. ms. ds
1064	78. Kalasa, up to Marg s 6 of 65	reigned for	26 1 0
1090	79. Utkarsa and Harsa, up to Bhad s. of 77	„	11 8 29

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Total years, Group 7, end of the 7th Taranga	97 11 27
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*Dynasty changed—Group 8*

1102	80. Uchchala, up to Paush. s. 6 of 87	„	10 4 1
1113	81. Radda alias Sankha	„	0 0 1
1113	82. Salhana, up to Vais s 3 of 88	„	8 0 26

*Dynasty changed*

1113	83. Sussala up to Phalg. new moon of 3 including 6 ms., 12 ds. of	} „	15 9 27
	84. Bhikshachara		
1129	85. Vijayasimha, still reigning in the 25th year or A.D. 1151, i.e. Shake 1072 .. ..	„	22 0 0

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Total to end of Shake 1072, or A.D. 1151, i.e.	48 5 25
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Now counting back from the date to which Kalhana carries his narrative, which, for the sake of convenience, we will suppose is the close of the year Shake 1072, we come to the same date to which we came before, and regarding the reliableness of which as based on Kalhana's materials up to Lalitaditya we have already remarked. Thus:—

Period from the accession of Lalitaditya to the end of the Karkota dynasty, or Taranga IV	Ys. ms. ds.
Do. from the end of the Karkotas to the end of Ummattavanti, or Group 5 .. ..	161 8 26
Do. from the end of Ummattavanti to the end of Didda, Queen, or Group 6 .. ..	83 4 0
Do. from the end of Didda, Queen, to the end of Utkarsha or Group 7 .. ..	64 0 23
Do. from the end of Utkarsha up to the date when Jayasimha had reigned 22 years, or up to the end of Kalhana's narrative, end of Shake 1072, Group 8 .. ..	97 11 27
	48 5 25

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Total years up to end of Kalhana's narrative, end of Shake 1072 .. ..	455 7 11
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At the beginning of his *Rajatarangini* Kalhana says that the cycle year of the era used in Kashmir was 24, and that at the time he speaks 1070 years of the Shaka era had already passed. At the end of his book he says that the cycle year is 25, and that in the latter year Jayasimha had from the time of his accession to the throne passed twenty-two years. Jayasimha came to the throne on the new-moon day of Phalguna of the year 3, so that he must have finished his twenty-second year on the new-moon day of Phalg 25, or just a fortnight before the end of that year. If, therefore, we suppose that Kalhana began his work in the early part of the year 24, he took just two years to finish it. Further, when he says that in the year 24 of the local cycle 1,070 years of the Shaka era had passed, we have taken this to mean that he began his work in the very early part of that year, almost on the new year's day, so that we have got to deduct the number of 455 years, 7 months, 11 days from 1,070, which gives us 616 years, 4 months, 19 days Shaka, or the 3rd of August 695, A D, as the calculation date of Lalitaditya's accession.

When the date of the king from whom we start, viz., Gonanda III and the date up to which the narrator brings us are known, when the period between the two dates is also known, and lastly, when the periods of the reigns of the kings who reigned during that period are given, the date of any king in the list must of course be the same whether counted up from the beginning or back from the end, and I am aware that this objection may be taken to the importance I attach to the agreement between the dates obtained above by the methods referred to. But the support I seek is from the fact that the part of the list, over which we go in counting back from the date of Kalhana, is made up of dates and periods obviously so unassailable on account of their details, as also on account of the very detailed and apparently reliable account given of the reigns of the kings, that the result of the count-back must be accepted as independent and unassailable, unless undeniable facts are brought forward to justify any suspicions of error.

Those that accept the correction of thirty-one years have to show how the mistake of such a period is to be adjusted, that is to say, they have to show where it occurs in the list of kings, and how the list is to be corrected throughout. If it occurs anywhere in that portion of the list which precedes the reign of Lalitaditya, and if they accordingly bring down his accession by thirty-one years, they will have to alter all the dates of the kings subsequent to Lalitaditya even up to Jayasimha, the contemporary of Kalhana. I feel sure no one will seriously venture to do this, as no one can assert that all the dates of the kings, from Jayasimha back to where the mistake may be supposed to have occurred before the time of Lalitaditya, are wrong including Kalhana's own date, in fact. As for the post-Lalitaditya part of the list, I do not see the likelihood of a mistake of thirty-one years occurring anywhere in it. It is this fact which attaches especial value to the agreement of the date of Lalitaditya, obtained by the two ways of counting which

I have mentioned above. Differing, therefore, very reluctantly from General Cunningham and my friend Professor G. Bühler, I venture to hold that in all that the former has urged, or in all that may be derived from the statements of the Jains, no such facts as will justify any suspicions of error have been brought forward, and my conclusion, therefore, is that A.D. 695 is the correct date of the accession of Lalitaditya.

\* \* \* \*

As I have relied chiefly upon the *Rajatarangini* of Kalhana in establishing that Lalitaditya's accession occurred in 695 A.D. and, consequently in placing Yashovarman and his eulogist Vakpati in the latter part of the 7th and the first part of the 8th century, the question naturally arises, how far is Kalhana to be regarded as a trustworthy chronicler of the dates and events of the kings of Kashmir? Unfortunately, in India, authors writing about kings as purely human characters, and about purely human events, especially with dates, are rare; and unfortunately, those that write about the two are so justly chargeable with the fault of writing for effect, and with using most extraordinarily exaggerated language, that it should not be a matter for wonder if scholars should at first distrust a solitary writer like Kalhana, when he comes forward and claims to be heard as a chronicler of actual events recorded historically, especially when he writes in verse, and writes, to a certain extent, as a poet. When every one, whom you have known, has told fables or at least has mixed a little truth with manifold falsehood or exaggeration, you would doubt whether you could believe your eyes and ears when, as a singular case, somebody comes forward and claims to be heard as a historian or as a chronicler of true events. Naturally enough all the presumptions would be against the veracity of the solitary witness. Under other circumstances he would be accorded some considerable credence; but here, in the company of story-tellers, he would be required first to prove his veracity and even to demonstrate it thoroughly before he can get a hearing; and, if that is impossible or difficult to accomplish owing to the nature of the evidence proffered, the witness is sure to be told that unless he is corroborated by a perfect stranger, he is entitled to no credit whatsoever. If he stammers or hesitates in his speech by a natural defect, he is suspected to do so because he finds it difficult to be straightforward in his cooked up and false narrative. If his interpreters have not quite correctly understood him, their difficulties are but too convincing a proof of the want of veracity in the witness, because all presumptions are against him. Further if one person, under the circumstances we have here set forth, has refused to believe part of this narrative, everybody else, without seeing him and examining him personally, is but too apt to follow suit, and to say that he cannot believe him. Part of his evidence is hearsay, though hearsay at second-hand only, and the rest such as consists of what he knows personally. Though he distinguishes between the two kinds, and sets forth the names of those from whom he received his hearsay, and is even careful to say which of his informants he believes and which he

does not, and though he tells you which part of his hearsay information is of a doubtful character, you would suspect that, as all presumptions are against him, he will in all likelihood exaggerate or falsify by adding to or cutting down the second-hand statements of his informants, and would say that, unless those informants are produced before you and examined by you, you would not believe the hearsay evidence of the witness, as even hearsay. Even the dress and appearance of the witness would prejudice you against him. He is rough, you will say, he is unrefined, he appears to hide his feelings and his thoughts, and his inside is not transparent through his countenance, and all this you would put against him as indicative of a desire to deceive you. If at times his answers appear to be very easy to understand and consistent, you would feel inclined to say that that is the result of an endeavour to make falsehood look like truth, because, forsooth, the nature of that part of his narrative is such that its details cannot be consistent.

This is not very far from what has actually happened to the author of the *Rajatarangini*, the only work hitherto discovered in India having any pretensions to be considered as a history, or at least as a chronicle of human events brought about by human means, and narrated for the most part in human ways.

Kalhana wrote in Shaka 1070 or A.D. 1148-49. But the period to which his narrative extends begins, according to him, from 1184 B.C. and comes down to the year A.D. 1150-51, or a length of over 2333 years. Indeed, he takes cognizance of a previous period of 1226 years which preceded B.C. 1184, as one during which some fifty-two princes reigned in Kashmir, but gives no account of them because he found no records about them existing in his time. Indeed, even the names of many of them are unknown. Accordingly all that he does in regard to the prehistoric period of 1266 years is to enumerate as many of the prehistoric fifty-two kings as he can, and perhaps in the order in which they were believed to have reigned, and, after enumerating such public monuments as their names were connected with as their founders or promoters, proceeds at once to his main narrative which begins with king Gonanda III, whom he places in B.C. 1184. As the prehistoric period of 1266 years is a blank on account of "no poets having recorded the deeds of the kings" who reigned during that period, or rather because the records of that period were lost, and as he is enabled to give a narrative of the subsequent period because poets have preserved its history, he pours out his thanks to the ancient members of his fraternity thus,—

'Worthy of obeisance is that indefinable virtue of good poets which is superior (in sweetness and immortality) to a stream of nectar, and whereby they preserve their own bodies of glory as well as those of others.'

'What men, other than poets who resemble Prajapati, and who are skilful in producing lovely things, can place the past times before the eyes of men.'

'If a poet can realize with his genius things which every body cannot comprehend, what other indication is wanted that he has the divine sight?

'There is no history of fifty-two kings of Kashmir, beginning with Gonanda I, who in the Kali-yuga were contemporaries of the Kurus and of the sons of Kunti, forsooth, because, in consequence of the evil deeds of those rulers of the earth, there were not poets to produce their bodies of glory.'

'Obeisance to that energy, naturally great, of poets, without whose favour even those mighty kings are not remembered by enjoying the shadow of whose tree-like arms this earth, with its oceanic girdle, used to feel safe from danger from all quarters'

'Even those who sat at ease with their feet on the temples of elephants, who even obtained prosperity, nay those even in whose palaces once dwelt young damsels fair as moons shining in the day, are not thought of even in dreams by this world, as if they never existed, though they were once the foremost on earth! But why praise thee a hundred times, O brother, work of good poets? Suffice it to say, that the world is blind without thee.'

Of Kanhana's regard for facts and for the impartial chronicler of facts, the following will give an idea —

'That virtuous poet alone is worthy of praise who, free from love or hatred, ever restricts his language to the exposition of facts'

What his materials were for the narrative, extending over 2333 years, and what he thought of them, and what value he attached to them, will appear from the following verses in his introduction:—

'The oldest extensive works, containing the royal chronicles, have been lost in consequence of the work of Suvrata, who condensed them in his narrative in order that their contents might be easily remembered. Suvrata's poem, though it has acquired fame, is not easily understood, being difficult, owing to a pedantic show of learning.

'Owing to some strange want of attention there is not a single part of Kshemendra's *Chronicle of Kings*, that is free from mistakes, though it possesses the merit of poetry.

'But his claim to be heard he bases upon the two facts, viz first, that he examined and compared a large number of works on the ancient history of Kashmir, and second, that he used inscriptions of former kings, genealogical tables, and works forming memoirs of famous persons.

'I have examined eleven works of former scholars which contain the chronicles of the kings, as well as the doctrine of the sage Nila (i.e. the *Nilapurana*).

'The edicts issued at the coronation of former kings, inscriptions on ancient objects with which those kings were connected, laudatory scrolls containing genealogical lists, and memoirs of renowned personages having been examined, I have removed all trouble caused by errors'

As for the fifty-two kings who reigned before Gonanda III the author has told us what his sources of information were in the following verses:—

'Out of the fifty-two kings of whom there is no history on account of the loss of the chronicles, four, viz., those beginning with Gonanda I, have been obtained from the *Nilamata* (i.e. *Nilapurana*)'.

'Formerly the great Brahman ascetic Helaraja composed a chronicle of kings, containing twelve thousand couplets: Padmanuhira having examined that work gave, in his own book, the eight kings beginning with Lava and preceding Ashoka'

'Further the five kings among whom Ashoka is the first Sri-Chhavillakara has declared, are out of the fifty-two. For here is his shloke'

'The five kings from Ashoka to Abhimanyu, who have been mentioned, have been taken by the ancients out of the fifty-two and not out of any other list'

If so many previous scholars had already written on the subject of the ancient and modern kings of Kashmir, what, it might be asked, was the object of the author in undertaking the task of writing the *Rajatarangini*? The answer which Kalhana gives is that there was no one continuous and complete chronicle of the whole period from the time of Gonanda III up to his own, that the different works which already existed related to different parts of the period, and, so far as they treated of the same kings, they differed in their narratives, that some of them were wrong, others not very intelligible or clear, that people did not care to read all the works to get an idea of the whole period, that he wished to point out the moral of many of the events which filled that period, and that he undertakes the work of compiling a general history of the whole period, because the subject was lying neglected in every respect and by everybody. Kalhana observes: '(when kings are overbearing) in the prosperity of their times and their territories, or (when they are grieved) at the adversity of the same, this (*Rajatarangini*) which contains soothing narratives which are so many medicines, will be useful (as furnishing those medicines) to those kings'

'Or even apart from that (use), what wise man does not delight in such a composition, which contains endless transactions of ancient times'

'Bearing in mind the life, short, as a momentary flash, of created beings, let the predominance in this work be observed of the sentiments of disgust with the flitting and momentary things of this world'

'Therefore, let this *Rajatarangini* (lit. *River of Kings*), which is beautiful with a vivid spring of rasa (sentiment), be imbibed with your ears which are like mother of pearl.'

The nature of Kalhana's use of the authorities consulted by him, and the merit he claims for himself is set forth modestly in the following verses:—

'Although I narrate again the subject-matter of chronicles which others have written, the virtuous ought not to turn their faces from me without hearing my reasons'

'What genius can be exhibited when men of modern times compile in their own books accounts given by those who died after composing each the history of those kings whose contemporary he was' Hence in

this narrative of past facts—a subject which is neglected in every respect—my endeavour is simply to compile.’

Nor is the mention of inscriptions and scrolls or laudatory genealogical lists in his introduction the only reference to those authorities. He often mentions them in the body of his narrative as authorities for certain statements which he makes. For example in I. 349, describing the character of King Gopaditya, he says that he reigned for sixty years, he who did not allow the slaughter of animals except for sacrifices, and whom the laudatory scrolls of genealogical lists describe as having enjoyed fame as the most excellent of kings.

The whole narrative bristles with the names of towns, cities and villages mentioned as having been built by most of the kings after whom they were named, and of temples, Buddhist monasteries, stupas, convents, rest-houses, bridges, palaces and other public works erected by the kings, their wives, mothers, brothers, and their ministers or dependents, most of which were extant in the time of the author. There must have been many records connected with them, which Kalhana doubtless used as materials to check his other materials in fixing the dates of the kings, the durations of their reigns, or their places in the list.

Another remarkable feature of the work is the names of a great many authors and poets who flourished or found patronage in Kashmir, and who are mentioned both in connection with the reigns of the kings who patronized them, and in connection with the works they wrote. It is not disputed, that a large number of the literary productions of those authors existed in the time of Kalhana, though they have disappeared since. Some of them must have furnished the materials for the *Rajatarangini*, or authority for the dates and other incidents given by its author.

As the first three Tarangas are much discredited on account of some very flagrant improbabilities and even an impossibility—that of the duration of Ranaditya's reign—which they contain, so much so that some scholars seem prepared to throw overboard all the kings of that period about whom no independent evidence is forthcoming, it may be interesting to see how many of the kings mentioned therein are connected with buildings, celebrated writers or authors, etc.

#### *Non-historic period*

- |      |   |    |    |  |
|------|---|----|----|--|
| 1    | Gonanda I                                       | .  | .. |  |
| 2.   | Damodara  | .. | .. |  |
| 3    | Yashovati, queen                                |    | .. |  |
| 4.   | Gonanda II                                      | .  | .  |  |
| 5-39 | Thirty-five kings whose names are not preserved | .  | .  |  |
| 40.  | Lava  | .. | .. | (1) built the city of Lolora.<br>(2) granted the agrahara of Levara in Ledari. |

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- |                 |  |
|-----------------|--|
| 41. Kusha . . . | (1) granted the agrahara of Kuruhara.  |
| 42. Khagendra . | (1) granted the agrahara of Khagi.<br>(2) made the agrahara of Khunamusha.   |
| 43. Surendra .  | (1) built the city of Sauraka near the Darad country.<br>(2) built the vihara called Narendrabhavana in that city.<br>(3) built the vihara of Saurasa in Kashmir   |
| 44. Godhara     | (1) granted the agrahara of Hastishala   |
| 45. Suvarna     | (1) built the canal called Suvarnamani in the district of Karala   |
| 46. Janaka .    | (1) built the vihara and agrahara of Jalora.   |
| 47. Shachinara  | (1) made the agrahara of Samanga (?) and Sasanara (?)  |
| 48. Ashoka .    | (1) spread Buddhism by building series of stupas in Shushkaetra, along the Vitasta and in other places.<br>(2) built the city of Shrinagar<br>(3) substituted an enclosure wall of stones in place of the one of lime round Vijayesha<br>(4) built the two temples near Vijayesha, named Ashokeshvara<br>(1) made the agraharas of Varavala and others<br>(2) his queen Ishana-devi established groups of images of the divine mothers on gates and other places<br>(3) he encouraged pilgrimage to Sodara and other holy places<br>(4) consecrated the shrine of Jyeshtharudra in Shrinagar, in rivalry of the shrine of Nandisha that was situated at a great distance with a Tirtha called Sodara attached, and caused another Sodara-tirtha to rise near the new shrine.<br>(5) built a vihara called Krityashrama and established an image of Krityadevi.<br>(6) built a stone-wall of enclosure round Nandikshetra |

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- (7) presented a set of articles of worship, made of precious stones, to Bhutesha.
- 50 Damodara .. (1) built the bridge Gudasetu in the city built by him on the Damodara-suda.
51. Hushka, Jushka, and Kamushka (1) each built a city called Hushkapura, Jushkapura, and Kamushkapura, after their respective names
- (2) Jushka built a vihara.
- (3) Jushka built the city of Jayasvami-pura
- (4) the three built mathas and chaityas in Shushkalettra.
- 52 Abhimanyu . (1) granted the agrahara called Kantakautsa.
- (2) dedicated a shrine to Shiva, called after him.
- (3) built the city of Abhimanyupura.
- (4) patronized Chandra and others.
- (5) introduced the Mahabhashya (of Patanjali) into Kashmir.
- (6) Nagarjuna, the Bodhisatva, was his contemporary.
- (7) restored the worship of snakes, etc., as prescribed in the Nilapurana.

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1. Gonanda III .. ..
2. Bibhushana .. ..
3. Indrajit .. ..
4. Ravana . . . . . (1) established the shrines of Vateshvara.
- (2) built a matha having four halls, wherein he consecrated the image of Vateshvara, and dedicated the kingdom of Kashmir to the god
5. Bibhushana II . . . . .
6. Nara or Kinnara .. (1) burned thousands of viharas, and resuming their lands, gave them to Brahmans
- (2) built a city called Kinnarapura on the banks of the Vitasta, which a Naga afterwards burnt.



*Historic period*

- |    |                    |   |
|----|--------------------|---|
| 7  | Siddha             |   |
| 8  | Utpalaksha         |   |
| 9  | Hiranyaksha        | (1) built a city which he called Hiranyapura after himself  |
| 10 | Hiranyakula        |   |
| 11 | Vasukula           |   |
| 12 | Mihirakula         | (1) built the shrine of Mihreshvara in Shrinagar<br>(2) built a city called Mihirapura in Holadi<br>(3) granted thousands of agraharas to the Brahmins from Gandhara<br>(4) similarly favoured the barbarous Daradas and Bhauttas<br>(5) altered the course of the river called Chन्द्रikulya                         |
| 13 | Baka               | (1) built the shrine of Bakesha<br>(2) led a river called by him Bakavati into a lake<br>(3) built the city of Lavanotsa  |
| 14 | Kshitinanda        |   |
| 15 | Vasunandi          |   |
| 16 | Nara               |   |
| 17 | Aksha              | (1) built (?) the vihara of Vibhushrami<br>(2) built (?) the vihara of Akshavala  |
| 18 | Gopaditya          | (1) granted the agraharas of Khola (?) Khagika, Hadigrama, Skandapura, Shamangasa<br>(2) consecrated the image of Jyeshtheshvara<br>(3) granted the agraharas of Gopi in Gopadri to Brahmins from Aryadesha<br>(4) established a colony of holy Brahmins in Vashchika and other districts, and granted them agraharas |
| 19 | Gokarna            | (1) built the shrine of Gokarneshvara   |
| 20 | Narendras Khunhula | (1) dedicated many temples to Bhuteshvara and a temple to the goddess Akshayini<br>(2) his spiritual guide or teacher, Ugra, built the temple of Ugresha, and established a Matrachakra, or group of images of the divine mothers   |

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21. Yudhishtira ..
22. Pratapaditya of the race of  
Vikramaditya .
23. Jalaukas . ..
24. Tunjuna .. (1) he and his queen built the shrine of  
Tungeshvara and dedicated it to  
Shiva  
(2) they built the city of Katika.  
(3) Chandraka the dramatist flourished  
at the time  
(4) a terrible famine occurred, caused  
by snow-storms.  
(5) his queen Vakpushta granted the  
two agraharas of Katimusha and  
Ramusha.  
(6) she established a satra or amiasatra  
at a place where she afterwards  
burned herself as a sati, where poor  
people and fatigued travellers are  
"still fed." (II. 59).
25. Vijaya . (1) built a town round Vijayeshvara.
26. Jayendra . (1) Ishana was the teacher of his minister  
Sandhimati
27. Sandhimati . (1) established one thousand Shivalin-  
gams every day, groups of which cut  
into slabs of stones "are still  
found." (II. 133).  
(2) granted large villages for the main-  
tenance of the Lingams The villages  
"are not now continued" (II. 136).  
(3) built great palaces, and established  
great Lingams, great Nandis, and  
great Trishulas.  
(4) built a temple and dedicated it to  
Shiva, and called it Sandhishvara,  
after himself, and another, dedi-  
cated to the same god, calling it  
Ishaneshvara after his teacher; built  
temples of Kheda and Bhima; and  
filled the whole country with  
mathas, idols, Lingams, and palaces
28. Meghavahana .. (1) put a stop, by proclamation on his  
coronation day, to slaughter of  
animals.

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- (2) granted the agrahara of Meghavana.
- (3) built Mayushtagrama
- (4) built Meghamatha.
- (5) his queen, Amritaprabha, built a vihara called Amritabhavana for the residence of Bhikshus, natives of her country
- (6) from Lo, name of a country, came Loshthana, the teacher of her father, who build a stupa.
- (7) Yukadevi, another queen, built a vihara in Madavana.
- (8) Indradevi, another queen, built a vihara called Indrabhavana, and a stupa
- (9) Khadana, Samma and other queens built other viharas, and called them after their respective names.

29. Pravarasena alias Tunjina alias Shreshthasena
- (1) built the temple of Pravareskhvara, furnished with a group of images of the divine mothers
  - (2) consecrated various temples and laid foundations in the old capital.
  - (3) allotted to the shrine of Pravaresha the territory of Trigarta
30. Hiranya and Toramana
- (1) Toramana struck dinaras in his own name
31. Matrigupta ..
- (1) prohibited slaughter of animals throughout the kingdom during his reign
  - (2) patronized the poet Mentha, the author of Hayagrivavadha
  - (3) built and dedicated a temple to Madhusudana (Vishnu), and called it Matriguptasvami, the villages granted to which were afterwards (A.D. 814-863) given by Mamma (IV 702) to the family of his father-in-law.
32. Pravarasena II
- (1) built the temple of Jayasvami in his new city.
  - (2) built the first bridge of boats across the Vitasta

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- (3) built a city, which he named Pravarasenapura, on the site of the village of Sharitaka, and established five goddesses, viz, Shrisadbhavashri and others. The city stood only on the south of the Vitasta
- (4) Jayendra, the maternal uncle of the king, built the Jayendravihara and the Brihadbuddhavihara
- (5) his minister Moraka built the vihara called Morakabhavana
- (6) the shrines of Vardhamana and Vishvakarma (consecrated by him) beautified his city.
- (7) the king richly endowed every temple in his city.
33. Yudhishthira .. .. (1) his ministers Sarvaratna, Jaya, and Skandagupta built viharas and caityas.
- (2) Vajrendra, the son of Jayendra, was also his minister, and built the town of Bhavachchheda
- (3) Kumarasena and others also were his ministers.
34. Narendraditya .. .. (1) built a temple called Narendrasvami.
- (2) Vajra and Kanaka, the sons of Jayendra, were his ministers.
- (3) built an edifice or library for the custody of manuscripts and called it after himself.
35. Ranaditya alias Tunjua. .. (1) built two excellent edifices called after himself and after his queen Ranarambha, to receive two Lingams, but established Hari in one and Hara in the other.
- (2) built the temple of Raneshvara, dedicated to Shiva. Brahuna, a siddha, performed the consecration at the instance of the queen, and established an image called Brahmasattama in his honour.
- (3) consecrated the shrines of Ranasvami and Ranarambhadeva, and

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built the matha of the Pashupatas on the top of Pradyumna hill.

(4) built a hospital for the sick.

(5) consecrated a shrine of the goddess Senamukhi.

(6) consecrated a shrine of Ranapuravarni, dedicated to the sun, in the town of Simharotsika.

(7) Amritaprabha, another of his queens, consecrated the god Amruteshvara to the right side of Ranesha

(8) the same queen Amritaprabha, placed an image of Buddha in the vihara built by her namesake, the queen of Meghavahana

36. Vikramaditya

(1) his ministers were Brahma and Galuna

(2) the minister Brahma built the matha called Brahmamathia

(3) Ratnavali, the wife of Galuna, built a vihara

37. Baladitya

(1) conquered Vankala and established therein a colony called Kalambya for the residence of Kashmirians.

(2) made the agrahara of Bhedara in the district of Madava.

(3) his queen Bimba consecrated a shrine of Shiva called Bimbeshvara.

(4) Khankha, Shatrughna and Malava, brothers, who were his ministers, built mathas and temples, and also a bridge.

From the above analysis it will be seen that out of the seventeen kings, whose names are preserved and who belong to what I call the non-historic period, the names of no less than thirteen were connected with foundations, endowments, grants and other monuments, many of which Kalhana must have seen, and of others of which he must have read accounts then extant. In the historic period treated in the first three Tarangas, out of the thirty-seven kings no less than twenty-three had left numerous monuments, grants and similar evidences of their time, their administration, and their liberality. The writings connected with the latter must have helped Kalhana to fix the order and the dates and the durations of the reigns of a great number of them. Of course it is possible that like Romulus from Rome,

some of the kings, especially among the earlier ones, may have been imagined from the monuments, the real origin of these being forgotten. But looking to the nature of the monuments and the probability of copper-plate and other grants having existed, that theory cannot eliminate many of the kings.

One large class of miscellaneous inscriptions to which the author refers, besides those on foundation stones, consecration pillars, etc. is that of short inscriptions on objects of household furniture, coins, arms, copper-plates of grants of lands and allowances and similar things (*purvabhūhartrivastushasanam*). It is well known that old copper and brass vessels, swords, daggers, and other arms have inscriptions, containing the names of kings and their ancestors. These must doubtless, have been used for the purpose of setting at rest some doubts which had been raised in his mind by the conflicting accounts found in the books consulted by him.

Besides the historical works written by contemporary chroniclers, which Kālhana mentions and refers to, it is reasonable to suppose that he must have read legendary stories like those of Guṇadhya, connected with ancient celebrities and with many of the sacred places in Kashmir, so many of which appear to have been mentioned in the older chronicles of the Kashmirian kings.

Though, however, there is no reason to suppose that Kālhana's materials were not ample, and though the chronicles he used were written by contemporary authors—a fact which deserves the highest consideration—it must not be forgotten that he writes in verse and as a poet and is liable to the defects which usually attend compositions in verse on a matter of fact subject. Though simple facts can be made the subject of poetry, all facts are not fit to be expressed in poetry, and a writer of verse is often apt to colour his narrative when it is likely to be otherwise dull, by the addition or omission of certain particulars. This has, doubtless, happened in the *Rajataranginī*, as it might have happened in any similar poetical work, or even in a prose work which treated of history from such an ancient date as B.C. 1184.

There appears good reason to believe, however, that Kālhana's materials, though many of them written by eye-witnesses themselves, were of a highly coloured poetical character, and that much of his own poetry is probably due to them. He must have given many incidents just as he found them in older works. We may observe, however, to his credit, that though he gives such incidents even when of a miraculous nature, he often feels, and does not hesitate to tell us that he feels, ashamed in narrating them in such a book as his *Rajataranginī*. We may instance the reign of Meghavahana, A.D. 24 to 58, that is described as full of righteousness and of tenderness for the life of all creatures. That king prohibited the taking of life in his kingdom, and even led an expedition into Ceylon, in order to put down by force the slaughter of animals for any purpose whatsoever. He succeeded, and returned to Kashmir. A Brahman brought

to him one day the dead body of his only son, and declared that the goddess Durga had killed him with fever, because she had not been given a victim, though she had asked for one. The king determined to offer himself as a sacrifice to the goddess, in order to induce her to restore the Brahman's son to life. Durga appeared before him, however, in the night and prevented him from sacrificing himself, and at once restored the dead son of the Brahman to life again. 'Relating this and similar deeds of the king, though he belongs to modern times, deeds which are considered possible among ignorant people only, we feel ashamed.' Again, referring to the various accounts of the manner in which king Lalitaditya must have met with his death, Kalhana says, as one reads that this king performed very miraculous deeds, so one reads that his death also was very miraculous! We might also refer to the author's remark on the older accounts of the cruelties of the king Mihirakula whom previous writers had represented as having killed three crores of people because he found so many women failing to prove their chastity. Kalhana remarks 'this is what is well believed, in the opinion of others.' In truth, however, it is impossible. Of course the slaughter of people by him was very great, even if those cases alone were considered where he killed for good reasons!

The *Rajatarangini*, we must recollect, was written in A.D. 1148-50, and almost touches at its beginning that mythical period, in which the war of the *Mahabharata* is believed to have occurred. If Kalhana had begun his narrative from that king, Gonanda I, who was a contemporary of the Pandavas and the Kauravas, his work, at least in its earlier parts, would have deserved no better credit, as a historical chronicle, than the *Mahabharata* or the *Puranas*. But of a period of 1266 years from the time of the war of the *Mahabharata* he says nothing except that he gives the names of seventeen out of fifty-two kings who are believed to have reigned during that period. Of the rest, he says, even the names are forgotten. Many of those names are, doubtless, and some we know to have been, historical personages, such as Ashoka, Hushka, Jushka, and Kanishka. Besides naming the seventeen kings of this period, the author narrates such details of some of them as tradition had preserved, and as was borne testimony to by some very ancient monuments still extant in his time. But no dates or periods of reigns are given of any of them. His predecessors had recorded the dates and events of the reigns of kings beginning with Gonanda III, and Kalhana has, apparently on the authority of previous historians, commenced his own chronicle proper from the accession of that king. From B.C. 1184 to A.D. 1151 is, however, too long a period for accurate record to have been preserved thereof. Accordingly while the history of the later parts of the period, say of the part which begins with Durlabhavarardhana alias Praynaditya, the first of a dynasty called the Nagas, appears to be reliable as to main facts and the durations of reigns of the forty-eight kings who reigned up to the time of Kalhana, the period previous to Durlabhavarardhana is even besides the impossibility of Ranaditya—often marked

by statements as to length of reigns and to events, which are not free from suspicion. The periods assigned to twenty-one kings who reigned from 1184 to 169 B.C. for a period of one thousand and fourteen years, nine months and nine days, are too long to be reliable, giving an average of a little over forty-eight years to each king. Besides, the numbers of years of reigns are too round to rightly demand credence at our hands as to the accuracy of most of them. Gonanda III may have reigned in 1184 B.C. and for thirty-five years. Both his date and the duration of his reign are probably correct, because all accounts appear to have begun the chronicles of Kashmir from that king, so that they must have preserved them by an unbroken tradition. Nay, it is even probable that from Gonanda III up to Pratapaditya of the Vikramaditya dynasty the period given may be quite correct, having been based upon previous contemporary records, inscriptions, and other authorities which Kalhana had before him. But what is also highly probable is that some mistake has occurred as to the number of kings who reigned during that period of one thousand and fourteen odd years. All the kings given are historical, but they could not be all the kings that reigned during that long period. Probably some of those fifty-two kings whose names have been lost, and some among those whose names have been preserved have to be brought on to the list, but besides this being a mere guess, it may be added that, unless undoubted evidence is obtained to justify the breaking up of the list in favour of any of those kings all we can do is to doubt the accuracy of the list in its details, and leave it undisturbed for the present.

In the second group (from 22 to 27) six kings reign for one hundred and ninety-two years or a little more than thirty-eight years each on an average. As the average is taken from a very small number of kings, the lengths of reigns may not be very unlikely, but the taint of suspicion still seems to hover over the list. The same remark about suspicion may not be made as to the nature of the third group of ten kings (28-37); for there nine kings reign over a period of two hundred and seventy-two odd years, or just thirty years per each king on an average. But then the group contains one king who is put down for the extraordinary period of three centuries! This period, from A.D. 217 to 517, is obviously one of which no records were forthcoming, and Kalhana's predecessors had only recorded the name of one king during it. The period was perhaps one during which Kashmir was subject to foreign rule, and no king ruled in that country. No records were, therefore, kept, and so none were forthcoming. Otherwise it is difficult to say why Kalhana should have given the period as practically a blank in his narrative. Accustomed as we are to the care with which he sifts his authorities (and averse as he is to put faith in miracles) we can hardly suppose that he arranged artificially the reigns of the list up to the predecessor of Ranaditya in order to come into harmony with the historical dates of his successor, or that for love of the miraculous he assigned to that king a period of three hundred years. The names in the



group are all historical, and there is nothing in the narrative to excite suspicions about the events which from this part of the chronicle forward begin to be more and more detailed.

But when we come to the fourth group, from 38 to 54, the list seems to improve in every respect. The lengths of reigns are moderate and quite probable; and what is of the utmost importance, is, that towards the end of the group, Kalhana begins to give, along with the durations of reigns, the dates in the Laukika era of the Brihaspati cycle of the accession and death of each king. Not only this, but the dates are often given henceforward of some of the important events in the administration of several of the kings, and this system he continues to the end of his narrative. Without doubt Kalhana's materials became more plentiful, more detailed, and more thoroughly historical from the beginning of the Karkotaka or Naga dynasty, which came into power in A.D. 596. From this date to A.D. 1151 where the narrative leaves us, the dates and general nature of the chronicle seem to be as reliable as can be expected under the circumstances.

My humble estimate, accordingly, of the value of the *Rajatarangini* as a historical chronicle is that it is fairly reliable up to the end of the Gonanda dynasty, or end of the reign of Baladitya, A.D. 596, and is as accurate as we have a right to expect from the commencement of the Karkotaka dynasty up to the year 1151 A.D., a period of some 555 years. Up to the end of the Gonandas, whatever its defects are, they are patent, and Kalhana has made no endeavours to conceal them by any subtle means, as he might easily have done, if he had intended to do so. I do not believe there is any evidence to show that the date of Gonanda III is placed too early, but it is likely that some kings have been lost to history even during the time that elapsed between that king and Durlabhavardhana. But it does not appear that Kalhana took, as he is alleged to have done, any liberty with the lengths of reigns or dates of kings with whose administrations he dealt. Everything he says, and everything that independent evidence has taught us, shows that his mistakes and defects—confined to the first three groups—are the mistakes and defects of his predecessors, the writers of previous chronicles and summaries. Greater mistakes and defects may be shown undeniably hereafter in those groups, and may perhaps be corrected.

Among the speculations of M. Troyer about the *Rajatarangini* one is that Cantos VII and VIII are not the production of Kalhana. Dr. Buhler has satisfactorily disposed of the view of M. Troyer, but he admits the correctness of a statement made by the latter that Kalhana, who brings his narrative down to the cycle year 25 or Shake 1072, mentions in the eighth chapter events which took place eight years later, or in the cycle year 33. This fact, if shown to be correct, would go directly to establish two things: first, that Kalhana, though he brought down his narrative to the end of the Laukika or cycle year 25, was really writing his eighth Taranga in the year 33, and second, that he introduced an anachronism into his work by anticipating in the year 25 events which did not take place until

eight years after that year. The first of these conclusions would go to show that he did not write the history of Jayasinha's reign for the eight years from 26 to 33, which would be unaccountable and inconsistent with Kallhana's language, the second would vitiate the value of his history as a reliable chronicle even of his own time. Professor Buhler meets the charge, which, as I have said, he admits, by saying that Kallhana did not finish his work till the cycle year 33. But this would not remove the fault of anachronism, and that is a fault of the greatest significance, because Kallhana was writing then of his own times. Now there appears available another and less objectionable way of meeting the allegation of M. Troyer. It is this: Kallhana does not mention in his VIIIth book any events which took place in the cycle year 33 or eight years after the year about the history of which he writes towards the close of that Taranga. There is no real foundation for M. Troyer's statement, which I find is based on a mistake made by him, owing to his having misinterpreted the following couplet in verse VIII 3280. 'In this manner he, when nearly thirty-three years of age, was taken by the king on the 10th day of the month Jyeshtha in the year 21.' This refers to the taking of Bhoja, son of Sulhana, by order of king Jayasinha, an event, which Kallhana distinctly says took place in cycle year 21, when Bhoja was nearly thirty-three years old, and not in cycle year 33 or eight years after the date to which he brings down his narrative. I have already shown that the author finished composing his eight Tarangas of the *Rajatarangini* in Laukika or cycle year 25 or just at the close of Shaka 1072 or in the early part of A.D. 1151, i.e. two years after he began it in the early part of Laukika year 24.

I have already said that the pre-Karkotaka part of the history in the *Rajatarangini* is not in some parts quite reliable, being marked by a good many inadmissible periods of reigns and by improbable and miraculous events. That does not prove that the whole of the period before A.D. 596 is fabulous or even suspicious. Far from it. The kings appear to be all historical, and the more we approach the commencement of the Karkotakas, the more reliable appear facts and dates given by Kallhana. And as yet no facts and dates have been so undeniably established in regard to the dates and names of the early dynasties as to clearly prove the incorrectness of the accounts contained in the *Rajatarangini*. Even the date of Kaushka, one of the fifty-two kings, whose historical character has been established by coins and inscriptions, is still unsettled, and varies by centuries. The identity of Ashoka, also one of the fifty-two kings, if he be a historical reality in Kashmir, with the Buddhist emperor of that name who reigned at Pataliputra in Magadha, though very probable, is not free from doubts. As yet no inscriptions, coins, chronicles, or independent evidence of any other kind has been found, which has proved beyond doubt that any given part of Kallhana's narrative, though probably containing many faults, is wrong. As yet the unusually long reigns of several of the early kings, the, perhaps, too great antiquity assigned to some of them, and some

flagrant improbabilities, merely raise our suspicions that the early dynasties are not quite correctly given in all their details. Nor has any proof been adduced to show that those faults are the result of Kalhana's handling of the previous contemporary chronicles and other materials which he used, and not of the latter.

Suspensions regarding the duration of the reign or the date of one or more kings in a given list, such as that of the first three groups of Kalhana, ought not to vitiate the whole list, when we know that Kalhana used older chronicles by contemporary writers and other materials of an equally reliable character in making out his lists, and when it is highly probable that there were separate records or other evidence bearing upon separate kings. Even though he may have fixed by guess or computation the dates of one or more obscure kings about whom either there was no detailed history or he was uncertain, the rest of the list must be presumed to have been fixed by means of the previous chronicles, inscriptions, coins, etc. Unless we knew that the whole list was fixed by guess or computation, it would not be right to suspect the whole of the list.

So far as independent evidence has come to light, it has rather gone to prove that Kalhana in his earlier chapters has faithfully handed down the ancient traditions of Kashmir, and that in his later chapters he has given dates which are shown to be correct. Thus, the Chinese pilgrim Hiouen-Tsang translates legends about the desiccation of the lakes of Kashmir and the first colonization of that country, which closely agree with those given by Kalhana. Again, Kalhana states that the Karkotakas had come into power in succession to the Gonandas in A.D. 596, which is confirmed by Hiouen-Tsang who says that when he visited Kashmir (according to General Cunningham circa 631 A.D.) the *Ki-li-to*, a nickname by which the Karkotakas were known, had already come into power after many centuries of rule by the philo-Buddhist Gonandas, and that one of them was on the throne, who had not much faith in Buddhism.

As Professor Buhler truly says, "it may seem" scarcely credible that a book which has engaged the "attention of so many Sanskritists, and of some of the first rank, is, after all the labour expended, not in a satisfactory condition, and that its explanation "leaves a great deal to desire." To this I would only add that at least until the text of that admittedly valuable work—the only historical compilation of any pretensions that has yet come to light—has been carefully edited and restored to its original purity by competent and patient hands, it will be only reasonable to expect that, after all that some great scholars have written about it, we should suspend our judgment as to its historical value, even in regard to its earlier parts, and though, failing independent evidence, we might hesitate to accept its correctness in some parts, and even ignore certain stories as merely mythical, we should not be prepared to reject all it says, even in its earlier portions, until and unless independent evidence proves that everything contained in it is incorrect. Probably Kalhana himself did not expect or even desire

that the same credence should be given to the whole of his narrative in all its details in the first three Tarangas which he expected as of right in favour of the dates and events of the subsequent, and especially the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth Tarangas. He clearly indicates now and then, that as we go back towards antiquity the story becomes more and more traditional and then even legendary, and that as you approach modern times it assumes a truly historical character with as correct details as you can expect in a work of the kind based upon materials like those which were available to him."<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>From the Introduction to *Candavala*, Bombay Sanskrit Series, 1888.

## APPENDIX B

### *Hunger-strike*

The economic and moral world is undergoing a cosmic change and traditional values are being judged from new standpoints and by new standards. Nevertheless ancient ideas remain enshrined in the hearts of the people and Kalhana's book furnishes a valuable background for the correct appreciation of the transformations which are taking place in India.

Kalhana mentions the Hunger-strike (*Prāyopaveśa*—sitting down for a solemn fast) as a weapon of the weak against the strong<sup>1</sup>. It was used as a powerful political weapon by individuals or groups, civil as well as military, for redress of a grievance, or against an obnoxious measure or in defence of the country. In Kaśmīr officials were appointed to watch cases of hunger-strikes which shows that ultimate resort to hunger-strike by the aggrieved and the oppressed must have been common<sup>2</sup>. Kalhana is, however, very satirical about the hunger-strikes organised in a body by the priests—the members of the Temple Purohita Corporation—whom he calls professional fast-mongers.

The Western view about the hunger-strike is that it is a method of coercion<sup>3</sup>. The Indian view has been that the hunger-strike desired not to coerce but to change the heart of the oppressor or the recalcitrant. The hunger-striker was ready to lay down his life in a non-violent manner in order to draw attention to a glaring evil or act of gross injustice<sup>4</sup>. That the motive of the hunger-striker is not coercion although it may well be the result of his act and that the psychological urge which impels him to hunger-strike is different have been explained by Mahatma Gandhi for whose view we find support in the *Rājataranginī*. K. cites a case, where the king himself is on hunger-strike in a temple to seek light and guidance from the deity and as a penance for his own failure to do justice<sup>5</sup>. There is no doubt that the force of public opinion was a mighty one in K.'s time and the rulers recognised their responsibility to the people for acts of state<sup>6</sup>.

It is not unreasonable to suppose that the hunger-strike in Kaśmīr grew out of the Buddhist ideals of self-sacrifice and non-violence. The Buddhist *jātakas* are fond of relating stories of the sacrifice of self to relieve the misery

<sup>1</sup>Tarangas IV 82, 99, V 468, VI 25, 336, 343, VII 13, 1088, 1157, 1611, VIII 51, 110, 658, 707, 768, 808, 939, 2224, 2733, 2739

<sup>2</sup>Taranga VI 14

<sup>3</sup>According to Prof. Norman Brown of Pennsylvania University this method of coercion was known to the Jews and in India is as old as the Upanisads.

<sup>4</sup>See VIII 2899

<sup>5</sup>Taranga IV 99

<sup>6</sup>See King Jayasimha's instructions to his ministers Taranga VIII 2545

or pun of others. Kalhana relates the story of king Jalanka<sup>7</sup> which is reminiscent of the famous story of the Śibi Jātaka. Mahatma Gandhi made a statement on the 4th December 1932, while he was fasting in the Yeravda Prison, to the Anti-Untouchability Board. The following extract from it is of considerable interest. "For a man who does not want to commit violence and a man like me who is pledged to non-violence in thought, word and deed, the last resort must be the sacrifice of himself. The greatest weapon I possess is the readiness to fling away my life when there is a desperate cause. The desperate nature of the cause is to be decided by the judgment that is given to a poor mortal like myself. My life has thus been made up of numerous occasions of fasting. It is the sincerest form of prayer. It has been with me for several years though it has come much into the limelight recently. It is not an ill thought out thing. It does not mean coercion of anybody. It does of course exercise pressure on individuals and even on Government but it is nothing more than the natural moral result of an act of sacrifice. It stirs up sluggish conscience and it fires loving hearts to action. Those who have to bring about radical changes in human conditions and surroundings can not do it except by raising a ferment in society. There are only two methods of doing this, violent and non-violent. Violent pressure is felt on the physical being and it degrades him who uses it as it depresses the victim, but non-violent pressure exerted through self-suffering as by fasting works in an entirely different way. It touches not the physical body but it touches and strengthens the moral fibre of those against whom it is directed. This, I think, is enough for the present. Who knows I may have to go through a series of fasts and die by inches, but if that does happen I want you to feel proud of my action and not feel that it was the action of an idiotic man. My life is largely governed by reason and when it fails it is governed by a superior force, viz. faith."

In the middle of the seventh century Kathiawad, the native land of Mahatma Gandhi, produced a Buddhist Saṃgha, Śāntideva, whose hymns are now available in the charming translation of M. F. Mot. Śāntideva was the son of a ruling prince in Kathiawad. On the day of his Abhisheka for the coronation, the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī, it is said, appeared before him and the prince renouncing his rights and privileges became a monk and retired to the woods. M. F. Mot thus translates his hymns —

"O that I might become for all beings the soother of pain!"

"O that I might be for all of them that ail, the remedy, the physician, the nurse, until the disappearance of illness!"

"O that by raining down food and drink I might sooth the pangs of hunger and thirst, and that in times of famine I might myself become drink and food!"

"O that I might be for the poor an inexhaustible treasure!"

"All my incarnations to come, all my goods, all my merits past, present

and future, I renounce with indifference, that so the end of all beings may be attained."

"I give up my body to all beings to do what they will. Let them always strike it, treat it with despite, cover it with dust. Let them make of my body a plaything, a thing of mockery and jesting. I have given them my body. What matters it to me? Let them make it do whatever may please them. If their hearts are wroth against me and bear me ill-will, let this help me to bring about the ends of all. May those who calumniate me, harm me, and jeer at me, may these and all the others win the Bodhi!"

Kalhana describes the Bodhisattvas as follows —

"In this world beginning from the blessed Lord of the worlds some few persons have conquered sorrow, know them to be Bodhisattvas." "Against even a wrong-doer they do not grow angered but, through forgiveness, return good for evil, they who desire enlightenment not for self alone are bent on the salvation of the world"<sup>8</sup>

Buddhist ideals of charity and love of living beings led Śāntideva in his 'Journey towards the Light' to sing with fervour as follows —

"This insignificant particle which causes to arise in us the virtues of a Buddha is present in all creatures, and it is by reason of this Presence that all creatures are to be revered"

"Moreover, what other means have we of acquitting ourselves towards the Buddhas, those sincere friends and incomparable benefactors, than to please creatures?"

"For creatures they lacerate their bodies, they enter into hell. What is done for creatures is also done for them. Therefore we must do good even to our worst enemies"

"Seeing that our masters devote themselves unreservedly to their children's welfare, how could I, even I, show these sons of our masters pride instead of the humility of a slave?"

"From to-day, therefore, in order to please the Buddhas, with my whole soul I make myself a servitor of the world. May the mass of mankind set its foot on my head and kill me, if so be that the Protector of the world is satisfied!"

"To serve the creatures is to serve the Buddhas, it is to realize my end, to eliminate pain from the world, it is the vow by which I bind myself!"

"If the suffering of many is to cease by the suffering of a single one, the latter must invite it out of compassion for others and for himself"

Buddhism was absorbed in the later philosophic systems of Kāśmīr but the principle of self-sacrifice remained as the spring of action. The youth Vijayarāja, Kalhana's contemporary, of an educated high class Brahman family, who follows the terrorist method argues thus "If by the sacrifice of this body endless lives could be rendered happy, O brother!

<sup>8</sup> Taranga I 138-139

is not that the higher bargain."<sup>9</sup>—words which recall the last lines of Śāntideva's hymn of the seventh century. That Vijayarāja was inspired by the Buddhist ideal of self-sacrifice though he erred grievously in citing it in support of terrorism is shown by his talk with his brother. "To destroy one vile individual for universal benefit would be pronounced a righteous act; even the Jina slew the dragon who put an end to living beings."<sup>10</sup> Vijayarāja disdained to flee although he could have done so, announced that he had stabbed the minister, and was killed bravely fighting against odds as an act of supreme self-sacrifice. On his arm was discovered a note with a verse of the Bhagavad-Gītā.<sup>11</sup> This remarkable episode relating to terrorism is contained in Taranga VIII, verses 2224-2257. The episode of the brave men of Bengal who sacrificed their lives is described by Kalhana in Taranga IV verses 322-335.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Taranga VIII, 2236.

<sup>10</sup> VIII, 2234.

<sup>11</sup> Chapter III, 8, which is verse 2256 of the eighth Taranga. See VIII, 2224 n.

<sup>12</sup> For acts of self-sacrifice of Kāśmīrī Brahmins, see Taranga IV, 638 and VIII, 2225.



## APPENDIX C

Indian mythology illustrates the eternal struggle between the powers of darkness and the shining ones, the Titans (Asuras) and the gods (Suras, Devas), by the following story of the Kūrmāvātāra. Once upon a time after a prolonged war, the belligerents agreed, upon the advice of Viṣṇu, to work together to churn the ocean of milk and to discover ambrosia (Amṛta), the drink of immortality.<sup>1</sup> The Great Powers uprooted Mount Mandāra and sank it into the depths of the ocean to serve as the dasher of the churn. As a support for Mount Mandāra Viṣṇu became a giant tortoise and kept it from submerging. The mighty serpent Vāsuki was passed round the mountain dasher to serve as a cord, the gods at the tail end and the Titans at its head then commenced hauling, each team, in rhythmic succession. Suddenly from the seething waves the terrible poison Hālāhala was thrown up, capable of destroying the whole world including the gods, had not Śiva swallowed it in his infinite compassion for all living beings. Thereafter, inter alia, came up, marvellous creatures such as the horse Uccaiśravas with his moon-coloured coat, the lordly elephant Airāvata, the divine Apsarās (nymphs) and the lovely Śrī or Laksmī (Fortuna) who became the consort of Viṣṇu. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa thus describes her: "Holding in her hand a lotus garland round which hummed the bees, she turned her gracious face made lovely by the smile of modesty, and against whose cheeks sparkled beautiful ear-rings, her two breasts perfectly matched and close together, were covered with powdered sandalwood and saffron, her waist was so slight that it was scarcely visible, her every step was accompanied by the tuneful jingle of the anklets which adorned her feet, and her whole body was like a golden liana." At last there arose from the waves a dark youth bearing a vase filled with ambrosia, the drought of immortality. At the banquet which followed, the Titans Rāhu and Ketu served the ambrosia to the assembled gods. Śiva cut off the head of Rāhu while the latter was taking a deep draught from the vase. The feast broke up and war was renewed which the gods, now become immortal, won.

The story of the descent of Gangā, the river of the immortals, to the earth is related in the ninth chapter of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa.<sup>2</sup> The sons of Sagara had been turned into ashes in Hades (Pātāla) during an expedition for conquests. Beseeched by prince Bhagīratha the river of the immortals, Gangā in the sky (Viyat-Gaṅgā=Via Lactis) agreed to come down to earth to revive them. To preserve the earth from inundation Śiva, who resides on Mount Kailāsa (Everest), became the breakwater. The mighty

<sup>1</sup> See Taranga VIII. 1591, 1780.

<sup>2</sup> See Taranga III. 530. VIII. 2280.

floods, however, disappeared in his matted hair until at the further prayers of Bhagīrathī Śiva released Gangā, when her pride had been sufficiently humbled, to flow down the slopes of the Himalayas

These episodes inspired the artists who created the frescoes and wrought in stone the magnificent sculpture of Southern India and distant Cimbodia. There is no doubt that Kalhana had travelled extensively in India, his verses show a deep interest in the Deccan which under the Calukyan kings was the home of the fine arts and which attracted renowned poets from distant lands including the Kavi Bilhana from Kāśmīr. Kalhana's graphic description of the fashions of the Deccan at the court of Harsa is very interesting and accurate. It is not unlikely that Kalhana had seen the masterpieces of Southern sculpture portraying the beneficent waters of the Gangā through the Nāgīs and the Nāgī-kanyās, the familiar tutelary deities, of his alpine home-land.

## APPENDIX D

### 'The language of the gods'

According to one theory the eastern part of Iran was the region where the Aryans lived as long as they formed one people, and whence they separated into Indians and Iranians. The oldest specimens of the Indo-Aryan speech which we possess very closely resemble the oldest Iranian. There are passages in the Iranian *Avestā* which can be turned into good Vedic Samskr̥ta by the application of a few phonetic rules. The Indo-Aryans after their arrival in Afghanistan took route for a while in Eastern Afghanistan which they called Udyāna or the Garden-land migrating in due course to the Panjab and later to the Gangetic Mesopotamia. The *Rg Veda* is believed by some scholars to have been compiled in the latter region and the Aryan clans which spoke this language to have extended from Eastern Panjab to Prayag.<sup>1</sup> The language spoken here received constant literary culture and a refined form of its archaic speech became fixed by the labours of scholars and grammarians receiving the name Samskr̥ta<sup>2</sup> in contradistinction to the folk speech of the same territory and to the different Indo-Aryan dialects of other parts of India which are grouped under the name of Prākṛta.<sup>3</sup> Samskr̥ta developed as the language of religion and polite literature and the native land of this mother tongue became accepted as the true pure home of the Indo-Aryan people, the rest being, from the point of view of educated India, more or less barbarous. The literary records of the later periods of Aryan migration show us one Indo-Aryan tribe complaining of the unintelligible speech of another, and even denying to it the right of a common Aryanhood.

In the age of Aśoka of which we have accurate historical record we find that the Kharoṣṭhī script, written from right to left, as well as the Brāhmī alphabet, the precursor of the modern Nāgarī, written from left to right were both in current use. The Kharoṣṭhī was an adaptation from the Aramaic script introduced into India during the reign of Darius at a time when Gandhāra and Western Panjab formed an Iranian satrapy. In the empire of Aśoka and during the Kushan period both the scripts continued to be used in Eastern Panjab as is evidenced by the coins bearing Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī legends which are found in the different districts of the Jullunder Division and by the rock cut inscriptions of Pathyar and Kanhuara in the

<sup>1</sup> In later times the great lingua franca, Hindustani, also developed in this region. See App I Foot-note 34, IV. 132n.

<sup>2</sup> Meaning 'refined.'

<sup>3</sup> Natural, Unrefined. The grammarian Patañjali mentions the existence of several dialects.

Kangra valley. The Kharosthī was notably current in Afghanistan<sup>4</sup> and in Central Asia where in recent years French and German archaeologists and scholars have brought to light numerous Prākṛta MSS. written in that script. In India the Kharosthī appears to have continued in use until the middle of the fourth century of the Christian era. Brāhmī was in use in the remainder of India but it must have been current in learned circles even in the territory where popular use favoured the other script.

The Maurya empire inherited and incorporated many Iranian traditions of the Achaemenid empire and administrative terms of the Iranian period thus continued to be used for several centuries in India. The language of Iran, however, which must have been dominant in the Indian Satrapy,<sup>5</sup> gradually disappeared in the succeeding centuries when the Greeks, Parthians and Scythians in turn established their rule in the north-west of India, Iranian influence was once more revived through the influence of the religion and language of Iran. Then came the Turco-Mongolians from Central Asia who accepted the culture of Iran and the religion of India. In the first century of the Christian era, the Central Asiatic people whom Kālihana rightly calls the Turuṣka (Turks) had founded a great empire in India under Kaniska who was perhaps a contemporary of Trajan. Kaniska was a devout Buddhist and as Aśoka had sent missionaries to the West, he sent missionaries to the East to spread Buddhism. It was under these Turks known in Indian history as the Kushans who had become Buddhists that Sanskrit which until then was the monopoly of a literary caste became the language of the empire and the medium of international communication.<sup>6</sup> In the Turkish empire of the Kushan dynasty, Sanskrit gradually replaced Pāli and Buddhism, the religion favoured by the Turks, spread in Central Asia and China through the medium of Sanskrit. In the fourth century Fa-hien, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim to India, travelled through Central Asia and Afghanistan which was all Buddhist territory<sup>7</sup>.

The Tokhara country is mentioned by Kālihana. In Tokharistan the city of Kucha<sup>8</sup> became the centre of Sanskrit learning. Kumārajīva (344-413 A.C.) who was the son of an Indian, who lived in Tokharistan, by a princess of that country came to Kāśmīr and studied the *Vedas* and the Hīnayāna Buddhist doctrine. On his return to Central Asia he was converted to Mahāyāna Buddhism by the ruling prince of Yarkand. In

<sup>4</sup>Which ethnically has always been an integral part of India. See Foot-note 13 *infra*.

<sup>5</sup>521-485 B.C.

<sup>6</sup>Centuries afterwards when the Turco-Mongols had accepted the culture of Iran and the religion of Arabia, they adopted the language of Iran as their official language in India, while their own mother-tongue was Turkish.

<sup>7</sup>The accounts of Chinese pilgrims to Afghanistan, Gandhāra and India from the fourth to the tenth century prove that Sanskrit was pre-eminently the language of culture and the lingua franca which they studied and used.

<sup>8</sup>Called by the Chinese Po-lu-ka which according to M. Pelliot was derived from the Sanskrit Bhāruka.

383 A.C. he was carried away from Kucha as a prisoner to China where he translated a large number of books from Samskrta into Chinese and through these translations transmitted the spirit of Indian Buddhism to China and the neighbouring countries. When Hsuan-Tsang, the famous Chinese pilgrim, arrived at Kucha two and a half centuries later that city was still the centre of Samskrta learning. The Kuchan alphabet was borrowed from India and Moksagupta, a Hinayānist was then the leading doctor of the Law in Kucha. The king of Kucha, of the Tokharist dynasty, named Suvāna Deva,<sup>9</sup> son of Suvāna Pūṣpa, was a devout Buddhist. Buddhism had spread among the upper classes of Turks and their Khan T'o-po had been converted to Buddhism about 580 A.C. by the Afghan monk Jinagupta and the Khan's successor Tung, the Yagbu, was a Buddhist when Hsuan-Tsang visited him. Indeed four years before the arrival of that learned Chinese traveller in Central Asia, Prabhākaramitra with ten companions had visited the court of the Khan and had proceeded from there in 626 A.C. to China to carry on missionary activities. Samskrta also served as the religious and literary language to the people of Khotan<sup>10</sup> which country was profoundly Buddhist. The Khotanese ascribed their conversion to a Bodhisattva called Varocana who had come from Kasmīr.

The birch-bark manuscripts discovered in Central Asia show the close cultural relations between Kasmīr and Turkistan. In 1890 near Kucha a birch-bark manuscript was found in a Stūpa by two Turks who sold it to Col. Bower who was then at Kucha. The Bower manuscript is now in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. The manuscript which belongs to the second half of the 4th century is written in Gupta characters in Samskrta. The author who was Buddhist dealt with medicines and drugs in three out of seven texts and cites a number of well-known Indian writers on medicine. The German mission discovered in Central Asia still earlier Samskrta manuscripts including the plays of the celebrated Aśvaghosa<sup>11</sup> of which no copy was extant in India. The German mission found the manuscript on palm-leaf in Turfan. It was written in the Indian script of the Kushan period. Buddhist dramas were also composed in Samskrta in Central Asia. The labours of Prof. Levi and M. Pelliot have revealed to us the extent of the influence of Samskrta learning and Indian culture in Central Asia.

In 1892 the French traveller Dutreuil de Rhins acquired a birch-bark manuscript thirteen miles from Khotan. M. Grenard has identified the place where the manuscript was found with the Gośṅga-Vihāra mentioned by Hsuan-Tsang and the Gośīra of the Tibetan records. In 1904 the German expeditions under Doctor Von Le Coq and later under Doctor Grunwedel made valuable discoveries of Buddhist art and Samskrta manuscripts in the old Tokhara country including Kucha, Karashahr, Turfan

<sup>9</sup>In Tokharish Syriatep

<sup>10</sup>Sk. Kustana

<sup>11</sup>Aśvaghosa is the celebrated author of the *Buddha Carita* (Life of Buddha)

and three other sites. The French Sinologist M. Pelliot visited Turkistan in 1906-8 and he discovered Sainskr̥ta manuscripts written in the T'ang period. At Niya manuscripts written on wood in the Kharosthī script in Prākṛta dating from the 3rd century were discovered. In January 1907 M. Pelliot arrived in Kucha. Excavations were begun at Ming-oi which in Turkish means 'a thousand habitations'. The place has been famous for the Grottos of the Thousand Buddhas which contain Buddhist mural paintings of the period from 7th-10th century. M. Pelliot thus describes the discovery made by him:—"At our departure from Paris", says the French savant, "Tun-huang was fixed as one of the big stages of our travel. It was known that there was about 20 kilometres to S. E. of the city, a considerable group of caves known as Ts'ien-fo-tong or the 'grottos of the 1000 Buddhas,' dug out at dates not precisely known till then, but which were covered with mural-paintings which Islam had not yet disfigured. We wanted to devote ourselves to their study, which no other archaeologist had done till then, though their importance was known all the time . . . We were not deceived in our expectation and found that the caves of Tun-huang preserved some of the most precious monuments of Chinese Buddhistic art between 7th and 10th centuries. But another interest was added to the visit in course of our travel. At Urumtsi I heard about a find of Mss. made in the caves of Tun-huang in 1900 . . . I came to know gradually how this discovery was made. A Taoist monk Wang-tao digging one of the big caves, had by chance opened a small cave, which he had found quite full of Mss. Although our colleague Stein had passed Tun-huang a little before us, I had the hope of still reaping a good harvest. Just after our arrival there, I made enquiries about Wang-tao. It was easy to find him and he decided to come to the caves. He opened for me at least the niche, and at once I found a small cave which was not even a metre in every direction, crammed with Mss. They were of all sorts, mostly in rolls but some in folios too, written in Chinese, Tibetan, Uigur and Sanskrit. You can imagine easily what an emotion had seized me: I was in front of the most formidable discovery of Chinese Mss. the like of which was never recorded in the history of the Far East. I asked to myself, have I only to be contented with *hūr* a glance at them and then go away empty-handed, and let these doomed treasures go to destruction little by little. Fortunately, Wang-tao was illiterate and needed money for the reconstruction of the shrine . . . everything was arranged and I sat down in the cave with feverish excitement. Devoting three weeks I made an inventory of the Library. Of the 15,000 rolls, which had thus passed through my hand, I took all that had, by their date and contents, struck me as of primary interest—about one third of the whole. Amongst these I put in all texts in Brāhmī writing and Uigur, many Tibetan but mostly Chinese. There was for the sinologist some invaluable treasure. Many of these were on Buddhism without doubt but some also were on history, geography, philosophy, classics, literature proper and again deeds

of all sorts, accounts, notes, taken from day to day and all were anterior to the 11th century. In the year 1035 the invaders came from the East and monks had stocked books and paintings in a hiding place which they walled up and plastered and the opening was adorned with decorations. Massacred or dispersed by the invaders, the knowledge of the library perished with the monks, to be rediscovered by chance in 1900<sup>12</sup>

Under the later Kushans the official language of Central Asia was Prākṛta and it seems to have retained its position until the 4th century A.C. A large number of manuscripts have been discovered over a wide area in south-eastern Turkistan. The finds include documents not only on paper but on wood, leather and silk as well as inscriptions on the frescoes and mural paintings in the shrines. The propaganda of the Emperor Kaniska thus bore ample fruit and in the succeeding centuries resulted in the spread of Samskrta in Afghanistan,<sup>13</sup> Central Asia and China.

When Bactria was threatened by the Arabs, the Chinese scholars and pilgrims preferred the sea route and their accounts show that the Indian colony of Campā (now French Annam) whose capital was Indrapura was the centre of Sivaite religion and Samskrta learning. So, too, was Cambodia with its capital Vyādhapura. Various Chinese pilgrims and students, chief among whom was I-ching, on their way to India studied Samskrta in the great University of Śrīvijaya in Sumatra. The Indo-Malay state of Sumatra under the dynasty of Śailendra had established its hegemony over all the South Seas from Java (Yava-dvīpa) to the Gulf of Siam and it had caused the famous Buddhist reliefs of Borobudur to be sculptured in Java and at Dvāravātī in Southern Siam. Kāśmīr at this time was famous for Samskrta learning and the universities of Kāśmīr attracted students from Gandhāra, South India and Bengal.<sup>14</sup> With the rise of Śivaism in the Dekhan there was a revival of Samskrta learning. The poets of Kāśmīr were in demand in India and the Kāśmīrī Bilhana, the poet laureate at the court of the Cālukya king of the Dekhan,<sup>15</sup> gives us a charming account of his arcadian home-land. In describing the women of Kāśmīr, their beauty and accom-

<sup>12</sup> M. Pelliot was the leader of the mission organised by La Comite française de l'Association Internationale pour l'exploration de l'Asie Centrale. Recently M. Hackin has visited this region as a member of the Citroen expedition led by M. Haardt. In his story of the expedition M. Le Fèvre has referred to M. Hackin's work at Turfan, we must, however, await that eminent archaeologist's own report which will help to preserve from oblivion the Dead Cities of the Gobi.

<sup>13</sup> For a summary of the Buddhist period of a thousand years in Afghanistan see two illustrated articles by R. S. Pandit in the *Modern Review* of January 1927 and July 1929 entitled 'Buddhist Relics in Afghanistan' and 'Greek Artists of Buddhist Afghanistan' respectively. The illustrations were the gift of M. Hackin of the Musée Guimet who had courteously permitted their reproduction.

<sup>14</sup> Ksemendra, who is mentioned by Kalhana and who lived about a century before Kalhana, has given us in his unimitable style, in the *Desopadeśa*, humorous sketches of Bengali students at the university of Śrinagar.

<sup>15</sup> See VII 937.

plishments, he tells us that they spoke Sanskrita fluently<sup>16</sup> Until the 11th century Sanskrita was undoubtedly dominant in Gandhāra and the Panjab as the language of culture and Mahmud of Ghazni must have been aware of its importance since the first coins he struck in Lahore bear the legend in Sanskrita.<sup>17</sup> In Kāśmīr it remained the official language even during the rule of the early Sultans in the 14th century.

Kaḥḥana thus wrote in 'the language of the gods' and ignored the Apabhraṃśa<sup>18</sup> not merely because he was sure of a large audience in Kāśmīr but for wider publicity abroad.

<sup>16</sup> *The life of King Vikramānka*, Canto XVIII. 6.

<sup>17</sup> These coins are in the British Museum and the legend on them is the rendering in Sanskrita of the Islamic creed. See App. K, Para. 21.

<sup>18</sup> See V. 206 n. Apabhraṃśa means 'corrupt' or 'decayed' and was applied to the dialects in contrast to the Prākṛta par excellence, which in its turn, like Sanskrita and Pāli became stereotyped by being employed for literature. The various Apabhraṃśas have since become the parents of our modern provincial languages. The Apabhraṃśas mentioned in Sanskrita literature are as follows — Paisāca (Pushko, Kāśmīrī), Śaurasena (Panjabī and Western Hindi), Āvanta (Rājasthānī), Guṇjara (Gujarati), Ardha-māgadha (Eastern Hindi), Vraclala (Sindhi), Mahārāṣṭrī (Marathī), Māgadha (Beharī, Oriyā, Bengali).



## APPENDIX E

Names of women mentioned by Kalhana are still current among the Kāśmīrī Brahmans both in Kāśmīr and the plains of India. Some of the names such as Valgā, Nonā Sillā are of interest. Valgā, the favourite of queen Diddā, grand-daughter of the Sāhu, was probably an Aryanized Turk and Sillā and Sullā are Iranian names. Among the names of men Daryaka (VIII 5457) and Toramāna (III 102) are respectively Iranian and Turkish in origin.

Ambikāputrikā=VIII 1648 Amrtalekhā=II 148 III 463 IV 659  
 Anangalekhā=III 484 Añjanā=III 105 Āśamatī=VII 1487, 226  
 Bappatadevi=V 282 Bappikā=VII 1128 Bhinnā=III 464 Bhu-  
 vanamatī=VII 582, 680 Bijjā=VIII 3343 Bijjalā=VIII 287 Bumbā=  
 III 482 Cakramardikā=IV 213 Candalā=VII 1121, VIII 3320 Candrā-  
 vatī=I 321 Cāndrī=VII 1490 Cintā=VIII 3352 Devalekhā=VIII  
 1443 Diddā=VI 177 Dilhā=VII 331 Gaggā=V 251 Gajjā=VII 1380  
 Gunadevi=IV 696 Gunalekhā=VIII 459 Hamsī=V 360 Indradevi=  
 III 13 Irāvati=I 218 Īśānadevi=IV 212 Jayalā=VIII 1444 Jayādevi=  
 IV 690 Jayalaksmī=VII 124 Jayamatī=VII 1460 Kalhanikā=VIII  
 1648 Kalyānadevi=IV 462 Kamalā=IV 424, VIII 3380 Kamalāvatī=  
 IV 208 Kāvyaadevi=V 41 Kayyā=VII 725 Khādanā=III 14 Ksemā  
 =VII 102 Ksilikā=V 290 Kumudalekhā=VII 1486 Lothikā=VII 11  
 Mallā=VIII 445, 1915 Mammā=IV 400 Mammānikā=VII 724 Mañ-  
 jarikā=IV 399 Manikhanā=VII 105 Meghāvalī=IV 689 Menilā=  
 VIII 3380 Mrgāvatī=V 284 Nāgā=VII 293, 1148 Nāgalatā=V 360  
 Nāgalekhā=VIII 1649 Nandā=V 245 Narendraprabhā=IV 17 Nonā  
 =VIII 3061 Nomkā=VII 481 Padmalekhā=VIII 1844 Padmasrī=  
 VII 731 Padmāvatī=III 383 Prakāśadevi=IV 79 Raddā devī=VIII  
 3241 Rājalaksmī=VIII 459 3380 Rājyāśrī=VIII 3399 Rāmalekhā=  
 VII 256 Ramanyā=I 263 Ranārambhā=III 391 Ratnādevī=VIII  
 2402 Ratnaprabhā=III 379 Ratnāvalī=III 476 Rattā=IV 152 Sahajā  
 =VII 674, 1487 Sāmbavatī=V 296 Sammā=III 14 Śāradā=VIII  
 1823 Sillā=VIII 1069 Somaladevi=VIII 1923 Śrilekhā=VII 123  
 Subhatā=VII 180 Sugalā=VII 685 Sugandhā=V 157 VIII 3431  
 Sullā=VIII 248 Surendravatī=V 226 Sūryamatī=VII 152 VIII 2342  
 Sussalā=VIII 2410 Suyyā=V 74 Śvetā=VIII 373 Tejāladīnā=VIII  
 1940 Thakkanā=VII 1252 Tilottamā=VII 120 Trailokyadevi=VI  
 107 Uddā=VII 481 Valgā=VI 308 VII 481 Vallabhā=VII 1486  
 Vimalaprabhā=III 384 Yaśomatī=VIII 3408 Yaśovati=I 70 Yūka-  
 devī=III 11

## APPENDIX F

Some of the poets, scholars and distinguished men mentioned by Kalhana —

Ānandavardhana, poet=V. 34 Bappata=IV. 214. Bhartṛmentha, poet=III. 260 Bhavabhūti=IV. 144 Bilhāṇa, poet=VII. 937. Candaka, poet=II. 16. Cātaka, poet=IV. 497 Chavillākara=I. 19 Dāmodara-gupta=IV. 496. Helārāja=I. 17. Bhaṭṭa Kallata=V. 66. Ksemendra, poet=I. 13. Kṣīra, grammarian=IV. 489. Mamma, musician=VII. 299 Maṅkha, poet=VIII. 3354. Manoratha=IV. 497 Mātṛgupta, poet=III. 129. Nāyaka=V. 159 Pāṇini, grammarian=IV. 635 Ratnākara, poet=V. 34 Saṁdhanat, poet=IV. 497 Śāṅkhadanta, poet=IV. 497. Śāṅkuka, poet=IV. 705. Śivaratha, scholar=VIII. 111. Suvrata=I. 11. Thakkiya=IV. 494. Vākpatirāja=IV. 144 Vasunanda, author of the *Art of Love*=I. 337.

## APPENDIX G

The official titles and political terms found in Kalhana have come down from antiquity although a few of them are peculiar to Kaśmīr. Most of them are to be found in the Epics, the Purāṇas and in the ancient books on political science such as the famous *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya, a work which is like Aristotle's book on *Politics* and Macchiavelli's *Prince* at the same time. Among other works on polity are *Cānakya-Sūtrām*, *Sukra-Nīti*, *Kāmandakīya-Nītisāra*, *Nīti-Prakāśikā* of Vaśampāyana, *Nīti Vākyānūrti* of Somadeva and *Bṛhaspati-Sūtra* which contain many of the administrative terms found in Kalhana.

The Mughals copied the imperial system of India to which they added a few of the forms and ceremonies of the court of Zoroastrian Iran. We find many of the main features of the court of the Mughal emperors in Kalhana's book. The assembly or Darbār (*Āsthāna*) and the division of the court into the *Dewān-i-Ām* (*Bāhya*=Outer Court) and *Dewān-i-Khās* (*Sk. Ābhanyantara*=Inner Court) are characteristic features of the Indian court. Many of the old Sanskrit terms are still part of political parlance and are current in the organizations of political parties in modern India such for instance as the *Sabhā*, *Sabhāpati*, *Kośādhyakṣa*, etc.

Some of the political terms, titles and offices mentioned by Kalhana are as follows:—

Abhiseka	= Coronation.
Ābhyanantara	= Court of the Interior.
Adhikarana lekṣhaka	= Official recorder. VI 38
Adhikārasraj	= Garland of office VII 1363
Aksapatala	= Accounts office. V. 301.
Amātya	= Minister
Āśvaghāsa Kāyastha	= Official-in-charge of cavalry stores. III 489
Āsthāna	= Court, Assembly VII. 85-86.
Attapātibhāga	= Revenue office V 167.
Bāhya }	= Court of the Exterior. IV. 62
Bāhyāli }	
Calagāñja	= Mobile treasury office. IV. 589.
Dānapattaka	= Deed of gift, grant V 397
Daṇḍa Nāyaka	= Prefect of Police.
Dhanādhyakṣa	= Superintendent of revenue.
Dharmādhipakarana	= High Court of Justice.
Dharmādhyakṣa	= Chief Justice. I. 119, IV 588
Divira	= Clerk V. 177, VII 119, VIII 131.
Draṅga	= Observation post, watch-station.

Dūta	= Envoy, Plenipotentiary
Dvāra	= Gate, frontier.
Dvārādhikārin	
Dvārapati, Dvārādhipa	= Warden of the frontier (Lord of the Gate)
Ekāṅga	= Praetorian Guard
Gaṇanī patrikā	= Account book, VI 36
Gūṇa	= Treasury IV 589, VII 125-126.
Gaṇjavarī	= Treasurer V 177
Grāmakāyastha	= Village official, a Pītvārī
Grhakṛtya	= An office for collection of imposts or levies
Kampura	= Chief command of the military.
Kampanāśa, Kampanādhīśa, Kampanādhipati	= Commander-in-chief, supreme commander of the army
Kampmodgrāhaka	= Recruiting officer for the army.
Kaṭika Vārika	= Military orderly
Kāñcuka	= Chamberlain of the royal household
Kāyastha	= Civil servant, government official
Kosādhyaksa	= Treasury superintendent I 119
Lekhādihikārin	= Official-in-charge of documents, a secretary III 206
Lekha hāraka	= Letter carrier Despatch rider.
Mahāśāśilī Mahābhāndāgāra Mahāśādhurābhāga Mahāpratihārīpīḍā Mahāsandhivigraha	} = Five high designations IV 142-43
Mahāśākyā	
Mahattara	
Mantrin	= Minister
Nagarādhipa	= Prefect or commissioner of the city of Sīnagar
Niyogabhāk	= Commissar, one who is commissioned, VII 1481.
Pādāgra	= Office of State
Parivārāṅganī	= Mud of the entourage, Mud of Honour VIII 1488
Pārsadya or Pārśada	= Member of Pārsad = Assembly or corporation
Praśasti Patta	= Laudatory inscription
Pratihārin	= Chamberlain

Praveśabhāṅika	= Official post
Purohita	= Pontiff, chancellor
Rājasthāna	= Ministry of Justice
Rājānaka	= A high title (Rāzdan)
Sabhā	= Assembly, association, public meeting
Sabhapati	= President of the Assembly IV. 495
Saciva	= Minister—(Dhīśaciva=political adviser)
Sahāya	= Secretary, Assistant VII 39-40
Sandhi-Vigrahika	= Minister for Peace and War IV 137. 142-43
Sarvādhikārīn	= Prime minister
Sthāma	= Bivouac VII 1542, or barracks
Stheya	= Judge I 7
Sūta	= Equerry VII 1603
Tantrīn	= A military organization mainly infantry
Velāvitta	= Time-keeper, augur
Yāsuka	= (Sk. Yasti = stick) Usher, Steward modern Chobdar
Yuvārāja	= Crown Prince

## APPENDIX H

### *The Horse*

The twelfth century was pre-eminently the century of the knight and the steed both rider and mount being protected by armour in Kaśmīr as in other lands. Kalhana's numerous references to the horse and to Fox-hunting<sup>1</sup> which apparently was popular in Kaśmīr show that he himself must have been a horseman. "The muse fearing contact with the sin of his tale has faltered, like a nervous mare she is with difficulty urged forward by me"<sup>2</sup> Apparently he belonged to a horsey family for he tells us that his father Canpaka had a dispute over a mare with the crown prince Bhoja.<sup>3</sup> Kalhana loves to describe the cavalcade of horsemen, the escort of kings who entered Śrinagar in triumph and the Sanskrit word he uses, *Āśvavāra*, still survives as *Sowar*<sup>4</sup> for mounted troops. As in the days of the Crusades steel-clad knights met their antagonists in a *mêlée* when in the words of Kalhana "the mighty clash of their arms provided the thunder of applause." The word painting<sup>5</sup> of Kalhana recalls the stories of Norman French chivalry and the battle of Taraori,<sup>6</sup> near Karnal, where Prthvī Rāj Chauhān defeated and drove the invaders under Muhammad Ghuri.

According to some authorities, the horse burst upon Western Asia in the days of the Sumerians and gave military victory to those who employed it in preference to the ass. The Parthians and Scythians and later the Turks acquired ascendancy in Central Asia owing to the superiority of their horses. The pasture lands of Quara-Darya nourished a race of famous stallions which were well-known to the Chinese in the seventh century and it was their descendants, the chargers of Transoxiana, who furnished the squadrons of Seljuq for his march to the sea of Marmara and those of the Ghaznavite Turk Mahmūd and later of Timur and Babar for the distant plains of India. The horse was the aeroplane of those days. Kalhana's account shows that the stability of the ruler of Kaśmīr depended upon the superiority of his cavalry and large treasure was expended in the purchase

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. VI. 183. VIII. 699.

<sup>2</sup> Taranga V. 416.

<sup>3</sup> VII. 1592.

<sup>4</sup> From Hindi *Āśvār*.

<sup>5</sup> See VIII. 1159-1161.

<sup>6</sup> 1190-91 A.C. The Sultan led a furious cavalry charge against the Rajput centre and personally encountered Prthvī Rāj's brother Govind Rai and shattered his teeth with the lance, but Govind Rai drove his javelin through the Sultan's arm, and Muhammad, fearing to sacrifice his army by falling, turned his horse's head from the field and fled (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol III p. 40).

of thorough-breed horses. There can be little doubt that these were the thorough-breeds of Central Asia and Afghanistan.<sup>7</sup>

The Scytho-Turkish horse survives in the Peninsula of Kāthiawād. Their Scythian owners the Kāthis—who are now land-holders and ruling chiefs—brought the special breed of horse from their original home on the Oxus. The Kāthis still largely retain their taste for adventure and the nomadic life, they love freedom and equality and closely resemble their cousins the people of the Frontier Province in feature and physique. The Kāthis are sun-worshippers, their names are the same as the pre-Muslim names which still survive in Afghanistan and the Frontier Province. A fine specimen of their special breed of horse was given to me by Colonel Zoravarsingh, officer commanding the Bhavanagar State Lancers. In his letter which was delivered with the colt—named 'Kānhāiyā'—he wrote that its dam had saved the writer's father from drowning in a flooded river, that the colt was dear to them like a member of the family and that he hoped I would treat him with the same affection. I was reminded of this interesting letter—which unfortunately not being in my possession here can not be quoted—while I was translating the thrilling episode of the brave fight of Prince Vijayamalla, who cut his way on horse-back through the royalist force with his wife clinging to him. "The gallant prince had plunged into the waters with his wife when pressed by the enemy and his horse, too, followed him by crossing the river in flood."<sup>8</sup>

Horses, arms—the favourite Rajput Katar<sup>9</sup> and armour used by men—real men—what fascinating things to dream about! Like Kalhana most of us still regard killing and being killed as the display of virile action and we have a deep-set, though generally unavowed attraction, for them unless we ourselves happen to be the victims! This feeling is reflected in all epic poetry, literature and adventure which are survivals of the Middle Ages with us. In the solitude of my present abode, Kalhana's descriptions of fighting make me yearn for action! I often wonder, however, whether it is true that the love of fighting is part of our nature. Even if it is what really matters is what we fight about and that is part of our nurture, education, and way of thought.

<sup>7</sup> The horses of the Afghans, the Kambojas, are referred to in IV 165

<sup>8</sup> *Tiranga* VII 910

<sup>9</sup> *Kattaraka* VIII 312

## APPENDIX I

### *Gandhāra*

Gandhāra, the corridor of India, has been one of the world's most effective melting pots. Alternately it has been the master and vassal of Kāśmīr and the Panjab. The early history of their cultural contacts is of considerable interest in view of the national revival in Gandhāra which is now known as the Frontier Province of India.

The opening scene of his history, Kalhana places in Gandhāra to which country and to the Brahmans of Gandhāra he makes frequent references<sup>1</sup> King Meghavāhana, the apostle of non-violence was brought to Kāśmīr from Gandhāra.<sup>2</sup> There can be no doubt that Kalhana's references to the expeditions of Kāśmīrī kings into the north-west frontier of India and to their repeated interference in Udabhānda are historical facts. We know from Hsuan Tsang that when he visited Takasīlā,<sup>3</sup> that celebrated city was part of the dominions subject to Kāśmīr. We also know that in the seventh century Śāhityagin,<sup>4</sup> the Sun-worshipper, king of the Western Turks, was prevented from crossing the Indus by the then king of Kāśmīr. Kalhana's account, corroborated by Muslim historians, of the despatch of a Kāśmīrī contingent in aid of Trilocanapāla, the last Śāhi king, who had sought the help of Kāśmīr against the Mahomedan Turks of Ghazni supports the author's earlier references to the influence of Kāśmīr in the political affairs of Udabhānda.<sup>5</sup>

The famous city of Udabhānda, the ruins of which are now known as Ohind or Und, was a flourishing place when Alexander the Great occupied it in the spring of 326 B.C. It was at Udabhānda that the Macedonian conqueror received the embassy of the king of Takasīlā named Āmbhi<sup>6</sup> who was at enmity with Purūravas,<sup>7</sup> the ruler of the state on the further side of the Vitastā, and with the rajah of the hill State of Abhisāra.<sup>8</sup> Gandhāra was known to the Greeks as Gandharites and its celebrated capital

<sup>1</sup>I 66, 68, 307, II 115, III 2

<sup>2</sup>III. 2. Like Meghavāhana, Udayana Deva, too, a refugee in Gandhāra was restored to the throne of Kāśmīr in the 14th century

<sup>3</sup>Gk. Taxila.

<sup>4</sup>Tigin in old Turkish meant chief or leader. For names of Mahomedan Turks, see V. 152-153n.

<sup>5</sup>In the 14th century Sikandar But-Shukan conquered Gandhāra and married the princess of Udabhānda, whose son, the celebrated Zain-ul-abidin, was the Akbar of Kāśmīr

<sup>6</sup>Gk. Omphus.

<sup>7</sup>Gk. Porus

<sup>8</sup>For Abhisāra See I 180, V. 217



Puskalāvati, a large and prosperous city, was called by them Peukelaotis.<sup>9</sup>

From the plains of Makran, the shores of which are washed by the Arabian Sea, up to the pine-clad highlands of Kaśmīr, broadly speaking, runs the north-west frontier of India. The road from Peshawar to the formidable wall of the trans-Indus mountains, connecting the Kabul river valley with the plains of India, passes through the Khyber Pass. Through this inlet have flowed successive waves of Aryan, Assyrian, Median, Iranian, Greek, Scythian, Turkish and Turco-Mongol migrations into India.

The frontier region, north of the Gomal Pass, consists of a long strip of uninterrupted mountain of varying width and is inhabited by tribes whose mother-tongue, Pushto, is the cousin-german of the Kaśmīrī language. It is said that after the great fission which separated the main body of the Indo-Aryans from the Iranians, but before all the special phonetic characteristics of Iranian speech had developed a migratory wave passed from the Pamirs through the Hindukush, journeying directly south. They occupied the submontane tract including the country round Kafiristan, Chitral, Gilgit and Kaśmīr. It is interesting to compare with Iranian mythology the ancient Kaśmīrī legend preserved in the *Nīlamata Purāṇa* and referred to by Kalhana regarding the Piśācas, who made Kaśmīr uninhabitable in winter and the Nāgas or Dragons who originally ruled the land.<sup>10</sup> The Iranian tradition preserved in the *Avestā* and in Firdausi's *Shahnamah* localises the heroes and myths in the east of Iran and has transformed the old gods, who fight with the great snake, into kings of Iran who fight with the Turanians. But this historical aspect of the myth in Firdausi's poem is of late origin and is but a reflex of the mighty Iranian empire founded by the Achaemenids and restored by the Sassanids.

The first tide of the migratory Aryan stock from the highlands of Khokand and Badakshan had already settled in territory (now Eastern Afghanistan and the Frontier Province) which remained its homeland until the Aryans entered the Panjab by the valley of the Kabul river and before it eventually took root in the fertile regions of the Gangā. It is this country, to which Kalhana refers as Gandhāra and the Indus region (Saindhava) whose people, he tells us, were in demand for the army in Kaśmīr. Indeed we find from the *Manu-Smṛiti* and the *Arthaśāstra* that, ruling princes were advised to enlist as soldiers in their armed forces the virile men of the Indian frontier.

Although Alexander's conquest in the North-West made no permanent impression upon India, his conquest of neighbouring countries was indirectly responsible for the subsequent establishment of Greek art and

<sup>9</sup>Arrian mentions that this capital city was taken by Alexander's general Hephaestion. The site of Puskalavati has been identified with Charsadda where extensive mounds of ancient debris are still prominent. In Alberuni's time the city was known as Pukal.

<sup>10</sup>I 27 n

culture in Gandhāra. The Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra profoundly reacted on the plastic art not only of Kaśmīr and India, but of Central Asia, China and distant Japan. The history of our early contact with Europe is interesting, for, the Greeks have left an indelible mark on the arts, sciences and literature of India.

Between the fifth century B.C. and the fifth century A.C. Gandhāra was under the dominion successively of seven different rulers—the Iranians, the Macedonians, the Mauryas, the Bactrian Greeks, the Parthians and the Kushans—whose culture, in turn, reacted profoundly on the history of Kaśmīr and the civilization of India. Numerous passages in the Buddhist *Jātakas* mention Takṣaśilā as the capital city of Gandhāra. The testimony of the *Jātakas*, corroborated by Greek historians, shows that for several centuries, it enjoyed a great reputation as a university town, famous for the arts and sciences of the day. We are told that Candragupta was a youthful student at the university of Takṣaśilā at the time of the Macedonian invasion. He drove out Alexander's Greek garrisons east of the Indus and with the assistance of Cīnakya, the Indian Machiavelli and celebrated author of the *Arthaśāstra*, he founded the great Maurya empire at Pāṭaliputra<sup>11</sup> and incorporated Takṣaśilā and the other states of the Panjab into the empire of Magadha. Seleucus Nicator invaded India<sup>12</sup> seeking to reconquer the lost possessions of Alexander, but was compelled to conclude a humiliating peace by Candragupta, under the terms of which all the former Macedonian possessions including Afghanistan were ceded to the Indian Emperor. During the reign of Bindusāra, Candragupta's successor, Taxila revolted, but was brought under submission by the crown-prince Aśoka who ruled there, as viceroy, on behalf of his father. It was during Aśoka's efficient viceroyalty of the North-West that Buddhism gained in strength in these parts and spread to Kaśmīr and Afghanistan. He covered these countries with Saṅghārāmas and monuments, some of which still survive such as his inscriptions at Shahbazgarhi and his celebrated tower near Kabul known as the Minar Chakri. Apparently Aśoka's influence extended far beyond Kaśmīr. There is a central Asiatic tradition recorded by Hsüan Tsang that, Khoten<sup>13</sup> was first colonized by exiles banished by Aśoka from Taxila after the blinding of Kunāla.<sup>14</sup>

The successors of Alexander, Seleucus I and his son Antiochus I founded a great many towns in Eastern Iran and the Greek language, for some time, became dominant there. Diodotus, the Satrap of Bactria, conquered Sogdiana, declared his independence in about 255 B.C. and became the

<sup>11</sup>Gk. Palimbothra, the modern Patna.

<sup>12</sup>305 B.C.

<sup>13</sup>Gk. Kustana.

<sup>14</sup>The story of the passion of queen Tisyrakṣitī for her step-son Kunāla is a replica of the Greek legend of Hippolytus and Phædra and is no doubt the source of the medieval story of Puruṣa Bhagat still popular in the Panjab.

founder of the Graeco-Bactrian kingdom.<sup>15</sup> The decline of the Maurya power tempted the Greek colonists of Bactria to invade Gandhāra. The Bactrian king Euthedemus<sup>16</sup> and his son Demetrius crossed the Hindu-Kush and entered Gandhāra and the Indus Valley.

For a time a great Greek Empire seemed to arise in the East. When, however, Demetrius advanced into India, one of his generals, Eucratides, proclaimed himself king of Bactria and soon in every province there arose usurpers who proclaimed themselves kings and fought one against the other. Twenty years later Eucratides, who had seized Bactria, invaded India and deprived Demetrius of part of his Indian possessions. From Demetrius and Eucratides there sprang two rival lines of Indo-Greek rulers and between the two royal Houses the feud, which had begun in Bactria, continued in India. After Demetrius and Eucratides, the Greeks rapidly succumbed to the seductive influence of Indian culture which is evidenced by the adoption of Indian religious figures by the Greek kings. We have a large number of coins of the Greek kings on which the Brāhmī alphabet, the precursor of the Devanāgarī, is used. In Afghanistan and Western Panjab the Kharoṣṭhī, derived from the Aramaic and written from right to left was used. We find this script in the inscriptions of Aśoka and in the recently discovered Mss. in Eastern Turkistan. The most famous of the Indo-Greek dynasts of Gandhāra and the Panjab were Appollodotus and Menander. They conquered a great part of India. Strabo tells us that Menander "conquered more tribes than Alexander" and among his conquests were included Ayodhyā, Pātaliputra and Saurāstra. Menander appears in Indian tradition as king Milinda who became a convert to Buddhism. His dialogue with the celebrated Buddhist philosopher Nāgasena is known as the *Milinda-Panho* or *Questions of Milinda*. The *Milinda Panho* was originally written in old Pushto of which no copy is now extant; it is, however, preserved in Pāli in Ceylon, Burma and Siam and the earliest extant Pāli copy of the 4th century A.C. was discovered in a Buddhist shrine in Japan.<sup>17</sup> Buddhaghosa repeatedly refers to this celebrated dialogue as an authoritative work though not in the canon. After his death, Menander appears to have been treated with honour which recalls the passing of the Blessed One. According to Plutarch "when Menander, one of the Bactrian kings, died on a campaign after a mild rule, all the subject towns disputed about the honour of his burial, till at last his ashes were divided between them in equal parts."

<sup>15</sup>Bactria was the fertile country, bounded by hills beyond which lay the desert of Turan, where the Prophet Zarathustra gained his first adherents and preached under the protection of one of its petty kings, Viśasp.

<sup>16</sup>Son-in-law of Antiochus the Great (190 B.C.)

<sup>17</sup>M. Sylvain Lévi tells us that there are two Chinese works written between the 5th and 7th centuries on the *Dialogue of Milinda* which although they purport to be translations are not, however, translations of the Pāli text, but are probably derived from a recension which is older than Pāli.

Greek rule in the North-West lasted for over a century when it was ended by the invasion of the Śakas,<sup>18</sup> who had settled in the Parthian Province of Seistan<sup>19</sup> and had then mingled and freely intermarried with the Parthians. These invaders, the Śaka-Pahalava<sup>20</sup> overran Arachosia<sup>21</sup> and thence passed across the Indus to the conquest of the Panjab. One of their chiefs, the Parthian Vouones, established himself in Arachosia while the leader of another section under the Śaka Maues conquered Taksaśilā<sup>22</sup>. His successor Azes I consolidated the Śaka power throughout the North-West and extended it as far as the Jamna. He followed the ancient Iranian system of administration by Satraps which had long been established in the Panjab and it was continued by his successors Azilise and Azes II whose local satraps in the Panjab and Mathurā, also of the Śaka race, were connected with one another by family ties. After the death of Azes II, the kingdoms of Arachosia and Taksaśilā were united under the Parthian Gondophares and Kabul and the Panjab were overrun by the Parthians; and the Indo-Greeks had meanwhile been wedged in the Kabul valley<sup>23</sup>. Gondophares, the fame of whose power spread to the Western world and who figured in early Christian writings,<sup>24</sup> overthrew the last Greek ruler Hermacus and annexed the Kabul valley.

It was during the Śaka Pahalava regime that the traveller Apollonius of Tyana is said to have visited the North-West of India. According to his biographer Philostratus, the king who then ruled in Taksaśilā was named Phraotes who held undisputed sway over Gandhāra and who was independent of Vardanes, the Parthian king of Babylon. Appollonius tells us that Taksaśilā was of the same size as Nineveh and fortified like the cities of Greece on a symmetrical plan. The streets were narrow and irregular like those of Athens and the houses had the appearance of being one-storied but had in fact underground basement rooms. The city had a temple of the Sun; and the royal palace which was characterised by simplicity and lack of ostentation was a contrast to the splendour of the court of Babylon. The Indo-Parthians in their turn were destroyed by the Kushans whose aid was sought by the ex-king Hermacus. Hermacus invited the powerful

<sup>18</sup> Scythians.

<sup>19</sup> Sk. Śakasthāna, Sijstan of Alberuni.

<sup>20</sup> Scytho-Parthians.

<sup>21</sup> Modern Ghazni or Ghazna, Ho-si-na of Hsiün Tsung.

<sup>22</sup> About 80 B.C.

<sup>23</sup> History repeated itself when the empire of the Śakas in the Kabul valley was finally destroyed by Mahmud after the Gahnavite Turks had first overrun Kabul and later the Panjab.

<sup>24</sup> The date of Gondophares is fixed by an inscription from the Kabul Valley dated the year 103 of the Samvat era (46 B.C.). In the legend of St. Thomas, the Apostle, which is connected with this king he is referred to as the king of India under the name of Gundaphar. Soon after this, the Mongolian Scythians invaded India and founded the great Indo-Scythian empire of the Kushan dynasty.

Kushan chief Kajula Kadphises and in alliance with him conquered Kabul and subsequently Gandhāra and Takṣaśīlā

The Kushans were a tribe of the people called by the Chinese historians Yuch-chih or the Moon Tribe who originally emerged from the extreme north-west of China. From China they were driven westward about 170 B.C. They first conquered Bactria and the region of the Oxus Valley, then the Kabul Valley and finally Northern India. The successor of Kajula and Wima Kadphises was the mighty emperor Kaniska whose winter capital was Purusapura<sup>25</sup> and whose empire extended from Central Asia to the borders of Bengal<sup>26</sup>

Thus in the middle of the first century B.C. the whole of Eastern Iran and Western India belonged to the great Indo-Scythian empire. The ruling dynasty had the name Kushan, by which they are called on their coins and in the Iranian sources. The principal seat of these people, who conquered the Greeks, was Bactria but their kings mainly resided in Gandhāra. Like Menander and the Indo-Greeks they, too, became converts to the religion of India. The most famous of these kings was the Kushan Emperor Kaniska, the Clovis of Buddhist Afghanistan.

The empire of the Kushans merits special mention on account of its peculiar religious attitude which we may gather from the coins of its kings, particularly those of Kaniska and of his successor Haviska, on which an alphabet adopted from the Greek is used. Kaniska's coins bear the image and name of Buddha. Iranian deities also figure on his currency such as Mithra, Athra, Verethragna. Buddhism and Zoroastrianism appear to have formed the state religion by a perfect syncretism and different religions were, in characteristic Indian fashion, on the best terms with one another precisely as in China where we find the most varied religions side by side and on equal footing.

The greatness of Kaniska may be gauged from the stories related about him in the 6th century by the Chinese pilgrim Sun-Yun,<sup>27</sup> who mentions his marvellous 400 ft. tower at Purusapura and in the seventh century by Hsüan-Tsang, who found Afghanistan full of the legends of Kaniska. We learn from this learned pilgrim that the princes of the Hindu Kush prided themselves on their descent from that emperor. He mentions the splendid Saṅghārāmas built in the district of Kabul<sup>28</sup> by the emperor for the accommodation of his hostages, the princes of China.<sup>29</sup> Hsuan

<sup>25</sup>The old name of Peshawar and Purushāvāra of Alberuni

<sup>26</sup>I. 168-171. The founder of the Mughal empire in India and his Chaghtai Turks were descendants of Genghis's Mongolians, who intermarried with the people of Central Asia. Thus Akbar, like Kaniska, was a Turko-Mongol.

<sup>27</sup>518 A.C.

<sup>28</sup>Sk. Kapīśā, Kāyāsh of Alberuni.

<sup>29</sup>The Chinese princes were sumptuously housed by the Emperor near Kabul in summer and at Peshawar during spring and autumn. During winter, they resided in the Panjab at a town known as Cinabhukti (the Chinese Assignment). These princes are reputed to have introduced the pear and the peach during their residence at Cinabhukti.

Tsang tells us, "Afterwards when they were permitted to return to their old abode, and notwithstanding the intervening mountains and rivers, they were without cessation revered with offerings, so that down to the present time the congregation of priests on each rainy season frequent this spot, and on the breaking up of the fast they convene an assembly and pray for the happiness of the hostages,—a pious custom still existing." The Chinese knew this emperor by a term which has been interpreted to mean, Kaniska of Gandhāra and the intercourse between the frontiers of China and India via Gandhāra lasted till the destruction of the empire of the Śāhis of Uḍabhāṇḍī.<sup>30</sup> Various legends of Kaniska survived as late as 1030 A.C. in Gandhāra in the time of Alberuni who also relates them. Tracing the history of the Hindu Turks of Kabul, Alberuni says, "The Hindus had kings residing in Kabul, Turks who were said to be of Tibetan origin." The first of them was Barhātikin. "He wore Turkish dress, a short tunic open in front, a high hat, boot and arms—he brought those countries under his sway and ruled them under the title of a Shībhya of Kabul. The rule remained among his descendants for generations, the number of which is said to be about sixty—one of this series of kings was Kanik the same who is said to have built the Vihāra of Purushāvār. It is called after him Kanik-Caitya."<sup>31</sup>

The main contribution to history of the Indo-Scythians was the continuation of the Græco-Buddhist civilization of Afghanistan and Gandhāra. The Greeks had taught the Gandhārans to work in stone and had given an impetus to Indian art by creating an image of Buddha, of whom until their arrival, there had never been any representation as being contrary to the philosophic conceptions of Buddhism. The Greeks made a statue of Buddha in the shape of a radiant and youthful Apollo draped in peplum. Greek plastic art inspired by the philosophic ideals of India created an image of Buddha—is a Symbol of Faith and Love, inducing contemplation and soothing dreams of the Infinite—which has ever since dominated Asia. It was in the crucible of Gandhāra that this new art was born and developed and it was from there that Buddhism reacting to Greek and Iranian influences passed it on to China, Korea and Japan thus forming a link between all the civilizations of the ancient world.

The power of the Kushians gradually declined in Afghanistan and Gandhāra, although in the Panjab it appears to have survived until the invasion of the Ephthalite or White Huns. Kallhana mentions as a king of Kāśmīr the mighty conqueror Mihirakula, the Indian Attila, and describes him as 'the slayer of three crores'<sup>32</sup> of humanity.

<sup>30</sup> See V 152-155n.

<sup>31</sup> Vol II pp 10-11, The Indian Archaeological Department excavated the site indicated by M. Foucher, the most notable discovery being the now celebrated relic casket bearing an image and inscription of Kaniska whose Superintending Engineer had the Greek name of Agesilaos.

<sup>32</sup> I. 289-324.

As the Greeks were driven out of India by Candragupta, and as Vikramāditya 'the enemy of the Śakas'<sup>33</sup> in a later age is said to have vanquished them and saved India, so in the seventh century king Harsavardhana of Kanauj destroyed the remnants of the Huns in the Panjab and drove them back to the Oxus. The glory of Kanauj<sup>34</sup> is reflected in Arab traditions and four centuries later in the *Shahnamah* of Firdausi and there are echoes of it in Kalhana<sup>35</sup>

After consolidating their conquest of Iran, the Arabs invaded Afghanistan and Central Asia. During the Omayyade Khilafat of Damascus both Kabul and Sijistan bravely fought against the Muslims. During certain years they were subdued and had to pay tribute, but Kabul always remained under the sway of its Hindu kings. It was incorporated in the Khalif's empire under the Abbasid Ma'mūn, the city was compelled to receive a Muslim governor, but the Hindu Shah remained. The same double rule existed in Khwarizm<sup>36</sup>. The Hindu official who ruled the city on behalf of the Śāhi king is referred to by Alberuni as the Ispahbad,<sup>37</sup> a title of the Sassanian empire. About 950-975 the Muslims lived in the citadel of Kabul while the suburbs were inhabited by the Hindus and the Jews. Kabul was the coronation city of the kings of the Śāhi dynasty, as Königsberg in Prussia was that of the Hohenzollerns. Even when they had ceased to reside there and had made Udabhānda the capital of their empire, they had to be crowned in Kabul<sup>38</sup>.

The might of the Arabs declined and their rule ended in Kabul as it had ended in Sindh. Though they achieved no permanent religious gains in India, which then included Kābulistān and Gandhāra, their conquest of the countries adjacent to India ultimately resulted in far-reaching cultural reactions as in the case of the conquests of Alexander<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>33</sup> II 6

<sup>34</sup> "The middle of India is the country round Kanauj (Kanauj), which they call Madhyadesa, i.e. the middle of the realms. It is the middle or centre from a geographical point of view, in so far as it lies half-way between the sea and the mountains, in the midst between the hot and the cold provinces and also between the eastern and western frontiers of India. But it is a political centre too, because in former times it was the residence of their most famous heroes and kings." *Alberuni*, Vol I p 198. Also IV 132n.

<sup>35</sup> See I 117n, IV 133, V 266, VII 237

<sup>36</sup> Modern Khiva

<sup>37</sup> "Thus when Kabul was conquered by the Muslims and the Ispahbad of Kabul adopted Islam, he stipulated that he should not be bound to eat cow's meat nor to commit sodomy which proves that he abhorred the one as much as the other." *Alberuni*, Vol II p 157

<sup>38</sup> *Dr Salihi*, Vol II p 394

<sup>39</sup> During the rule in Sindh of the Khalif Mansur (753 to 774 A.C.) Indian embassies and scholars took Sanskrit books to Baghdad. It was then that the Arabs first became acquainted with a scientific system of astronomy. They learned astronomy from Brahmgupta earlier than from Ptolemy. Al-Fazari and other Arabian scholars translated the *Brahmasiddhānta* and *Khandakhīdyāla* into Arabic with the help of Pandits. Another influx of Hindu learning took place under Harun (786-808 A.C.) The ministerial

From the year 1000 to 1258 is the period in Asia marked by the decline of Arab Imperialism, when Islam was on the defensive in Palestine against the aggressive Christian Powers of Europe. The Hindus had recovered their independence in Kabul and we learn from Alberuni that "Kabulistan and Gandhāra" were in his time partly Buddhist and mainly Hindu. The Turks of Central Asia, who had succumbed to the cultural influence of Arabicized Iran, had meanwhile succeeded in establishing themselves at Ghazna in the ancient Arachosia. The Ghaznavite Turks defeated and destroyed their civilized brethren, the Hindu Turks. This was a repetition of the historic process we have seen before, viz the usurpation of the rule and territory of the earlier emigrés by subsequent invaders from Central Asia.

These Turks of Ghazna, under Arabian influence, acted in their religious zeal somewhat like the earlier Turks had done under Iranian influence in the interest of sun-worship in northern India. Alberuni tells us: "In former times, Khurāsān, Persis, Irāk, Mosul, the country up to the frontier of Syria, was Buddhistic, but then Zarathustra went forth from Ādharbāijān and preached Magism in Balkh (Baktra). His doctrine came into favour with King Gushtasp and his son Isfendiyād spread the new faith both in east and west, both by force and by treaties. He founded fire-temples through his whole empire, from the frontiers of China to those of the Greek empire. The succeeding kings made their religion (i.e. Zoroastrianism) the obligatory state-religion for Persis and Irāk. In consequence, the Buddhists were banished from those countries, and had to emigrate to the countries east of Balkh. There are some Magians up to the present time in India, where they are called Maga"<sup>40</sup> Neither the vandalism of Mahmud nor his iconoclastic zeal was new. Mihirakula and his Huns had similarly destroyed Buddhist convents and universities in Afghanistan in favour of Saivism and king Harsa of Kaśmīr, who like Mahmud is said to have been a patron of learning, we learn from the *Rājataranginī* was a relentless iconoclast. Mahmud was a great soldier and he out-generated his opponents; he mainly owed his victories to the organization of his

family Burmak had come with the ruling dynasty from Balkh, where an ancestor of theirs had been the superintendent of the Buddhist convent Naubehar (Sk. Nava-Vihāra). The name Burmak is said to be of Indian origin. The Burmak family had been converted but their contemporaries never thought much of their profession of Islam nor regarded it as genuine. They also engaged Hindu scholars to come to Baghdad, made them the chief physicians of their hospitals, and got them to translate, from Sanskrit into Arabic, books on medicine, toxicology, philosophy and other subjects.

<sup>40</sup> Vol. I p. 21. Alberuni tells us that the Maga were a class of Brahmans specially devoted to the worship of the sun in the famous Sun-temple of Multan. Vol. I p. 121. Also see Hsuan Tsang for an account of this Temple. *Beal*, Vol. II p. 274. The researches of Prof. Hodiwala have proved that the Maga were the descendants of the Magians of Iran and their sacred books written in Sanskrit contain numerous Iranian words. They were the first Parsis who settled in India and were later recognised as Brahmans. This celebrated temple was finally destroyed by Aurangzeb.



military machine. His victories on the Oxus and in India were gained with the help of Hindu batallions under Hindu officers<sup>41</sup> and above all, the strength of his army lay in the superiority of his cavalry of which the supply centres were the famous horse breeding grounds of Central Asia. His cavalry, however, was useless in mountamous regions and he failed twice in his invasions of Kaśmīr. Besides being a soldier, Mahmud was a great lover of architecture and the conqueror of India was, in turn, conquered by the beauty of Indian temples and edifices.<sup>42</sup> He must have been keenly aware of the value of propaganda, for, his first coins struck at Lahore bear as legend the creed of Islam in Samskrta translation. We may conjecture that, Hindu scholars of the Sāṅkhya school of philosophy co-operated with him in translating the Arabian creed<sup>43</sup>

The age of Mahmud was one of religious bigotry in Christian and Islamic countries and abduction and kidnapping of innocent people to be sold into slavery<sup>44</sup> was carried on on a large scale by the Turks in India, which recall similar raids of the Saracens on the coast of Greece and Italy. Even in this age there lived the tolerant and learned Alberuni, or, as his compatriots called him Abu Raihan, who was born in 873 A.C. in Khiva. He was a contemporary of the conqueror Mahmud, in whose train he visited India. Alberuni studied Samskrta and translated several books from the Samskrta into Arabic. His translator Dr. Sachau says "The author has nothing in common with the Muhammadan Ghāzi, who wanted to convert the Hindus or to kill them, and his book scarcely reminds the reader of the incessant war between Islam and India, during which it had been prepared, and by which the possibility of writing such a book had first been given. It is like a magic island of quiet, impartial research in the midst of a world of clashing swords, burning towns, and plundered temples. The object which the author had in view, and never for a moment lost sight of, was to afford the necessary information and training to "any

<sup>41</sup>Elliot, *History of India*, Vol. II p. 109, The Hindus fought at Karman, Khwarizm and Merv, Vol. II pp. 130, 131. See the case of Tilak, Vol. II. pp. 117 and 123. And Taranga VIII 965 n.

<sup>42</sup>The city of Ghazni its mosques and places were built by Hindu captives who were expressly collected and carried away by Mahmud. This led to the introduction of Hindu architectural styles in Iraq and Central Asia, which a few centuries later were reintroduced in India and attained perfection under the Mughals.

<sup>43</sup>The coins are in the British Museum. The Samskrta rendering is —Avyaktam-ekam, Avatārah Muhammad=The Unmanifest is One, Muhammad is the Avatara. Bismillah is rendered Avyaktīya name='in the name of the Unmanifest'. The Avyakta of the Sāṅkhya philosophy was the nearest to the Arabian idea of Allah.

<sup>44</sup>"Large numbers of the natives of the country, guilty of no crime but that of following the religion of their fathers, were carried off to Ghazni as slaves, and the remarks of one historian probably reflect contemporary Muslim opinion on this practice: 'Slaves were so plentiful that they became very cheap and men of respectability in their native land were degraded to the position of slaves of common shopkeepers'. But this is the goodness of God, who bestows honour on His own religion and degrades infidelity.' *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III p. 17.

one (in Islam) who wants to converse with the Hindus, and to discuss with them questions of religion, science, or literature, on the very basis of their own civilization"<sup>45</sup> Dr Sachau writes in his Preface, "To Alberuni the Hindus were excellent philosophers, good mathematicians and astronomers"<sup>46</sup> and he believed that the ideas of the philosophers of India and ancient Greece were the same as his own viz., those of a pure monotheism and he distinguishes the educated from the ignorant, image-loving crowd in India. Alberuni wrote "Since, however, here we have to explain the system and the theories of the Hindus on the subject, we shall now mention their ludicrous views, but we declare at once that they are held only by the common uneducated people. For those who march on the path to liberation, or those who study philosophy and theology, and who desire abstract truth which they call *Sāra*, are entirely free from worshipping anything but God alone, and would never dream of worshipping an image manufactured to represent him"<sup>47</sup>

The Arabian religion split up into schisms which ran along the lines of racial and cultural cleavage between the Arabs and the Iranians. In Afghanistan and Gandhāra, the people were similarly divided. Multan, the centre of Iranian sun-worship, became the centre of the Ismaili sect,<sup>48</sup> and Iranian Sufism influenced the educated among the Muslims. The conquests of the Gaznavite Turks drove the scholars of Gandhāra to seek shelter in Kāśmīr which led to a renaissance similar to the renaissance in Italy after the conquest of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks. Sanskrit literature and learning flourished in Kāśmīr until the period of King Zain-ul-ʿabidin.<sup>49</sup> Some of the people of Gandhāra migrated to the north retaining

<sup>45</sup>Vol. I Preface XXIII

<sup>46</sup>Dr Sachau adds — 'though there can hardly be any doubt that Indian philosophy in one or other of its principal forms had been communicated to the Arabs already in the first period it seems to have been something entirely new when Alberuni produced before his compatriots or fellow-believers the *Samkhya* by Kṛpikā and the *Book of Patanjali* in good Arabic translation. The philosophy of India seems to have fascinated his mind, and the noble ideas of the *Bhagavadgītā* probably came near to the standard of his own persuasions. Perhaps it was he who first introduced this gem of Sanskrit literature into the world of Muslim readers.' Preface XXXVIII

<sup>47</sup>Vol. I p. 112. Dr Sachau writes — 'his recognition of Islam is not without a tacit reserve. He dares not attack Islam, but he attacks the Arabs. In his work on chronology he reproaches the ancient Muslims with having destroyed the civilisation of Eran, and gives us to understand that the ancient Arabs were certainly nothing better than the Zoroastrian Eranians. Whenever he speaks of a dark side in Hindu life, he at once turns round sharply to compare the manners of the ancient Arabs, and to declare that they were quite as bad, if not worse. This could only be meant as a hint to the Muslim reader not to be too hughty towards the poor bewildered Hindu, trodden down by the savage hordes of King Mahmud, and not to forget that the founders of Islam, too, were certainly no angels.' Preface XIX

<sup>48</sup>An Iranian heresy, which Mahmud considered it necessary to endeavour to destroy, equally with idolatry (*Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III p. 15)

<sup>49</sup>"This is the reason, too, why Hindu sciences have retired far away from these parts of the country conquered by us and have fled to places which our hand cannot

in part the old religion as in Kafiristan<sup>50</sup> and in part accepted the Shīh and the Ismā'īlī faith of Iran<sup>51</sup> In the 14th century Kāsmīr was converted to Islam. Sun-worship was, however, revived among the Kasmīrī Muslims by Teachers who came from lands formerly under the influence of the ancient Iranian religion<sup>52</sup> The religion of the Arabs spread in the north-west of Indīa through the medium of the language of Iran like Christianity in the Roman empire through the medium of Greek After the 14th century, the Brahmins of Kāsmīr easily acquired proficiency in the language of Iran so nearly akin to Samskrta, the language familiar to the Aryans

In a few years after the death of Mahmud, his descendants having been deprived of all their possessions in Iran, Transoxiana and Afghanistan by the Seljuq Turks, sought shelter in the Panjab and eventually the Gazna-wid kingdom was destroyed by the princes of Ghur<sup>53</sup> The kingdoms of the Mahomadan Turks of Central Asia were, in turn, swept away by the world's greatest conqueror Chengiz Khan whose descendants wiped out the Arab Empire of Baghdad These proud Pagans, the invincible saddle-loving nomads of the high altitudes, levelled to the dust the empire of the low-lying Arabian nomads so that it became "a tale of old in the mouth of the people"<sup>54</sup> The Golden Horde of Chengiz, like the Yue-chi of old, brought together in Central Asia the civilizations of Iran and China The conquerors succumbed to the culture of the people of Iran whom they conquered In the past, India had converted her Turko-Mongolian conquerors to Buddhism and Hinduism, and Iran had converted them to her own religion, in the 5th century, Christianity converted the Pagan conquerors of Europe, so, too, Islam, humiliated and destroyed in Central Asia and Baghdad got a new lease of life after the conversion of its pagan conquerors<sup>55</sup> The descendants of these Turko-Mongols once more founded

yet reach, to Kāsmīr, Benares and other places And there the antagonism between them and foreigners receives more and more nourishment both from political and religious sources" *Alberuni*, Vol I p 22 For the age of Zam-al-ibidin see Kik's *Ancient Monuments of Kāsmīr*, pp 33-39 The Hindu king of Kabulistan took refuge with Bhīma, king of Gujrat

<sup>50</sup> Taranga VIII 2763-64 Note

<sup>51</sup> Appendix K See *The Religion of Central, Hunza and Nagar*

<sup>52</sup> See VII 709 Note

<sup>53</sup> Allahuddin of Ghur "captured Ghazni and burnt it to the ground The flames raged for seven days and the outrage earned for its author the name of Jahan-suz 'the world-burner'" *Cambridge History of India*, Vol III p 36

<sup>54</sup> To quote the words of Alberuni describing Mahmud's destruction of the Sāmī empire

<sup>55</sup> Six Periods of Islam The First lasts from the Hijra (622-750 A C) and is the age of conquest, when the rule of the Khalīfs of Medina and Damascus was extended to the Atlantic, the Oxus and the Indus The Second (750-1000) began with the establishment of a new dynasty of the Commander of the Faithful, ruling from Baghdad, in Babylonia, the seat of the ancient Empires of the East It was the age of Arabic Literature and Science The Third lasted from 1000 A C to 1258 and was marked by the ascendancy of the Turks and the rise of Persian Literature, it was the age of reli-

in India an empire known as the Mughal Empire. The descendant of the Yue-chi, the emperor Kaniska, was the patron of the arts and sciences and the Kushan period was noted for its schools of painting of China and Iran, and for its architecture. The descendants of Chengiz likewise encouraged a new school of painting which derived its inspiration from Iranian and Chinese sources and revived Indian architecture. History repeated itself and the real founder of the Mughal Empire Akbar, was the prototype of the great Kaniska. He renounced Islam and adopted a religious ceremonial which was a mixture of Hindu and Zoroastrian ideals. Thus we see once more the influence of Indo-Aryan philosophy and thought reasserting itself. It recalls the case of the Greeks, the Scytho-Parthians and the Mongolo-Turkish kings of early Indian history. And the striking feature of this influence is that in each period it is a blend of the culture and religious ideas of India with those for the time being prevalent in Iran. So complete was the transformation of Akbar that he preferred vegetarian food to meat.<sup>56</sup>

Akbar's friend, Abu-l-Fazl, was an Internationalist. In his brief autobiography at the end of the *Ain-i-Akbari* he thus speaks of his early days: "I passed the nights in lonely spots with the seekers after truth and enjoyed the society of such as are empty handed but rich in mind and heart. My heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia or to the Hermits on Lebanon, I longed for interviews with the Lamas of Tibet or with the Padres of Portugal, I would gladly sit with the priests of the Parsis and the learned of the Zendavestra. I was sick of the learning of my own land." Akbar's memorable Thursday discussions had, at first, dwelt on single points connected with the life of the Prophet, but later they turned on the very principles of Islam. Referring to these discussions Abu-l-Fazl says in the *Akbar*

gious wars, defensive mainly against Latin Christendom in the West, offensive against Hinduism in the East. The Fourth period (1258-1500) began with a great catastrophe, the Mongol Invasion and the Fall of Baghdad. Islam, however, like Christendom in the 5th century, converted her conquerors and she emerged from the invasions with her frontiers immensely extended towards the East and North, but with her civilization severely damaged. The Fifth period was the age of the great Monarchs, the Turkish, the Persian and that of the Great Moghuls in India and witnessed the second Mohammedan offensive against Europe under the Ottoman Sultans. During the last period which began with the peace of Carlowitz (1699) which marked the end of Turkey as a conquering power, Islam was first thrown back, and then in great part subjugated by the European powers.

"Akbar "ate sparingly, taking flesh only during three or four months of the year, his diet at other times consisting of milk, rice and sweetmeats"—*Père du Jarric* p. 206. "His Majesty abstains much from flesh, so that whole months pass away without his touching any animal food, which, though prized by most, is nothing thought of by the sage" (Blochmann, *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol I p. 155). Abu-l-Fazl adds: "It is indeed from ignorance and cruelty that, although various kinds of food are obtainable, men are bent upon injuring living creatures and are lending a ready hand in killing and eating them, none seems to have an eye for the beauty inherent in the prevention of cruelty but strikes himself a tomb for animals."

*Nāmā*—"The court became a gathering place of the learned of all creeds, the good doctrines of all religious systems were recognised and their defects were not allowed to affect their good features. Perfect toleration (*Sulh-i-kul* or 'peace with all') was established." This passage is reminiscent of the rock cut inscription of the Emperor Asoka at Shahbaz Garhi in Gandhāra.

The conflict of religious ideals of India and Arabia had led to a new spiritual path which was found by Guru Nanak. His disciples later developed a political organisation called the *Khālsā* which acquired sovereign power and ruled over the Panjab, Gandhāra and Kāśmīr. The Maharaja Ranjit Singh was one of the great rulers of India who, at different periods since the age of Candragupta, evolved order out of chaos and restored and maintained the independence of the Motherland.

Since the middle of the 19th century, the gates of India have become water gates, the landward gates of North-west India have been closed. Yet Gandhāra remains, as it has ever been, equally with Kabul, open to the influence of Central Asia and Iran. As in the past, however, the influence which predominates is that of the mother country. The Risorgimento in Italy has shown that even long subjection to alien rule and the corruption of the higher classes do not destroy the recuperative powers of a nation. It would seem that the past does not die. It survives in our philosophy, the arts, music and literature and it survives in individual and national character and purposes. The Anti-War<sup>57</sup> and Tolerance edicts

<sup>57</sup> The Anti-War edict is the 13th edict promulgated by the Emperor after the war in Kalinga. The Tolerance edict is the 12th edict which was first discovered at the foot of the Ginnar Hill in Kāthiāwāḍ. It is also inscribed on rock at Shahbaz Garhi (north of Peshawar). It is in Brahmi script at Ginnar and in Kharosthi script in Gandhāra. This edict is as follows—

'His Sacred and Gracious Majesty the King does reverence to men of all sects, whether ascetics or householders by gifts and various forms of reverence.

His Sacred Majesty however, cares not so much for gifts or external reverence as that there should be a growth of the essence of the matter in all sects. The growth of the essence of the matter assumes various forms, but the root of it is restraint of speech, to wit, a man must not do reverence to his own sect or disparage that of another man without reason. Deprication should be for specific reasons only, because the sects of other people all deserve reverence for one reason or another.

By thus acting a man exalts his own sect and at the same time does service to the sects of other people. By acting contrariwise, a man hurts his own sect, and does disservice to the sects of other people. For he who does reverence to his own sect while disparaging the sects of others wholly from attachment to his own with intent to enhance the splendour of his own sect, in reality by such conduct inflicts the severest injury on his own sect.

Concord, therefore, is meritorious to wit, hearkening and hearkening willingly to the law of Piety as accepted by other people. For this is the desire of His Sacred Majesty that all sects should hear much teaching and hold sound doctrine.

Wherefore, the adherents of all sects, whatever they may be, must be informed that His Sacred Majesty cares not so much for gifts or external reverence as that there should be growth in the essence of the matter and respect for all sects.

For this very purpose are employed the Censors of the Law of Piety, the Censors

of Aśoka cut in the rock at Shahbaz Garhi are once more echoed and recalled by the message of Mahatma Gandhi which has reached the heart of Gandhāra. And in the district of Charsaddah, the ancient capital of Gandhāra, the people have organized themselves into a mission of non-violence and good-will to share whole-heartedly in the great national revival in India. Perhaps the gram of wheat had to fall into the ground and die that it might bring forth much fruit. Has the soil of Gandhāra been fertilized to produce after the long fallow season a richer crop?

Fifteen-hundred years ago a Zoroastrian poet wrote:—

"Swept away, O Iran, as the leaves of the plane tree by the desert wind, thy masters succeed one another.

"But thou, ancient land of our ancestors, bowed down with suffering, yet proud of thy long history, remainest eternal!"

of the Women, the (2) Inspectors, and other official bodies. And this is the fruit thereof—the growth of one's own sect, and the enhancement of the splendour of the Law of Piety." (V. Smith's *Aśoka*)

## APPENDIX J

### *Hindu Armour and Costume*

The Greeks have left us a detailed description of the Indian army and its equipment. Each horseman carried two lances resembling the kind called *Sanna* by the Greeks and a buckler. The infantry was armed with a broad sword and long buckler of ox-hide. In addition, each man carried javelins or a bow. The bow is described as being "made of equal length with the man who bears it." This they rest upon the ground, and pressing against it with their left foot thus discharge the arrow having drawn the string backwards for the shaft they use is little short of being three yards long, and there is nothing which can resist an Indian archer's shot—neither shield nor breast-plate nor any stronger defence, if such there be"<sup>1</sup>

The early Greek accounts may be supplemented by a mass of contemporary evidence furnished by coins and sculptured bas-reliefs from the 3rd century B.C. to the 12th century A.C. The coins of the Indo-Greek kings and of the Kushans found in Kāśmīr and elsewhere afford interesting illustrations of the arms, costumes and coiffure of the period. The Indo-Scythian kings are represented as wearing coats of chain-mail with a short sword sheathed by their side and a lance. The sculpture of Sanchi accurately represents the early Indian arms "in one of them", says Cunningham, "there is the representation of a siege probably undertaken to recover possession of some holy relic. The soldiers wear a tight fitting dress and kilt, the arms are a sword and bows and arrows. The swords are short and broad, and tally exactly with the description of Megasthenes." The Bas-reliefs represent nearly all the soldiers as archers. The arms represented on the Stūpas at Bhilsā are bows, arrows, dagger, sword, battle-axe, trident, infantry and cavalry shields and at Udayagiri we find similar accurate representation of military accoutrements on the Stūpas. The Sun-temple at Kārnak (1237 A.C.) is full of sculptural representations. Two colossal horses guard the southern façade, one of them is covered with heavy chain armour and adorned with tasselled necklaces, jewelled bracelets on all four legs, and a tasselled breast-band which keeps the saddle in position. A scabbard for a short sword hangs down on the left and a quiver fitted with feathered arrows on the right<sup>2</sup>

In the *Rājataranginī*, we have descriptions of the chase (Sk. *Mrgayā*), tournaments, duels, arms, costumes, ornaments and coiffure. Kālidāsa mentions the Indian arms with which we are familiar from descriptions in the *Agni Purāṇa*, the two *Epics* and in books like the *Arthashastra*. The bow,

<sup>1</sup> *Arrian Indica*, chapt. XVI

<sup>2</sup> Memorial Stones with representation of knight and steed in armour have been discovered in Kāśmīr. See also VIII 728

the long and short swords, the mace, the battle-axe, the dagger, the Katar, chain armour, helmets and visors are mentioned. It is interesting to find a reference in Kalhana to the leather<sup>3</sup> cuirass, so popular with the Golden Horde of Chingiz Khan, which centuries later we again find in the equipment of the officers of the famous Maratha cavalry.

Identity of arms and costumes shows a common ethnical origin to a much greater extent than identity of language or religion. The influence of race survives in the character and ornament of arms long after the traces of language have disappeared. It is from this point of view that the study of Hindu arms and costumes is of interest, for they exhibit not merely the transition from the rudest types of weapon and dress to the most artistic, but they also reveal to us the fact that the origin of the dress both of the people and of the ruling princes in our country is Turanian.

The researches of German scholars in the ancient Tukharistān, which have revealed to us paintings dating from the 4th to the 7th century A.C. and the recent discovery of terra-cotta tiles at Hārvar, throw a new light on this interesting subject. We may now safely conclude that the dress of the Hindus in Northern India is largely a survival of the Turkish dress of Central Asia and that the dress of the people of the Panjab at the present time has not changed materially since the first century after Christ. It would seem that in the matter of dress and arms, the fashions in India and Central Asia from the first to the seventh century were identical and that since then they apparently have changed very little.<sup>4</sup>

Kalhana describes the Rājaputra, resplendent in arms, who in his pride held the Sun himself of no account! The Rajput has been dominant for centuries in India. Besides Rājputānā and Kāśhīnāḍ, the war-like clans of the Rajputs are to be found as the ruling race in the Panjab, Kāśmīr, the United Provinces, Gujrat, Dekhan and other parts of India. The arms and costumes of the Rajputs furnish fresh evidence of their transition from Turanian civilization to the culture and civilization of the Aryan races of India.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>3</sup> VI. 248-249

<sup>4</sup> This is not very surprising. The fashions of the ladies of the Dekhan since the 12th century up to our own times have not materially altered. See Kalhana's description of Dakhani costumes at the court of Harsa, VII. 928-31.

<sup>5</sup> VII. 1617. In spite of conversion to Islam of some of their clans, pride of race still keeps the Rajputs apart from other converts and they retain their racial name of Rajput. The same clans of Rajputs in different parts of India profess different religions having been compelled to leave their patrimony owing to fresh invasion. Thus the Jādavas and Parmars of Kāśhīnāḍ are Hindus while their clansmen in Baluchistan and Sindh are now Muslims.

<sup>6</sup> "In this place I desire to draw attention to the fact, long suspected and now established by good evidence, that the foreign immigrants into Rājputānā and the upper Gangetic Provinces were not utterly destroyed in the course of their wars with the native powers. Many, of course, perished, but many more survived, and were merged in the general population of which no inconsiderable part is now formed by their



We learn from the *Rājataranginī* that from the Brahman to the Domba all classes followed the profession of arms and successful men of different castes enjoyed the privileges of royalty in Kaśmīr<sup>7</sup>

A detailed description of Indian arms is given in the *Ain-i-Akbari* of Abul-Fazl. Since the time of Akbar no book has been written on this subject. A study of arms at the present moment can only be made from the private collections and state armouries of Ruling Princes and Chiefs. The Indian States have now adopted European arms and since the necessity for carrying weapons has passed away, it is not easy to see the finest specimens of Indian art<sup>8</sup> which are now to be found in the museums of Europe.

In the 7th century Hsuan-Tsang gives the following description of the dress of North India "where the air is cold" "The men wind their garments round their middle, then gather them under the armpits, and let them fall down across the body, hanging to the right. The robes of the women fall down to the ground, they completely cover their shoulders. They wear a little knot of hair on their crowns, and let the rest of their hair fall loose. Some of the men cut off their moustaches, and have other odd customs. On their heads the people wear caps (crowns), with flower-wreaths and jewelled necklets. Their garments are made of Kau-she-ye (kausheya) and of cotton. Kau-she-ye is the product of the wild silk-worm. They have garments also of Ts'o-mo (ksauma) which is a sort of hemp, garment also made of Kien-po-lo (kambala) which is woven from fine goat-hair, garments also made from Ho-la-lī (karāla)—this stuff is made from the fine hair of wild animal. It is seldom this can be woven, and therefore the stuff is very valuable and it is regarded as fine clothing." He adds "The Kshattriyas and the Brahmans are cleanly and wholesome

descendants. The foreigners, like their forerunners the Śakas and Yuch-chi, universally yielded to the wonderful assimilative power of Hinduism, and rapidly became Hinduized. Clans or families which succeeded in winning chieftainship were admitted readily into the frame of Hindu polity as Ksatriyas or Rājapūts, and there is no doubt that the Parihārs and many other famous Rājput clans of the north were developed out of the barbarian hordes which poured into India during the fifth and sixth centuries. The rank and file of the strangers became Gūjars and other castes, ranking lower than the Rājapūts in the scale of precedence. Farther to the South, various indigenous, or 'aboriginal' tribes and clans underwent the same process of Hinduized social promotion, in virtue of which Gonds, Bhārs, Kharwars, and so forth emerged as Chandēls, Rāthors, Gaharwārs, and other well-known Rājput clans, duly equipped with pedigrees reaching back to the sun and moon" (V. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd Ed. p. 322). See also Taranga IV. 720.

<sup>7</sup>The celebrated king Harsa Vardhana of Kanauj, who finally drove the Hunas out of India, was a contemporary of Hsuan-Tsang. The pilgrim tells us that he was a Vaiśya and that the contemporary king of Assam was a Brahman. Alberuni tells us that Mahmud's powerful antagonists, the kings of the Śāhi dynasty who ruled from Kabul to Lahore, were Brahmans.

<sup>8</sup>"After the Sikh wars and again after the mutiny of 1857, a general disarmament took place, many of the old armouries were broken up, and many curious old weapons destroyed and sold as old metal". Lord Egerton, *Indian and Oriental Armour*

in their dress, and they live in a homely and frugal way. The king of the country and great ministers wear garments and ornaments different in their character. They use flowers for decorating their hair, with gem-decked caps; they ornament themselves with bracelets and necklaces."<sup>9</sup> From the specimens of Graeco-Gandharan sculpture in the museum at Lahore, it will be seen that the people of Gandhāra and the Swāt<sup>10</sup> Valley and Bannu<sup>11</sup> at the present-day wear the identical costume of the Buddhist period. The statuary shows the Pathan turban, tunic and baggy trousers still worn in the whole of the North-West Frontier, in Sindh and Kāthiāwād. Early in the 11th century Alberuni refers to the difference of dress between the Hindus of Kābulistān and Gandhāra and the Muslims.<sup>12</sup> Describing the dress of the Hindus Alberuni mentions the 'dhoti' as well as the trousers as follows:—"They use turbans for trousers. Those who want little dress are content to dress in a rag of two fingers' breadth, which they bind over their loins with two cords; but those who like much dress, wear trousers lined with so much cotton as would suffice to make a number of counterpanes and saddle-rugs. These trousers have no (visible) openings, and they are so huge that the feet are not visible. The string by which the trousers are fastened is at the back. Their *sidār* (a piece of dress covering the head and the upper part of breast and neck) is similar to the trousers, being also fastened at the back by buttons. The lappets of the *kurtakas* (short shirts from the shoulders to the middle of the body with sleeves, a female dress) have slashes both on the right and left sides."<sup>13</sup>

Some of the most interesting illustrations of arms, costumes, coiffure and jewelry are the terra-cotta tiles discovered at Hārwan,<sup>14</sup> the ancient Sadarhadvana which Kalhana tells us was the seat of the philosopher Nāgārjuna, when Kāśmīr was perhaps a Buddhist republic.

<sup>9</sup>*Beal*, Vol I pp 75, 76. Karila is Pashmuna.

<sup>10</sup>Sk. Suvasta

<sup>11</sup>Sk. Varna

<sup>12</sup>"Some Hindu king had perished at the hand of an enemy of his who had marched against him from our country. After his death there was born a child to him, which succeeded him, by the name of Sigara. On coming of age, the young man asked his mother about his father, and then she told him what had happened. Now he was inflamed with hatred, marched out of his country into the country of the enemy, and plentifully satiated his thirst of vengeance upon them. After having become tired of slaughtering, he compelled the survivors to dress in our dress, which was meant as an ignominious punishment for them. When I heard of it, I felt thankful that he was gracious enough not to compel us to Indianise ourselves and to adopt Hindu dress and manners." *Alberuni*, Vol I p. 20 and VIII 3346

<sup>13</sup>*Alberuni*, Vol I. p. 180

<sup>14</sup>A 12th century Śīrādī Ms. of a commentary on Grammar by Prajñāvarman has been discovered by the Bhikkhu Rāhula in Tibet, in the colophon is mentioned the "Harivara-Dharmā-Vihāra" in the "Kāśmīrādhyāna." See I 173n.

## APPENDIX K

After Jayasinha a number of weak rulers maintained the old tradition until queen Kotā, the last Hindu ruler, was deposed in 1339 A.C. by one of her officials, a Mahomadan from the Panjab named Shah Mir. Shah Mir had come to Kaśmīr in 1313 A.C. During the reign of Suhadeva, Dulucha, a general of the king of Kandahar, invaded Kaśmīr, pillaged the country and left it with the loot when winter set in. His army was, however, destroyed in the passes by heavy falls of snow. Dulucha was followed by Rinchana, the son of a Tibetan chief. The king Suhadeva was slain by the invader Rinchana after he had killed by treachery the patriot Rāmacandra, who resisted him. Rinchana married Kotā, Rāmacandra's wife (or, according to some, his daughter) and desired to become a Hindu. But his offer was spurned by the Brahmans and he then turned to the welcoming fold of Islam. The infant son of Rinchana by Kotā was entrusted to the care of the Panjabi adventurer Shah Mir. Upon the untimely death of Rinchana, his infant son Haidar was set aside by Shah Mir who invited Udayana Deva, a scion of the old Hindu dynasty who, like Meghavāhana in olden times, lived in refuge in Gandhāra. Udayana Deva married the dowager queen Kotā who controlled and administered the state. Upon the death of Udayana Deva (1337-38 A.C.) she proclaimed herself queen, but was besieged and deposed by Shah Mir, who crowned himself king under the title of Sultan Shams-ud-din. Islam had already spread to Kaśmīr from the frontier provinces and Turkistan but it was after the middle of the 14th century that a vigorous Muslim propaganda was started and the people were converted in large numbers. Sultan Sikandar<sup>1</sup> earned the title of But-Shikan (Idol-breaker) by the wholesale destruction of Hindu temples. Sikandar had married a Hindu lady named Śrī Śobhā and was at first tolerant in religion like his predecessors, but his powerful Hindu minister Suhabhāṭṭa, who became an apostate, hated his former co-religionists with the hatred of a new convert. The chronicler Jonarāja describes in detail the forcible conversion of the people. The Jizyah or Poll-tax which was levied on the Brahmans who refused to be converted. The tax was two Palas<sup>2</sup> of silver yearly per head. The celebrated shrines of Cakradhara and Vijayaśa were levelled to the ground and the temples at Avantipura were destroyed. Jonarāja enumerates the temples destroyed by Sikandar and mentions among them the famous sun-temple of Mārtanda.<sup>3</sup> Sikandar's son Zain-al-abidin<sup>4</sup> was mild and tolerant and he reduced the Jizyah to one Māsa per annum. Under Zain-al-

<sup>1</sup> 1390-1414 A.C.

<sup>2</sup> Equivalent to eight Tolās of silver.

<sup>3</sup> Verse 599

<sup>4</sup> 1421-1472 A.C.

abidin the country had freedom from religious persecution. He studied Sanskrit, encouraged the Kāśmīrī traditions of learning and patronised the Brahmins. He was in short the Akbar of Kāśmīr. It was in his time that Kallhana's work was first translated into Persian. Jonarāja takes up the history in continuation of Kallhana's, and, entering the Mahomadan period gives an account of the reigns down to that of Zam-al-abidin. Śrīvāra, his pupil, carried the record to the accession of Fath Shah.<sup>5</sup> And the fourth work called the Rājāvalīpatākā by Pīyāṇā Bhatta completes the history to the time of the incorporation of Kāśmīr in the dominions of Akbar in 1588 A.C.

After the disruption of the Mughal empire which was hastened by the invasion of Nadir Shah, Kāśmīr became part of the Durani kingdom of Afghanistan. The Afghans were expelled by Maharaja Ranjit Singh, who conquered the country in 1819 A.C. Gulab Singh, a Dogra Rajput, had been made chief of the principality of Jammu. After the defeat of the Sikhs at Sobraon, Gulab Singh played the leading role in arranging conditions of peace between the English and the Sikhs. The treaty of peace dated 9th March 1846 sets forth that the British Government having demanded, in addition to territory, the payment of a crore and a half of rupees (1½ million Sterling) and the Sikh Government being unable to pay the whole, the Maharaja Dilip Singh cedes as equivalent of one crore the hill country belonging to the Panjab between the Beas and the Indus including Kāśmīr and Hīzīrī. The Governor-General considered it expedient to make over Kāśmīr to the Rajah of Jammu to secure his friendship while the British were administering the Panjab on behalf of the young Maharaja Dilip Singh. Gulab Singh paid one crore and in consideration of his services, the British recognized his independent sovereignty of the country made over to him and made a separate treaty with him.

While Kāśmīr was part of the Sikh dominion, the Rajah Gulab Singh after annexing all the petty hill states between the Jhelum and the Ravi eventually acquired Kistwar which touches Ladakh. In August 1834 he sent his general Wazir Zoravar Singh to invade Ladakh which was then subject to Lhasa. The bold Dogra commander advanced to Pashkum in the Wakkha Valley on the main Kāśmīr-Ladakh road and reached Leh. At first the Rajah of Ladakh was made a feudatory of Jammu and eventually Ladakh was annexed. Zoravar Singh marched into Skardu and deposed the chief and put his young son on the *gadi*. He raised contingents of Baltis and Ladakhis and with his brave Dogras he advanced in the winter of 1841 for the conquest of Tibet. The expedition met with disaster, not unlike that of the British in Kabul at about the same time. On the 12th December when his Dogras at a height of 15,000 ft. above sea-level were losing their hands and feet from frost bite and were burning their gunstocks for lack of fuel to keep themselves warm, the Tibetans delivered an

assault Zoravar fought at the head of his troops but was unhorsed and wounded by a bullet in the shoulder, he continued gallantly to fight with his sword, left-handed, till he was killed by a spear. His force was routed and only a few survivors reached Lch. Thus the gallant Zoravar Singh "adorned the couch of heroes" and, like Lalitāditya, perished in the distant regions of the snow-bound North.

Gulab Singh died in 1857 and was succeeded by his son Ranbir Singh. During his reign another brave Dogra general conquered for the Rajah of Jammu what are now known as the Frontier Ilāqas (territory) of the State, including Gilgit, during the years 1868-1874. This was Hoshara Singh, who conquered Gilgit in 1868 and his gun, placed to mark the position from where he fired, is still *in situ*. Ranbir Singh died in 1885 and was succeeded by Maharaja Pratap Singh, in whose reign the sovereignty of Kāśmīr over Gilgit was reasserted and the Dogras participated in the Black Mountain expedition of 1891, the Hunza Nagar operations of 1891 and the Tirah campaign of 1897-98.

It is interesting to note that the people of Nagar, who call themselves Shin or Dard<sup>6</sup> are now by religion Muhammadan and, like the Persians Shias in faith. In Hunza, on the other hand, the people curiously enough, like the inhabitants of Chitral and North-Eastern Afghanistan are followers of the Aga Khan. The Chiefs of Hunza and Nagar are called Mirs and they claim descent from Alexander the Great, who is the hero of these territories and of their legends and epic songs. According to their traditions their horses, too, are descended from Alexander's charger Bucephalos. Similar legends are current in the North-West Frontier Province, the centre of Graeco-Buddhist culture and art, where the chiefs still claim descent from a princess of Gandhāra, who is said to have married Alexander. Red hair and blue eyes are common in Nagar and Hunza, and the people have the Greek taste for wine and the dance. For half the year, however, the people are cut off from all communication with the outside world after the snows begin to melt, when the rivers rise to extraordinary heights, fill the lower reaches of the gorges and render them impassable. In Yasin the people follow a religion called Maulai. The Baltis of Baltistan (sometimes called Little Tibet) and the people of Ladakh are Mongolian in type like the Tibetans, the Baltis are Muhammadans and the Ladakhis are Buddhists. In the Frontier territory, which is a Tolstoyan paradise, there are no mosques, no patwaris,<sup>7</sup> no courts, no land records. The territory comprises 48,000 square miles, but is so sparsely populated that the total population is barely two hundred thousand. There are eighty villages in the whole of the Gilgit Wazarat and only three hundred villages in all the Frontier Ilāqas. No European is allowed to pass beyond Astor without the permission of the British Resident, while the subjects of the Maharaja

<sup>6</sup> The language Shin-bash (Sk. Bhāṣā) is full of Sanskrit words.

<sup>7</sup> Revenue Officials

are allowed to go up to Gilgit but not beyond into the Frontier Ilqas even for purposes of trade

The Frontier Ilqas of the State are: 1 Hunza, 2 Nagar, 3. Punial, 4. Ashkoman, 5 Yasin, 6 Koh, 7. Gluze, the last two are inhabited by semi-independent tribes. A peculiar system of control is in force in the frontier territory of the Jammu and Kāśmīr State. At Gupsi there is a fort which is garrisoned by a few companies of Dogras Chitral on the north-west frontier of India was, also, until the time of Lord Curzon, under Jammu Lord Curzon took Chitral from the late Maharaja of Jammu and Kāśmīr and brought it under direct British influence. The ruler of Chitral, who still retains the ancient Kāśmīrī title of Mahattara,<sup>8</sup> has been granted a salute of guns and the title of His Highness by the British and Chitral is garrisoned, because of the proximity of the Afghan frontier, by British Indian troops who have taken the place of the Dogras. At the present time all the Frontier Ilqas are under the charge of a British Political Agent who controls their affairs Gilgit is similarly under the controlling power of the British Political Agent, although for all civil purposes it is like other districts of the State under a Wazīr Wazarat. The political power is, however, exercised by the Political Agent, Gilgit Agency, who is under the British Resident in Kāśmīr as well as directly under the Viceroy at Simla The Political Agent enjoys the privilege of a salute of eleven guns. There are three Assistant Political Agents. Yasin, Punial, Hunza and Nagar are under Assistant Political Agents. The Judicial system in different areas is a curious mélange of tribal methods and modern judicial procedure and the Jirga system obtains just as among the tribes of the North-West Frontier of India Chelas has a fort which is garrisoned by the state troops but the British Political Agent collects the revenue, called "Tribute" which is sent to the State treasury at Gilgit. Such is the extraordinary dual control in these territories, which are vulnerable to attack from Afghanistan and Central Asia and these political arrangements are already under revision owing to the rapid transformations which are taking place in the territory of the U.S.S.R. and in Sinkiang

The Rājaputras who in the 11th and 12th centuries helped the rulers of Kāśmīr to maintain their rule were no doubt the hill Rajputs known as the Dogras<sup>9</sup> The Dogras now hold Kāśmīr as well as the territories they conquered with the sword—Baltistan and Ladakh—and they are suzerains of Gilgit and Hunza Nagar. The Dogra rulers appointed Pandits to record current events in the style of Kālhana. Kālhana's technique was followed in the 15th and 16th centuries by Jonarāja and others, who also called their work the *Rājataranginī*. And thus the technique of Kālhana still survives and in the time of the present ruler, the Maharaja Hari Singh, the

<sup>8</sup> Now written Mehtar.

<sup>9</sup> Sk. Durga=hilly country.

*Rājataranginī* goes on and Kaśmīr has its history in Saṁskṛta from the earliest times up-to-date!

Who can tell what Time will yet bring to Kaśmīr where change in its swiftness is sweeping the old land-marks away Sovereignty, says Kalhana somewhere, rests only for a while like a bird on the tree

L'avenir, l'avenir mystère!  
 Toutes les choses de la terre,  
 Gloire, fortune militaire,  
 Couronne éclatante des rois,  
 Victoires aux ailes embrassées,  
 Ambitions réalisées  
 Ne sont jamais sur nous posées  
 Que comme l'oiseau sur nos toits!

*Victor Hugo*

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*Note*—The Roman numeral followed by the Arabic numeral together indicate the Tārāṅga and Śloka of the *Rājatarāṅginī* in the present translation. The letter n after the numerals refers to the Foot-note. The letter K in the Notes is an abbreviation for Kalhana.

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